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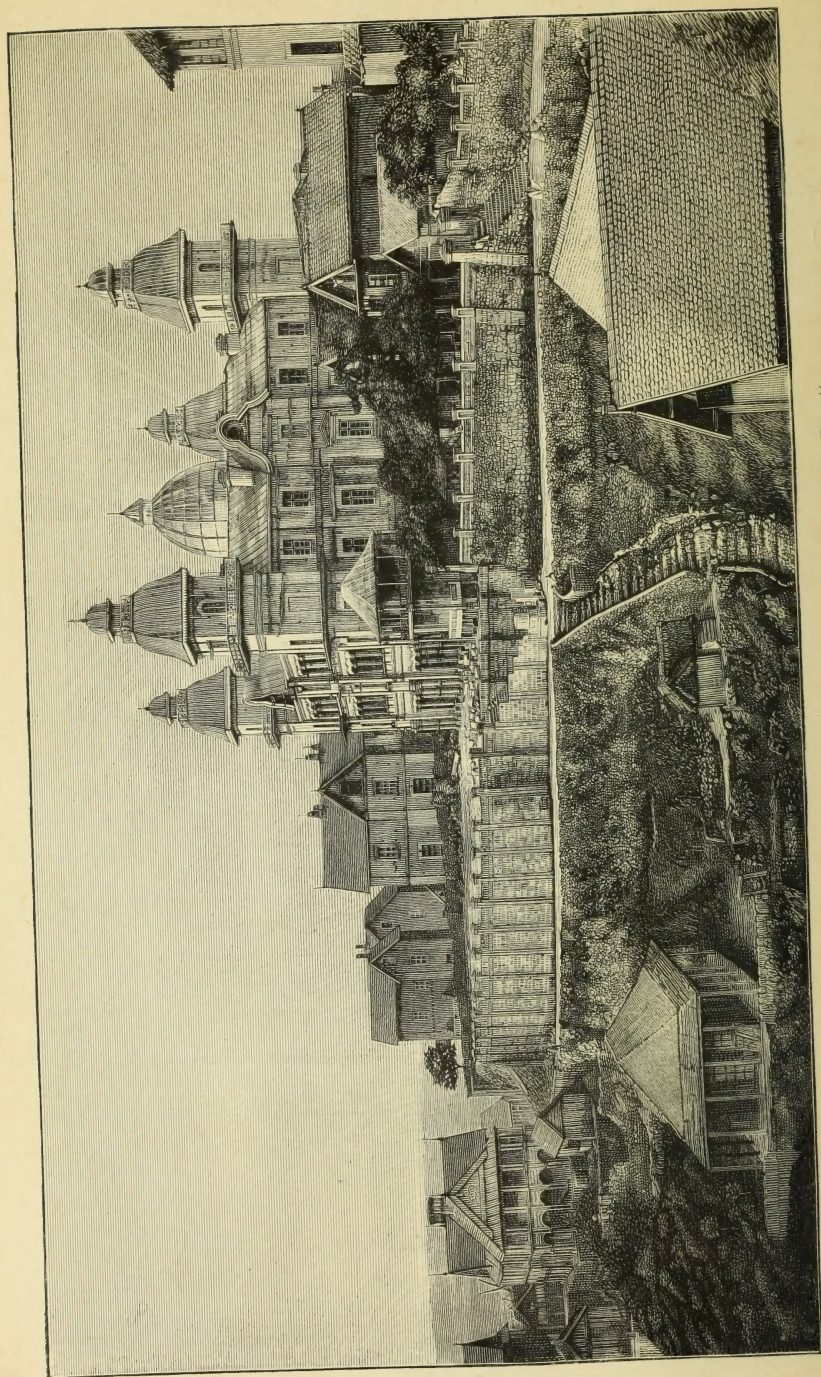
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MADAGASCAR





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THE RESIDENCE OF THE PRIME MINISTER. From a photograph by Mr. Parrett

MADAGASCAR

AN HISTORICAL AND
DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNT OF THE ISLAND
AND ITS FORMER DEPENDENCIES

COMPILED BY

SAMUEL PASFIELD OLIVER

F.S.A., F.R.G.S.

LATE CAPTAIN ROYAL ARTILLERY

VOLUME II

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MADAGASCAR.

CHAPTER IX.

NATURAL AND AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS.

“ Quid faciat latus segetes.”

(*Georgica*, lib. i. 1.)

Vice-Consul Pickersgill's *Report*—Rice—Manioc and arrowroot—Sugar-cane—Tobacco—Plant fibres, hemp and cotton—Dyes, indigo, nàto—Silkworm nurture and culture of *Tapia edulis*—Caoutchouc—Gum-copal—Medicinal plants and properties.

VICE-CONSUL PICKERSGILL, in his report of 1885, states :—
“Next to the Mauritian emigrants and the Indian settlers from Cutch and the Malabar coast, scores of whom have been completely ruined, the British subjects who have suffered most by the present war are the planters. It is much to be regretted that those who were leading the way to new sources of wealth peculiarly accessible to the native footsteps should have met with disaster at the outset of their endeavour. But, by a fitting retribution, the rod has fallen heaviest on the backs of those who did most to stir up the strife, and even the creoles of Réunion, not less than such of those belonging to Mauritius as were un-English enough to wish the mischief success, are beginning to realise that Madagascar under native rule is a land of greater freedom and more liberally filled flesh-pots than it would ever be under the domination of France.

Vice-Consul Pickersgill's report.

“The only thing of which foreigners had any reasonable ground for serious complaint was the reluctance of the native Government to lease land. That difficulty has been taken away, not by threats and bombardings, but by wholesome fairness and wise consideration on the part of Her Majesty's Foreign Office, and courteous firmness on the part of her Consular officers.

Difficulties removed.

Leases
of crown
lands.

"Crown land may now be obtained on leases of ninety-nine years' duration. There is no fixed price: every intending occupier may make his own bargain, but it is not likely that land of good quality will be rented for less than 2s. an acre per annum for the first half of the period and 5s. for the remainder; at any rate, not until newspaper correspondents and other writers on Madagascar cease to speak of the island as one of wondrous fertility and a very paradise of natural resources. A man has little chance of getting a thing on easy terms when his fellows are continually crying its excellence in the ears of the vendor.

Fertility
over-
praised.

"There is no doubt whatever that the soil of Madagascar has been overpraised. Those who have practically tested its sugar-growing powers on some of the choicest portions of the eastern sea-board report that in a very short time its fertility begins to wane and needs to be artificially renewed. The rapidity with which certain well-adapted forms of vegetation spring up luxuriantly is due rather to the abundant rain of the wet season and to a tropical sun than to any special richness of the land. Where the latter is absolutely necessary to profitable production, Madagascar will be found wanting.

"All this, however, is far from being intended to imply that the island does not offer a promising field for the employment of European capital.

Consump-
tion of rice
in Imèrina.

"Rice is produced in Imèrina in enormous quantities, but the wants of the population are equally great, and are yearly approaching the limits of possible supply. Better means of transport, therefore, would not develop a trade in this article in the neighbourhood of the capital. There lies, however, to the north of Imèrina, in the Sihànaka province, an immense tract of swampy country which is capable of bearing rice to almost any extent. About the same distance from Antanànarivo to the south again, in the Bètsiléó country, there are similar natural advantages awaiting employment. Madagascar rice is of undeniably good quality. That of Carolina comes from the same stock, seed having been taken from this country to Charleston in the year 1696" (*Consular Report*).

Rice
(vary)
cultiva-
tion.

"The most important and general department of native agriculture," writes Mr. Ellis (vol. i. p. 294), "is the growth of rice, on which valuable grain the whole nation is dependent, *Oryza sativa*."¹ "Rice is the staff of life to the great majority of

¹ Although wild rice, *Oryza punctata*, occurs in central Africa about the pools, yet cultivated rice was introduced *viâ* Zanzibar (*vide* Schweinfurth).

the Malagasy tribes.¹ *Mihànám-bàry*, 'to eat rice,' is the native equivalent for the Eastern phrase 'to eat bread,' and for our expression 'to have a meal;' and all other food is only considered as *ladka*, that is, as an accompaniment or relish to the rice." The culture of the rice-fields accordingly occupies a large portion of the time of the people, who are very attentive to their rice-grounds, preserving them with great care, and keeping them remarkably clean; and in the preparation of the ground, the bringing of water to irrigate the fields, and other necessary operations, a great amount of skill and ingenuity is displayed.

There are said to be eleven different kinds of rice known in Madagascar. The rice-fields are of two kinds: first, those on which the rice is sown, and secondly, those to which it is transplanted, and where it grows until it is reaped. The former are only narrow strips of ground, along the banks of the rivers, or terraces on the sloping sides of the deep valleys; and to them water is conveyed from the nearest springs by means of aqueducts, often carried in the most ingenious fashion for a considerable distance along the sloping sides of the hills. The farmers are very industrious, and have become great adepts in reclaiming land, and all along the banks of the streams and rivers may be observed the effects of their industry. They turn the slopes of the hills to account; and in the absence of natural levels, form artificial terraces preventing the earth from being washed away by the rains, by which arrangement a sufficient supply of water is retained for the necessary irrigation of the crops; for the rice must be sown in the dry season when there is no rain to afford the requisite moisture for the germination of the seed. Great skill is shown in the construction of these terraces, and few sights are more beautiful than these hill-sides and valleys terraced from base to summit, often with nearly a hundred green steps.

Varieties of
rice.

The Hóvas, says Mr. Sibree, are far surpassed by the Bétsiléó in the southern central provinces. Not only are their concave valleys and hollows terraced as in Imèrina but the *convex* portions of the lower hills and the lower spheres of the higher hills are also stepped up with revetments like those of a gigantic staircase. These works, which have been built from times immemorial, display an innate knowledge of practical

Bétsiléó
cultivation.

¹ The natives consider rice alone as *Mahavòky*, i.e. "able to appease hunger" (Ellis' *History*, vol. i. p. 203).

hydraulics, by which the constructors are able to arrange their levels so as to conduct the channels of water to comparatively high levels.

Winter
season.

During the beginning of the dry winter season, *Ririnina*—May, June, July—the soil is left untouched for three or four months, after which it is dug up with the native spade in large clods, twelve or eighteen inches square, which are piled up like bricks or turfs of peat, that they may be thoroughly dried, and all the weeds destroyed. After remaining some time in this state, the clods are spread over the field and mixed with a suitable proportion of manure. Water is then let into the field and soon softens the clods, which when moist are easily broken, and reduced to a very fine earth. The field is then made as level as possible by a thin sheet of water being conducted over its surface. It is now deemed ready for the seed.

Spring
sowing.

“The bursting of the buds of the *àmbiaty* (*Vernonia appendiculata*), which generally takes place in September, is a sign for preparing the seed-rice for sowing. This is done by steeping the grain in water for one or two days, and afterwards keeping it in a warm place until it begins to sprout. In this state it is sown, after which the water is drained off, and some very fine manure, generally of wood or grass, is scattered over the newly-sown rice. The field is now allowed to remain a day or two without water, until the young shoot, causing the earth to crack, indicates the approach of the blade to the surface. The whole is then again covered to the depth of about two inches of water, which is shortly afterwards drained off. After this the tender blade soon appears above ground.”

Trans-
plantation.

“The seed is sown very thickly in nurseries (*tànin-kètsa*), and the growth of the rice at this stage requires great attention, till about five or six inches above the ground, when it is considered fit to be transplanted to other fields. So the Malagasy have a proverb, “Love is like a young rice plant—it will grow if removed.” The transplantation is seldom done until after the rains have begun to fall in October and November. The rice-field (*tànimbàry*) to be planted for the crop requires to be carefully prepared, but this is done in an inferior manner and without manure. In preparing the low grounds for rice the natives often employ cattle. Twenty or thirty oxen are driven into a field, and two or three men employed to drive them over the surface to break the moistened clods. This is extremely laborious, both for cattle and men,

but it is found to be the most valuable and effectual mode of preparing the soil. When the fields are prepared for the young rice, each single plant is put in the ground at a distance of from six to nine inches apart, the ground being then in a state resembling mud rather than earth. This part of the labour is generally done by women, and it is astonishing with what rapidity their work is performed. The plants are held in the left hand, and with the right are put into the ground at the rate of two or three in a second. A bushel of rice, when the ground is prepared in an inferior manner, without drying the earth in the transplanting ground, will on an average produce fifty bushels. If the clods are well dried it will produce seventy; and if the ground is particularly well done and manured, it is no uncommon thing to take home one hundred bushels for the bushel sown. The soil, when properly dressed, is exceedingly fertile; and if the season be favourable and the crops escape the ravages of insects and the destructive effects of blight or mildew, the ground is everywhere covered with prolific grain" (*Ellis*, vol. i. p. 295).

"The view of the Bètsimatàtra rice-fields in January and February is magnificent. An immense plain of many square miles in extent unbroken, except by here and there a tree or cottage, divided into several thousand fields, varying in size from half an acre to six or seven acres, all covered with luxuriant growing or healthful and ripening grain, the large-bearded ears of which shine and rustle as they wave beneath the passing breeze, and bend from the weight of the grain sometimes half-way to the ground, while the cluster of stalks produced by a single seed is often so large that the reaper cannot with one grasp gather it into his hand. Each field is divided from the rest by a small bank about six or nine inches wide, the top of which being generally raised six inches above the field forms a smooth footpath, affording great convenience to the labourer employed in the field. By the side of these paths little rills are led over the entire plain, so that every field may be watered when necessary. These rills are supplied from canals which, in the neighbourhood of the capital, convey water to the remote parts of the plain, extending from the Ikòpa, whose channel is defended on both sides by strong banks of earth, so that, though several feet higher than the fields, they are seldom injured by any irruption of its waters. At times, however, such an accident occurs, and the occasion

calls forth all the inhabitants, who rush in a body to the place, carrying with them whatever they can find in their way to assist in stemming the torrent, willingly sacrificing at such times houses and garden walls to prevent an inundation which would probably destroy the greater part of their crop. Should no calamity occur and the season favour the gathering in of the ripened grain, the families are all on the alert and active in securing the plenteous harvest, some working up to their middle almost in water. In cutting the rice the reapers always use a large knife instead of a hook or sickle, and lay down the corn in handfuls on the stubble; women and children follow after, and tie up the handfuls in small sheaves which are set up to dry for two or three days before being carried away.

"Besides the rice grown in the manner described, there is another kind grown on high ground, usually the gently-sloping sides of the hills. In preparing the soil for the latter, the wood is felled, and the least valuable part of it burnt on the ground. The rice seeds are planted among the ashes, and watered by the heavy periodical rains generally yield as rich a harvest as that planted in the lowlands, and so frequently covered with water. The latter kind is called *hòraka*, the former *tèvy*. There is no difference in the appearance of the grain, and the same price is obtained for both kinds in the market." (See Ellis's *History of Madagascar*, vol. i. pp. 294-299.)

Hòraka
and *tèvy*.

The Malagasy have never attempted to accustom the oxen of the country to any work except that of tramping the soil to prepare it for planting; they have neither waggon, cart, sledge, nor beast of burden; the produce of the fields is therefore carried in large bundles on the heads of the slaves from the field to the threshing-floors. In every tract of rice-fields a portion of ground is left solid, where an open space, generally near a fragment of rock or large stone, is left as a general threshing-floor on which the rice is beaten from the stalk or straw before being carried home to the granary or storehouse of its owner. The mode of threshing is peculiar. No flail or stick is used, but the floor of hard clay being cleaned, the rice is taken in large handfuls and beaten against a stone or on the floor till the grain is separated from the straw; this is continued till the whole is finished, when it is winnowed, after which it is carried in baskets holding about a bushel each (*sòm-pitra*) on the heads of the slaves to their master's house. The straw is preserved as fuel or fodder for the cattle.

The Hóvas and Bétsiléó preserve the rice underground, keeping it in circular excavations or silos five or six feet in diameter and seven or eight feet deep. The form of these rice-pits greatly resembles a bee-hive; the sides are lined with stiff clay, from the floor, also of hard clay, to the summit, where a small aperture is left, which is usually covered with a stone. Through this aperture the grain is poured when brought from the field, and through the same the quantity required for daily use is obtained. These subterranean granaries are constructed with great care, and rice is often kept in them for a long time, apparently without being in the least degree injured. Some of the tribes construct their granaries (*tangérina*) above ground, and make them resemble in shape those already described; they are conical or formed like a bee-hive; and often rise fifteen or sixteen feet above the ground. The walls are thick, and are of clay carefully wrought and impervious to wet. No opening is formed in the sides, and only one small aperture left at the top, closed with a stone. By means of a pole with notches cut in it so as to form a ladder the top aperture is reached. The Antsihànaka, Bètsimisàraka, and Bezànozàno preserve their rice in wooden storehouses raised six or seven feet above the ground on large wooden piles which are often furnished with smoothly polished projections to prevent the ascent of rats.¹ Rice-pits.

Second only to the rice in value and importance is the culture of the manioc (*Tanipha manihot*), called by the natives *màngahazo*, i.e. "purple wood," from the colour of the stem. Manioc. The manioc is usually cultivated in enclosed fields; the fence consisting of a bank of earth planted with *Euphorbia*. When the ground has been well dug, pieces of the stem of the manioc, about a foot in length, are procured, either from the redundant branches of the crop ready for gathering in, or from crops recently gathered. These are simply thrust into the ground in a slanting position, leaving about a third portion of each stem above the soil, which is gently trodden down upon the plant with the foot. The slips are fixed about twelve inches from each other. When the plants begin to grow, which is

¹ Vòhimàro is not rich in rice for want of a market for the produce, and the natives have hitherto only planted sufficient for their own consumption. The price varies considerably, sometimes reaching a sum of five francs for fifteen kilogrammes, whilst sometimes, just after the harvest, four times that weight can be obtained for the same price. Its quality is very fine, strong grain, well nourished, and very white (M. Cachin's *Report*).

generally in about a fortnight, manure is scattered over the soil. After the field has been planted nine or ten months, the weeds are carefully removed, and a few months afterwards the manioc is ready for use. From fifteen to eighteen months may be required between the planting and the harvest, so as to allow two rainy seasons for the crop: the first about the time of planting, and the other about the time of ingathering. The whole field is seldom gathered at once, but is collected by the family as required for use or for sale. The roots are usually from eight to twelve inches in length and three inches in diameter. They are prepared for use by scraping off the outer rind, washing them and boiling them well. Occasionally the roots are baked in hot embers. Manioc root is also sold in the markets, cut into small pieces, and dried in the sun. The roots are sometimes eaten raw. It is also scraped, dried, and made into cakes.

Arrowroot. Arrowroot (*Maranta arundinacea*) is grown, especially in the Sakalava country. It is dug up, washed and rubbed upon a rough stone, in a vessel containing water. Here it remains for some time, when the water is poured off, leaving the arrowroot at the bottom. It is then taken out and dried upon a mat in the sun; after which it is ready for use. It is generally boiled in milk, which is plentiful among the Sakalavas.

Fàry, or sugar-cane. The sugar-cane of Madagascar is indigenous, and in the island there are said to be found twenty varieties of this plant, the *Saccharum officinarum* or *Arundo saccharifera*, a well-known endogen. It is called *fàry* in Malagasy, or *fisika* by the Sakalava. The principal sorts most in favour are the *Belouquet rouge*, *Belouquet blanche*, *Bambou rouge et verte*, *Diard*, *Violette*. The canes attain ordinarily from ten to fourteen feet¹ in height and from three to six inches in circumference. They require from ten to twenty months after planting to arrive at maturity.

The first operations when a plantation is cleared for culti-

¹ M. Cachin, in his report of the *Vallée de Mativo*, near Maròantsètra, 9th November 1862, wrote: "Les cannes croissent admirablement; j'en ai mesuré près du village de Maroumandié, qui avaient 4 mètres de longueur sur 6 centimètres de diamètre." "Sugar, although not giving results equal to what were expected, is by no means a failure. Hitherto there have been no plantations established except in the east, but travellers have noticed that the cane grown by the natives on the banks of the north-western rivers has the appearance of being the product of a very suitable soil, and my own observations in that part of the country lead me to believe that there is land there which will some day be found more valuable than any on the opposite side of the island" (*Pickersgill*).

vation are to extirpate the weeds and clean the ground as much as possible, the stones and rocks being moved into rows. Between these, at distances about eighteen or twenty inches apart, holes are dug twelve inches deep, eighteen inches long, and eight broad. When required manure is placed in each hole, but the virgin soil in new plantations such as have lately been started in Madagascar is so rich that no manure or guano is required. Then cuttings are made from the five or six tender joints or knobs nearest the heart of the cane, two, three, or four of which are put into each hole according to locality and season.

The best months for planting are December, January, February, and March. After planting the holes are filled up with dried leaves or grass to protect the young shoots from the sun, and at the expiration of the time necessary for the shooting of the canes the bad ones are replaced by fresh cuttings. The cuttings of the virgin or first canes are preferable to the later ones, and they are now sometimes plunged in a weak solution of carbolic acid to free them from insects. To ensure a good sugar crop much labour is required in preventing the growth of weeds and constant turning of the soil between the plants.

Planting in
summer
months.

In September the canes generally arrive at maturity, but according to locality and time of planting, etc., they are often not ripe for cutting till October or November. When the crop is pronounced ready to cut a third of the labourers chop the canes close to the soil, another third clear off the leaves, and the rest take them to the mill. The process at the mills where European machinery is employed need not be described here. Formerly the Malagasy simply rolled the cane under heavy timber rollers.

Cutting the
canes.

Sugar-cane is used as a sweetmeat by the natives, but its principal use has been and still is in the manufacture of *bèsa-bèsa* and the spirituous *tòaka* (see chapter xi., Distilleries).

For the cultivation of sugar the climate and soil of lower Madagascar are peculiarly adapted. This industry was only introduced on a large scale about six years ago, and there are already in the neighbourhood of Tamatave more than twenty sugar estates belonging to British subjects of the aggregate value of about £250,000. On this subject the special correspondent of the *Standard*, 2d April 1883, says:—"In sugar is a source of wealth which, if properly tapped, will draw from the soil of Madagascar a stream of gold that in value may rival the richest

mines of the earth. As regards the profitable production of sugar, the experimental stage has already been passed. Four years ago the first real attempt at establishing a sugar-plantation in the neighbourhood of Tamatave was made, and already dividends of fifteen to twenty per cent on the capital invested are being realised. Next year one estate, which is becoming the property of a joint-stock company, promises to pay thirty per cent, and the limit of remuneration has by no means been reached. Last year the four pioneer estates,¹ aggregating 1000 acres, exported 500 tons of sugar. The season just closing will yield a total of 1000 tons, and next season is expected to produce double that quantity. Labour in Madagascar is fifteen per cent cheaper than in Mauritius, and there is not the preliminary outlay required to bring the coolies from India and to send them back when their term has expired. Another immense advantage for Madagascar is that the virgin soil is so rich and deep—on an average six to eight feet of the special loam required for cane—that no manure is necessary. But the great crowning advantage of all is that there are no cyclones. The majority of the joint-stock sugar-planting concerns of Mauritius pay dividends of from ten to twenty-five per cent. But every third or fourth year comes a tornado, which lays everything level with the ground, and for that season, and sometimes for two or three following ones, there is little or no dividend paid. From this risk and from this grinding anxiety the planter in Madagascar is free.”

Tobacco
(*paràky*).

Tobacco (*Nicotiana tabacum*) is cultivated to a considerable extent by the Malagasy, who call it *paràky*, but it is not smoked or used alone as in other countries. With its medicinal properties the natives are acquainted, and in their medicinal preparations it is frequently employed, but it is chiefly used in the manufacture of snuff. In the preparation of this article, which is taken as a luxury and a stimulant, the leaves of the plant are dried and pulverised; to this powder are added the ashes of the leaves of a sweet-scented herb, in the proportions of two-thirds powdered tobacco and one-third ashes; a small quantity of potash or salt is thrown in, and the whole, well mixed, is considered fit for use. The Malagasy do not snuff with the nostrils, but put the tobacco under their tongue,

¹ *Mellville, Avenir, Trianon*, current crop was estimated in June 1883 at 2,000,000 cwt. sugar (?). See Consul Pakenham's despatch, dated 4th June 1883 (see chapter xvi.)

which habit causes the lower lip to protrude. Tobacco grows well in Vòhimàrina, but has as yet hardly become an article of exportation. M. Cachin reports that from 400 to 500 kilogrammes of tobacco are brought annually to the port for Vòhimàro. This product is very strong, and excessively rich in nicotine. It sells at from fifteen to twenty-five francs the kilogramme, according to the supply (p. 390). In another portion of his report, however, M. Cachin places the price of tobacco at Vòhimàro at from twenty to thirty francs or more for fifty kilogrammes.

Hemp (*rongòny*) is cultivated and woven by the women into a coarse strong cloth. It is also smoked, but its use is illegal. It is the *Cannabis sativa* of botanists. Hemp
(*rongòny*).

Cotton (*Gossypium indicum*) is cultivated to some extent, and according to M. d'Escamps (p. 381) the annual importations into France alone of native Madagascar cotton amount to upwards of 10,000,000 livres. Cotton flourishes as well upon the interior plateaux as on the coast. Native name, *làndihàzo*. Cotton
(*làndihàzo*).

The *Aïka*,¹ a leguminous plant, is the *Indigofera tinctoria*,² of an Oriental origin, and probably introduced by the Arabs; it is cultivated by the Malagasy much in the same way as in China, its original country. The seed is sown in furrows about two and a half inches in depth, and between the furrows is a space of ten or twelve inches. The seeds quickly take root, and when the plant shows above the ground, the soil is kept free from weeds; after two months from sowing, the plant bears its papilionaceous flower, and at this period contains the largest amount of colouring matter, *chlorophyll*. It is now reaped, and in six or seven weeks more a second crop from the same roots is ready to be cut again. So prolific is this plant that from the same roots three or four crops are not unfrequently gathered in the year, but the yield from the after-math is considerably weaker than the first crop. *Aïka*, or
indigo.

¹ "Dans toutes les terres légères de l'île, on voit croître spontanément trois espèces d'indigotier" (*D'Escamps*, p. 381).

² "Les teintures indigènes sont : la teinture rouge, retirée des feuilles de *l'arongadaky* et de racines de *l'hontry* ; la teinture jaune retirée de l'écorce du *tdivakibahitra* ; ces deux couleurs, bien préparées sont indélébiles. Pour avoir la couleur bleue, les Malagaches emploient la feuille de l'indigotier sauvage (*ingitry*), et pour avoir la couleur noire, ils se servent de la boue de marais (*fôtaka*) dans laquelle ils laissent séjourner pendant deux jours l'objet qu'ils veulent teindre. Ces deux dernières couleurs sont inaltérables. Pour la jaune, on emploie aussi le *curcuma* ou safran des Indes (*gingisy* ou *tamotamo*)" (*D'Escamps*, p. 379).

Fâtotra.

The plants after being cut with a knife into pieces are pounded, after which the pulp is allowed to ferment in a warm damp place until it becomes fetid; and the moisture would consequently be dried up but that they use a preparation of another plant called *aikabèràvina* (*Crotalaria incana*), which is first steeped in hot water until the liquor becomes blue. With this they moisten the fermented indigo once a week for the space of a whole year, by which time, they say, if properly done, it will be excellent. In this state it is called *fâtotra*. The roots of the banana are also cut and dried, and then burnt to ashes; these ashes are pounded with a little of the water used in sprinkling the *fâtotra*, after which they are formed into cakes, and dried before the fire; the name of this composition is *fôndrana*. The *fâtotra* and the *fôndrana* are mixed together, and boiled in water for a whole day. The liquor, after it is sufficiently boiled, is put into a vessel, which must be placed near the fire, so as to be kept gently warm, and the thread is then put into the liquid dye, where it remains until the colour is sufficiently strong.

Vâtôfôsa.

There is also another method of preparing indigo dye, which is also called *fâtotra*. In order to prepare it for imparting colour, they take of the dried roots of the banana four parts; of a dried vegetable called *vâtôfôsa*¹ (*Cyathula* sp.) one part; and of a shrub called *tânantànampôtsy* (*Tatropa circas*) sufficient to kindle the others. These three are reduced to white ashes. A quantity of these ashes is then added to the cakes, and steeped in water and kept in a warm place, being frequently stirred. The thread is alternately steeped in the dye for half an hour at a time, then dried, and then steeped again, by which means a light and a dark blue may be produced. The *vâtôfôsa* contains a quantity of very good potash.

Many of the dyes are procured from vegetable substances, the reddish-brown used as the groundwork of many *lâmbas* being obtained from the bark of a large forest tree called *nâto*² (*Sibree*).

Native
dyes.

(M. Coignet reported in 1863 :—"Les plantes tinctoriales sont abondantes, et les indigènes en retirent des couleurs très

¹ Vâtôfôsamainty, Vâtôfôsamànga, and Vâtôfôsavavy = *C. sphaerocephala*.

² "Les naths (*nâto*) sont très-abondants. Ce bois est rouge, dur et fin; il ne le cède en rien à l'*acajou* pour la couleur. L'écorce fournit une grande quantité de *tannin*. Depuis quelques années elle est très-employée dans la préparation des cuirs: malheureusement, ces derniers, ainsi traités, retiennent la matière colorante rouge et déteignent par l'usage" (*Rapport de M. Coignet*).

belles et très solides. La couleur noire est seule minérale. On l'obtient en faisant macérer les objets à teindre dans une sorte de boue, prise le plus souvent dans un marais où l'eau de mer se mêle à l'eau douce. Ces terrains sont très-riches en sulfate de fer qui, mélangé aux débris végétaux qu'ils renferment, donne une couleur noire très-belle et très-solide. La jaune est produit par le *curcuma* qui est très-abondant; on rape la racine, on la fait digérer à froid dans l'eau : la couleur est fixée avec de la cendre de bois.")

Green dye is prepared by mixing indigo with the (tantamo) *curcuma* dye. Red is obtained from the leaves and flowers of a shrub, very common, named *arônga*, which M. Coignet believes to belong to one of the *Guttiferae*. According to the same authority, there also exists a particular kind of root which the Malagasy gather in the marshes, which they call *vàhilôngo*. From this they extract a rough carmine dye of considerable strength. In order to prepare it the natives content themselves with pounding it until it is reduced to powder, which is mixed with water, and subsequently fixed with ashes of banana or similar plant containing potash. Another vegetable dye, which is of some commercial importance, is the *orseille* (Orchilla), which is a lichen produced largely in the sterile country to the south-west of the island.

Plants on which the various silkworms feed are cultivated or grow spontaneously in great luxuriance and abundance. Of these, perhaps the *Tapia edulis* is that most commonly met with, especially in Imâmo. The chrysalides are gathered and sold for food, whilst their cocoons are used for winding and manufacture as silk. The *tapia* is a small tree, of which there are extensive plantations. The fruit, which is edible, is a long green pod containing a sweetish pulp. The silk destined to become the most abundant in the island is obtained from a caterpillar which feeds on the *ambàrivàtry* (*Cytisus cajanus*). This pulse is also sold to traders on the west coast. The mulberry is also grown for the purpose of feeding silkworms. A kind of millet (*ampèmby*) has been grown to some extent, and attempts have been made to cultivate wheat, but as yet not very successfully. Sweet potatoes, various beans, tomatoes, earth-nuts, onions, and several *brêdes* and salad plants are also cultivated by the native tribes. Indian corn or maize is also a valuable food, a bread is made from it called *kâtsaka*. The fruits include pineapples, oranges,

Arônga.

Vàhilôngo.

Orseille.

Tapia edulis.

Ambàrivàtry.

Mulberry.

Ampèmby,
or millet.

Maize.

lemons, citrons, peaches, figs, bananas, grapes, Cape gooseberries, etc.

Coffee.

"Coffee does not grow well," Mr. Pickersgill says, "on either coast. Nor is that which is produced in the interior at all satisfactory in amount. As regards quality, many people consider it little inferior to Mocha. The most successful experiments with it have been made in the neighbourhood of the westernmost of the two lines of forest which stretch from north to south between the capital and the east coast. The elevation there is suitable, and there is plenty of moisture.

Wheat.

"Wheat seems to thrive fairly well in certain parts of the interior. It is grown to meet the necessities of the European community, and costs in the Antananarivo market about 6s. for 100 lbs.

Tea.

"Tea has not been tried here yet, but ought to be. The slopes of the Imèrina hills are thought by many people to be adapted to this cultivation. Once introduced and found to be successful, the natives would take it in hand with great readiness; it would suit their habits and tastes exactly. The women of the poorer classes, who are glad to be able to earn a penny a day by plaiting mats and weaving *rofia* cloth, would find more profitable and equally agreeable work in picking and preparing the leaves of the tea plant, and the lightness in weight of the marketable article would allow of its being transported to the coast by the usual means without overburdening the profits.

Silk.

"Silk,¹ for the same two latter reasons, affords an opening for enterprise in the interior of Madagascar. It is produced already for the manufacture of the native shawls, called '*làmba*,' which are so much admired by all who have seen good specimens.

¹ "On a souvent parlé de la soie qui, dit-on, pourrait être récoltée en abondance dans les forêts de Madagascar et devenir l'objet d'un commerce important. On trouve, en effet, assez souvent pendus aux arbres des bois, des nids ou immenses poches soyeuses remplies de cocons dus aux bombyx, *radama* et *diego*, mais ces cocons ne sont pas susceptibles d'être dévidés, et on ne peut que les convertir en filoselle, ou bourre qu'on file à la quenouille et qui n'a pas grande valeur. Il y a encore une autre chenille que les *Hóvas* élèvent, le ver de l'*ambrevate*, qui fournit aussi de la soie, mais cette soie, qui du reste ne se dévide que difficilement et qui ne peut être guère aussi employée que sous forme de filoselle, n'a pas le brillant de la soie de Chine et n'est guère remarquable que par sa solidité. Il est vrai qu'on pourrait en certains endroits planter des mûriers et y élever notre ver à soie ordinaire, mais ce ne serait pas chose très facile ni très profitable" (Réunion des Délégués des Sociétés Savantes de Paris et des Départements à la Sorbonne, 17th avril 1884).

"India-rubber also deserves attention, especially from those who are interested in keeping the European market supplied with this most valuable product. The indigenous vine yields an excellent quality of rubber, but the supply is yearly diminishing.¹ It is now found only in the depths of the forests, far from the security of settled habitations, and is consequently obtained at considerable risk. No provision is left or made for future needs, the vines being entirely destroyed by the reckless men who wander in search of them. That a properly-managed plantation of this native product would turn out to be a profitable speculation I have very little doubt. An experiment made by myself a few years ago in the north-west was entirely satisfactory as far as showing the possibility of extending the growth of the vine; a single fruit of it, picked up in the bush, was found to contain no less than seventy-two seeds, every one sprouting. These were taken to a piece of swampy ground and planted at the feet of tall trees already growing therein, where they readily struck root and for some time flourished, until an unexpected rise in a neighbouring river overflowed and carried them away. It would probably take from four to five years for the vine to grow large enough to endure much cutting. The natives who witnessed the above experiment were fully convinced thereby of the practicability of cultivating the rubber, but such investments for the remote future are not attractive to them. After the first years of waiting there would be little need for outlay on a plantation of this vine, as the cost of preparing the rubber for the market is very trifling" (Mr. Pickersgill's *Report*, 1885).

India-rubber.

"There are in Madagascar two varieties of caoutchouc (india-rubber); one the product of three species of creepers

Varieties of caoutchouc.

¹ "J'ai dit que le pays dans son ensemble était très peu boisé; les localités où se trouvent des forêts, comme les districts situés autour de la baie d'Antongil, quelques rares points de la côte entre Ngòntsy et Vòhimàro, la montagne d'Ambre, la baie de Pàsindàva, et dans l'intérieur, le haut des contreforts qui contourment le grand massif granitique jusque par le travers de Louquez et de là vers l'ouest, pourraient cependant fournir des bois d'une certaine valeur de l'ébène, du natte, sorte d'acajou, et d'autres essences, mais il ne faudrait pas s'exagérer les bénéfices que l'on pourra retirer de cette exploitation; car la plupart de ces bois ne supporteraient pas les frais de transport jusqu'à la côte et de là en Europe. Il y a même lieu de se demander si les quelques petites forêts qui se trouvent dans la région septentrionale autour de la montagne d'Ambre, auprès des baies de Diego Soarez, de Rigny et de Pàsindàva ne devront pas être exclusivement réservées à la construction et à la réparation des navires; car il ne semble pas que le sol où poussent ces arbres soit bien profond et bien riche et on ne peut guère compter qu'une fois coupés ils repousseront vite, si toutefois ils repoussent" (*Grandidier*).

(lianes), the other produced by a shrub or small tree (by cutting its bark) which attains a height of about twenty feet. The creepers of the genus *vàhiehèna*, belonging to the family of the Apocynæ (*Landolphia vahea madagascariensis*), are tolerably common in the forests of the province of Ngòntsy. They differ in their aspect by their leaves, which although of much the same form are more or less long or rounded, but still more by their fruit. Those of the *vàhiehèna tàlandaàha* are the largest, and in form of a pear with a hard rind. The juice which exudes from the cuts made in the stalk of the plant of this name is that which gives the best product. The two other species also produce caoutchouc, but their juice is much more difficult to coagulate. That which furnishes the *vàhiehèna ràngitra* is weak and glutinous: this juice is sweet (and indeed eatable) and consequently capable of fermentation. It is probably to a mixture of this last with that of the *vàhiehèna tàlandaàha* that we may attribute the *alteration* of the elastic gums furnished by Madagascar to Europe. The collection of these gums is never made with discernment and all the species are mixed.

Caout-
chouc tree,
bàrabànja.

The shrubby tree¹ (probably of the family of Siphoniæ) gives a caoutchouc much more easy to collect than that of the lianes, and of a quality far superior. It is abundant in the moist soil and is called *bàrabànja*, its juice is white, the gum very elastic, and it can compare with the best kinds of india-rubber used in Europe. To obtain the gum from the creeper it is necessary to cut the caudex of the plant and collect the sap which flows out into a pan. The same evening, or as soon as convenient after the cutting is made, the natives generally content themselves with pouring into the milky juice so obtained a certain quantity of sea water, which causes presently the useful matter hitherto held in suspension in the liquid to coagulate; then whilst it is still fresh they knead it and form it in slabs. Others turn the juice they have collected into a *marmite* (pot) or bamboo, cook it over a fire, and the caoutchouc soon becomes hardened. The sap of the tree is

¹ M. Cachin reports: "L'arbre que les Sàkalàves appellent *bàrabànja*, qui est, je crois, Le *Gommifora madagascariensis*, produit un caoutchouc de beaucoup supérieur au *Vahé*; mais, bien que cet arbre soit très-commun dans la partie nord de Madagascar, on n'a pas pu jusqu'à ce jour obtenir des bénéfices en le faisant récolter; les frais de ce travail ne sont point couverts par les produits; ce n'est qu'en le faisant recueillir par les indigènes, qui, eux, ne comptent pas de trop près le prix du temps, que l'on arrivera peut-être à de meilleurs résultats."

not precipitated by salt water and the desiccation either natural or by artificial means can alone solidify it. It is sufficient to incise the trunks morning and evening, and from time to time to collect the drops which the sun soon hardens. In this way from 500 to 600 grammes of gum (about 1 lb.) can be collected by a man in one day.

"Although the exportation of caoutchouc was forbidden, the Hóva procured a good quantity by means of forced labour (*corvée*), which they sold to the Americans on the west coast at the rate of from 60 to 80 francs for the 100 kilogrammes, about 220 lbs. (*i.e.* from 3d. to 4d. per lb.)" (Report of M. Coignet to Madagascar Company, 1st March 1864, *Documents*, p. 291).

Sale of
caoutchouc
on west
coast.

"Nearly all the gum-copal produced by Madagascar," reports M. Coignet,¹ "reaches Europe by way of Zanzibar, where for a long time it was believed that it had its origin. The Hóva chiefs who knew the value of it, and that this gum was highly prized, entirely monopolised the commerce. Any native gathering copal without permission is liable to confiscation and corporal chastisement. This product was sold to the Arab merchants, transported in their dhows to the East Coast of Africa, where the European shippers purchased it. It is only within the last twenty-five years that any consignments of gum were made directly to Mauritius and Réunion. Below the river Marimbo, about twenty-five miles south of Vòhimàro, the maritime zone, some three kilomètres in width, and in length twenty-seven marine leagues (say ninety miles), contains a considerable number of copal trees (*Trachylobium Hornemaniacum*). From hence are actually collected every year some 300 tons, valued in the country at from 60 to 80 francs the 100 kilogrammes, *i.e.* a total value of from 180,000 to 240,000 francs. This gum is sold in the European market at about 3 francs the kilogramme, representing a sum of 900,000 francs; a difference of from 660,000 to 720,000 francs, from which must be deducted the charges for freight and other expenses, which are estimated to amount to 80 francs the ton. A profit is therefore realised of from 636,000 to 696,000 francs. By more extended operations it would be certainly possible to increase

Copal.

¹ M. Cachin puts the amount of gum-copal exported from Vòhimàro annually at from 20 to 25 tons, and reports that this could be raised to from 30 to 40 tons. He calculates the price of copal at Vòhimàro at from 30 to 40 francs for the 50 kilos (see *Report*, p. 327).

the product. Not only so, this does not take into account the small grains of gum which remain attached to the husk of the fruit. Each of these contains about ten grammes of gum; by letting these outer rinds rot, and washing the residue, a large quantity could be saved which is lost under the present system of collection.¹

Copal
gathering.

“As before noticed, this copal is a rapid source of profit to the Hóvas. The prime minister, for instance, should he require money, sends a *dekà* to the commandant of the province in which he desires the gum to be gathered. The latter calls together the native headmen, and tells them that the prime minister relies upon them for the accomplishment of his orders, and that the most zealous, in case of necessity, may count upon his credit and countenance. Immediately the heads of the village call upon the villagers to perform their corvée (*fanompàna*), and work for the Government, and the natives hasten off into the forests to collect the quantity of gum fixed upon for each to contribute. On an appointed day, each individual is bound to produce the amount of gum he has obtained, without reserving the smallest portion, under pain of severe chastisement. After the accession of Radàma II., the produce of the sale was divided as follows: half for the prime minister, one quarter for the chiefs directing the work, and one quarter for the adventurers; but out of these last two portions, the commandant claimed a large tithe, which reduced almost to nothing the actual sum received by the gatherers. Since the death of Radàma II. that which formerly should have come to the chiefs and working men of the corvée now is left to the discretion of the governor, who profits by this and increases his revenue.

“To the south of Tamatave, and, it is said, all the way from Cape Ste. Marie, right up to Vòhimàro, there exists an almost continuous belt of copal forests which will develop an enormously rich output.”²

Dr. G. W. Parker gives the following, as some of the most important articles in European pharmacy with their medicinal properties, and the substitutes for them procurable in Madagascar (*Antanànarivo Annual*).

¹ The native name for the gum-copal tree is *Tàndroròho* or *Nàndroròfo*, while the gum itself is named *Sàndaròsy*.

² *Documents*, p. 285.

Name of Drug.	Properties.	Substitute and Remarks.
1. <i>Coffee</i> . . .	Antispasmodic stimulant	Coffee is now cultivated, and is to be had in many parts of Madagascar. Native name, <i>kafè</i> .
2. <i>Tea</i> . . .	Stimulant . . .	There has as yet been no attempt to cultivate tea in Madagascar, but as regards country and climate there seems to be no reason against its introduction. Probably suitable places for its growth might be found to the south or east of Ankàratra. The French priests have introduced a plant called <i>epènat</i> ¹ as a substitute for tea. Its action on the body is similar to that of tea, but its peculiar scent is at first somewhat unpleasant. There is also an epiphytic orchid (<i>Angræcum fragrans</i>) in the forests, an infusion of which acts like tea or <i>epènat</i> . Its Malagasy specific name I do not know. It is one of the <i>Hazo miavona</i> , by which name all parasites and epiphytic plants are designated. The Malagasy occasionally use it instead of tea, as do the people in Mauritius and Réunion, where it is known as <i>faham</i> .
3. <i>Cocoa</i> . . .	Stimulant ; nutritious	Cocoa might be cultivated, as the <i>Theobroma cacao</i> flourishes in Mauritius and Bourbon.
4. <i>Turmeric</i> . . .	Stomachic . . .	Turmeric is found in Madagascar, and is known as <i>tamotàmo</i> .
5. <i>Cardamom</i> . . .	Stomachic . . .	<i>Amomum Danielli</i> is indigenous and called <i>longôza</i> .
6. <i>Ginger</i> . . .	Stomachic ; sialogogue	<i>Zingiber officinale</i> . This is known as <i>sakamalaò</i> or <i>sakaviro</i> . This and the two preceding drugs are procurable in the native markets. They are all cultivated, but the cardamom grows wild and abundantly to the east of the large forest.
7. <i>Stramonium</i> . . .	Narcotic . . .	<i>Datura alba</i> ; abundant, known as <i>ramiàry</i> .
8. <i>Tobacco</i> . . .	Narcotic . . .	<i>Nicotiana tabacum</i> , extensively cultivated <i>passim</i> ; its native name is <i>paràky</i> .
9. <i>Capsicum</i> . . .	Stimulant ; stomachic	Much cultivated and eaten as a condiment ; native name, <i>sakày</i> .
10. <i>Sarsaparilla</i> . . .	Alterative . . .	In the forests are several species of plants belonging to the natural order of Smilacaceæ, any of which may be used instead of the Jamaica sarsaparilla. Their native name is <i>avaòtra</i> .
11. <i>Onions</i> . . .	Stimulant ; stomachic	Introduced, and becoming extensively cultivated.

¹ An infusion of *Spermocoe flagelliformis* (?) called in Bourbon *Ayapana marron*, is used as an emetic, or drunk weak as a *tisane*.—S. P. O.

Name of Drug.	Properties.	Substitute and Remarks.
12. <i>Lettuce</i> . .	Narcotic . . .	The medicinal lettuce, <i>Lactuca sativa</i> , is very bitter, but the sweeter and less narcotic variety has been introduced, and is now becoming cultivated as a salad vegetable by the natives, who call it <i>salady</i> .
13. <i>Carrot</i> . .	Demulcent . . .	Introduced, cultivated (<i>Daucus carota</i>) in and near Antananarivo, and can be bought in the market.
14. <i>Pomegranate</i> .	Astringent; anthelmintic	<i>Punica Granatum</i> ; introduced, its fruit is brought to the market.
15. <i>Tamarind</i> . .	Purgative . . .	<i>Tamarindus indica</i> , the tamarind is found in abundance in the western parts of the island; its native name is <i>madivo</i> or <i>madilo</i> .
16. <i>Marsh Mallow</i> .	Emollient; demulcent.	<i>Althaea officinalis</i> . A common weed near Antananarivo, is useful for poultices; native name, <i>fiandri-lavènona</i> . The fruit of the <i>hòfika</i> , a climbing-plant found in the forest, is also used by the Malagasy for poultices (see chap. vi.)
17. <i>Cotton</i> . . .	Used in medicine chiefly for making collodion	Cultivated throughout Madagascar. <i>Gossypium indicum</i> ; native name, <i>lândihazo</i> .
18. <i>Pepper</i> . . .	Stimulant. . . .	<i>Piper nigrum</i> . Plentiful in the markets as <i>voampèrifery</i> .
19. <i>Indian Hemp</i> .	Narcotic	<i>Cannabis sativa</i> . Native name, <i>rongony</i> .
20. <i>Fig</i>	Mild purgative. .	<i>Ficus carica</i> . Sold in markets as <i>Aviàvimbazàha</i> .
21. <i>Calumba</i> . . .	Tonic; demulcent .	<i>Calumba</i> sp. The medicinal plant grows in the forests.
22. <i>Quassia</i> . . .	Tonic	<i>Simaruba</i> var. The wood of the tree called <i>bèlaky</i> , so also the wood of the trees called <i>àlakamisy</i> and <i>varòngimànitra</i> .
23. <i>Gentian</i> . . .	Tonic	A species of gentian is said to have been used by Dr. Davidson.
24. <i>Horse Radish</i> .	Antiscorbutic; rube-facient	<i>Cochlearia Armoracea</i> . Introduced and successfully grown in Imèrina.
25. <i>Cinchona</i> . .	Tonic; anti-periodic.	The cinchona might be successfully cultivated. There are a few specimens of the plant in Antananarivo. Dr. Parker recommends the Eucalyptus as more astringent, and to some extent antiseptic as well as stimulant.
26. <i>Sarsaparilla</i> .	Alterative	(See No. 10, ante.) The native plant <i>fanòry</i> (<i>Gamphocarpus cornutus</i>) may be used instead of sarsaparilla.
27. <i>Sassafras</i> . .	Stimulant; sudorific.	The plant known as <i>avòzo</i> may be used in place of this.
28. <i>Indian Ball</i> . .	Astringent	A plant in the forest is possibly identical with this.
29. <i>Male Fern</i> . .	Anthelmintic . . .	<i>Nephrodium Filix-mas</i> ; native name, <i>ampàngalahy</i> .

Drug.	Properties.	Substitute and Remarks.
30. <i>Spanish Fly</i> . . .	Vesicant	The fresh leaves of the <i>tòngotràm-boabè</i> (<i>Peucedanum</i> sp.) and the juice of the <i>sòngosòngo</i> (<i>Euphorbia splendens</i>) form good blisters. A species of <i>Cantharis</i> not wholly identical with the medical <i>Cantharis</i> is brought to market.
31. <i>Sago</i> . . .	Demulcent; nutritious	The sago-palm (<i>Sagus farinifera</i>) grows plentifully on the coast.
32. <i>Arrowroot</i> . . .	Demulcent; nutritious	Introduced (<i>Alaranta arundenacea</i>) and cultivated at Tamatave, as well as the so-called Otaheite arrowroot (<i>Tacca pinnatifida</i>), known in Mauritius as <i>tavoul</i> .
33. <i>Salep</i> . . .	Demulcent; nutritious	Orchids suitable for salep are abundant.
34. <i>Castor-oil</i> . . .	Mild purgative . . .	<i>Ricinus communis</i> . Castor-oil is bought in the markets under the name of <i>tserobazàha</i> . The <i>tànantànàmànga</i> (<i>R. communis</i>) is common in all parts of the country.
35. <i>Aloes</i> . . .	Purgative	Aloes, of very good quality, can be bought in the markets. The natives call the plant <i>vakdàna</i> , but the dried juice they called <i>aloèsy</i> .

CHAPTER X.

ETHNOLOGY.

“*Quod genus hoc hominum?*”

(*Æneidos*, lib. i. 539.)

The Malagasy people—Diverse opinions—Dr. Mullens—Von Humboldt—Mr. Crawford—Mr. Cameron—Mr. Cowan—Mr. Sibree—M. Grandidier—Mr. Ellis—Mr. Dahle—Mr. Wake—Dr. Hildebrandt—M. Lesson—Dr. Davis—Arbitrary classification—M. Audebert—M. Barbié du Bocage. 1. *Aboriginal Tribes*: The Vazimba—Cairns, tumuli, and circles—Pigmy race. 2. *Lowland or Coast Tribes*: The Sàkalàva—The Antankàrana—The southern Sàkalàva—The Vèzo and Māsikòro—The Tanòsy—The Bètsimisàraka—The Bètanimèna. 3. *Midland or Forest Tribes*: The Sihànaka—The Tankày—The Tanàla—The Bàra. 4. *Highland or Inland Tribes*: The Hóva—The Bètsiléa. Population—Mr. Pickersgill's *Report*.

Map.—Ethnographical sketch-map after Mr. Sibree.

The Malagasy People.

Diversity
of opinion.

Dr. Mul-
lens's ob-
servations.

THERE has always been a great diversity of opinion among competent ethnologists as to the origin of the Malagasy people who inhabit the island. The late Dr. Mullens insisted strongly that the inhabitants of Madagascar “appear to be a single race, notwithstanding some tradition about *dwarfs*.” Nowhere did he find any tribe, clan, or race in any secluded corner of the land (such as are met with in the hill districts of India, Sumatra, and Borneo), totally different from the inhabitants of the plains or open provinces. Nor did he meet with any portion of the people specially degraded below their fellows, as a conquered and despised race. So far as known, the people of the entire island are in most respects similar to one another; and sixty years ago they stood more on a common level than they do now.

Marked
distinction
between
dark and
fair.

Dr. Mullens acknowledged, however, one distinction which may be drawn among the Malagasy: undoubtedly they may be divided into the dark and fair (comparatively) tribes. From the first, writers on Madagascar have referred to this difference between them. But, in the face of important points of agree-



Lowland (Sakalava.....☐ Betsimisaraka.....☐ Midland & Forest Tribes.....☐ Highland (Hova.....☐ Betsileo.....☐

ment, according to the learned Doctor, "too much has been made of it." "It is well known," he wrote, "to residents in India that low, hot, saline, and malarious districts tend to darken the olive complexion; while dry, open, cooler plains tend to bleach it and render it fair. Now it is the coast tribes of Madagascar, inhabiting the hot, feverish provinces, which have the dark skin; while those which occupy the central plateau, with its bracing air, are, in general, fair. Other considerations must be looked to; and I [Dr. Mullens] find them in the dialects spoken and in the course taken by the movements and migrations of the tribes as they gradually occupied the island. In regard to these matters several mistakes have been made by various writers" (*Twelve Months in Madagascar*, p. 106).

William von Humboldt, the linguist, long since detected the Malay element in the Malagasy language.

William
von Hum-
boldt.

Mr. Crawford¹ in the course of his studies in the geography and philology of Madagascar found a very considerable body of Malay and Javanese words in the Malagasy language; a remarkable circumstance which it was difficult to explain, as the nearest point of the Malayan country was 3000 miles distant. He argued that the people of Madagascar were *not* Malays, nor did they bear any resemblance to them. They were in fact Negroes, but Negroes of a particular description. They were Negroes in the same sense that Portuguese, and Lapps, Englishmen, Germans, and Spaniards were Europeans, and in no other. They were slender in their form, and their facial angle not so acute as that of the ordinary Negro; whilst, again, on the whole, the Malagasy seemed to Mr. Crawford to be incomparably more advanced in civilisation than the people on the opposite coast of Mozambique, although at a distance of no more than 240 miles. A proof of their civilisation was that a single language pervaded the whole island, and this was never found to be the case except where there was a certain amount of civilisation. Another proof adduced by Mr. Crawford in support of his theory (which, however, is not borne out by fact) was, as he stated, that as long as the country had been known, it had been ruled by one authority and tolerably well ruled for Negroes; while, like all Negroes, they were ignorant of letters, for, said he, no Negro nation had ever invented an alphabet.

Mr. Craw-
furd.

¹ See discussion on Lieut. Oliver's paper read at the Geographical Society, 9th February 1863 (*Proc. Roy. Geog. Soc.*, 1863, p. 69).

Malayan
words.

In the Malagasy language Mr. Crawford found nearly two hundred words of Malay origin, all of them genuine Malay words, easily discoverable, although disguised by a foreign pronunciation; but their language was totally distinct, not only from Malay but from every other language of Africa. Mr. Crawford's notion of the way in which the Malay words were brought into Madagascar was this—that a fleet of Malay pirates had been tempest-driven from their own coast and not able to make their way back; that they had been caught in the south-east monsoon which blows south of the equator and had made for the first land which lay in their way, which of course would be Madagascar; that in that way they arrived in sufficient numbers to protect themselves in the first instance against the natives, then afterwards imparted to them a certain amount of instruction, and conveyed to them a knowledge of the cultivation and use of their vegetable productions, and finally became absorbed among them by intermarriages.

Mr. Cameron's
views.

Mr. James Cameron, a veteran worker in Madagascar during the days of the first Ranavalona, propounded an hypothesis that Madagascar was colonised by the ancient Phœnicians in early times.

Mr.
Cowan's
conclu-
sions.

A late writer, Mr. Deans Cowan, who has personally visited the remote portions of Bétsiléó, Tanàla, and Bàra countries, is confident that distinct races co-exist in Madagascar. He states, with confidence, that "the Ibàra, Bétsiléó, and Tanàla are of the same origin—African—and are very distinct from the Hóva. Nearly all that has been written about Madagascar relates to the Hóva and their country, the province of Imèrina, and consequently most of the endeavours to trace this people to a Malay origin are based on the language, customs, and appearance of this tribe. Now the Hóva and Bétsiléó are as distinct as a Hindoo and a Chinaman, and in any attempt to account for the origin of the inhabitants of Madagascar we must take into consideration the Bétsiléó character as well as the Hóva. I submit that the Hóva are without doubt of Malay origin, but I as strongly hold that the Bétsiléó and the aboriginal tribes of Madagascar are of African descent." Mr. Deans Cowan says that all the anomalies as to language and customs are not difficult to explain, but he has not yet published his solution of the complex problem.

Connection
with Afri-
can tribes.

The late Dr. Mullens had previously objected that the African tribes were not navigators, and that the Mozambique

Channel, with its strong currents and stronger south-east winds, must have been, as it still is, a formidable barrier against intercourse between these tribes and Madagascar. He wrote:—"In point of fact, there is no tribe on the island (so far as it has yet been examined) which can be shown to be substantially African, in its language, its features, its habits, its relations to its neighbours. There are pure Africans in abundance scattered about in certain districts on the west, imported through the Arab slave trade; and that African element has tainted the original Malagasy race; but no original and distinct tribe on the island has yet been pointed out as long-settled African colonists; much less can the entire Malagasy people be identified with such a tribe. On the contrary, the three great divisions of the Malagasy hold together, embrace almost the entire island; and their language and tribal customs suggest a totally different direction as to their origin."

Mr. Jas. Sibree doubts as to there being any strongly-marked division between the light and the dark coloured races of Madagascar, and would rather say that the one type shades into the other by gradations almost impossible to be marked off in any exact manner, either by tribal or geographical divisions.

Mr. Sibree
on gradation
of
types.

Dr. Mullens divided the Malagasy into three tribes, starting from different centres and inhabiting separate districts. (1) The *Bêtsimisàraka* tribe and its offshoots, occupying the east coast and its two lower terraces. (2) The *Sàkalàva*, holding the broad plains of the west coast in all its length, and overlapping the upper extremity of the north-east coast. (3) The *Hóva* and their branches, inhabiting the entire central plateau and the flanks of its southern extremity.

Three divisions
adopted by
Dr. Mullens.

"There can be no doubt, however," writes Mr. Sibree, "that while from one point of view a threefold division of the Malagasy tribes can be roughly made, taking another standpoint, that of *language*, they separate into *two* very distinctly-marked groups—the *Hóvas* or northern central tribes forming one division, and the others comprising all the rest of the people, both of the east and west coasts, and in the northern and southern interior provinces. From this fact and also from other circumstances, as well as tradition, there seems much reason to believe that the *Hóvas* (and perhaps some of the lighter-coloured eastern tribes also) are the latest immigrants into the country, and that the other tribes have been inhabitants

Two
linguistic
groups.

of Madagascar for a longer period. It seems certain that the Hóvas have come into Imèrina within a time to which tradition points back, and that they displaced an aboriginal race" (*The Great African Island*, p. 114).

M. Grandidier.

M. Grandidier writes:—"Les habitants de Madagascar n'appartiennent pas plus à une seule et même race que l'île entière n'appartient à un seul roi. Les races caucasique, cafre, mongole se sont mélangées et croisées dans ce coin de terre avec les indigènes. Les autochtones sont facilement reconnaissables sur la côte est où le type s'est conservé plus pur; leur face est ronde et aplatie, leur nez est écrasé à la racine et leur chevelure touffue et globuleuse est '*en tête de vadrouille*.' Les peuples de la région occidentale qui, de temps immémorial, sont en contact avec des nations étrangères, n'ont pas la laide physionomie des autres Malagaches; les navires de la Judée qui venaient jadis à Sofala, les jonques chinoises qui se rendaient à la côte sud-est d'Afrique, plus tard les boutres arabes abordaient souvent sur la côte ouest de Madagascar; aussi y trouve-t-on parmi les hommes libres beaucoup d'individus à type caucasique, à cheveux lisses ou ondulés, à teint assez clair; chez les esclaves, on constate les traces évidentes de croisements fréquents avec les Cafres. Une troisième race bien distincte des deux autres, qui appartient évidemment au grand tronc mongolique, a aussi fait irruption à Madagascar et s'est longtemps conservée au centre de l'île assez pure de tout mélange; ce sont les Hóvas. Des yeux allongés et bridés, des pommettes saillantes, des cheveux lisses et raides, un teint jaune ou cuivré, ne permettent pas d'élever le moindre doute sur leur origine asiatique."

Mr. Ellis.

"There are points," remarks Ellis in his *History of Madagascar*, p. 115, "in which the peoples of Madagascar bear a general resemblance to each other; among these are the following:—The inhabitants are rather below the middle stature, which but few exceed; and their countenances do not exhibit that prominence of features which so frequently distinguishes the European and Asiatic nations. The men are more elegantly formed than the women, in whom there is usually a greater tendency to corpulency than in the other sex. The beards of the men are but weak, and are plucked out in youth. Their hands are not so warm to the touch as those of Europeans, and their blood by thermometer is colder. These appear the chief among the few points in which, physic-

ally considered, there is any resemblance between the several nations. The distinction most strongly marked is that of colour; and this, though presenting slight variations in each tribe, separates the population of Madagascar into two great classes, and is by some supposed to allow of its being traced to only two sources—the one distinguished by a light, exquisitely-formed person, fair complexion, and straight or curling hair; the other more robust and dark coloured, with woolly hair. In one or the other of these classes the several tribes inhabiting the island may be included.

“With regard simply to colour, there are but two distinct races in Madagascar, the olive and the black. But as these have occasionally intermixed there are all possible varieties between them; and in some it would be difficult to affirm to which division they belonged, being as much inclined to one colour as the other. The vigour of health frequently gives a ruddy tinge to the countenance of the olive-coloured race; but this, while it removes them from approximating in complexion to the yellow hue of the Malays, does not give them any resemblance to the copper-coloured Indians of America. With respect to the quality of the hair there are two divisions also—the *tsòtra* (*tso-bolo*), straight, and the *nglta*, curly, or rather frizzly. These have also intermixed; and the same remark applies here as to colour—the frizzly has become almost straight in some cases, and the straight almost frizzly. The above two distinctions of colour and hair do not, however, make two separate classes, but rather four, for there are:—(1) olive-coloured natives having straight hair; and (2) olive-coloured natives with curly or frizzly hair. Besides the two classes just described, there are (3) black having straight hair, and (4) blacks with curly or frizzly hair. But ordinarily, the straight hair is with the olive-coloured; and the curly or frizzly with the black.

Four
classes.

“Besides the distinctions arising from colour and hair, which would exhibit the people in two great classes, the olive and the black, the population of the island may be considered as comprised in four chief or principal political divisions, occupying as many large geographical sections, which are also in a certain sense identical; as the designation of the people and the country they inhabit is frequently the same. These divisions are (1) the Hóva, (2) the Sàkalàva, (3) the Bétziléo, (4) the Bètanimèna and Bètsimisàraka.

Political
divisions.

Numerous
clans.

"In the early part of the reign of the father of the first Radàma, the Malagasy were divided into not fewer than fifty distinct tribes, governed by their respective chieftains, and independent of each other, the chief of each tribe exercising absolute power over the lives, property, and services of his subjects. Since that period the processes of amalgamation have been rapid and effectual, and the principal divisions now recognised are those already named; all the rest are either subdivisions of these or people belonging to one or the other intermixed. That they are all nearly the same, is manifest from their general colour, language, customs, and the names of towns, rivers, hills, and productions.

Distinct
dialects.

"That they are in some measure also distinct tribes is manifest from their dialects, and some peculiar customs. That they have intermingled is manifest from their intestine wars, which have not been exterminating wars, nor wars prosecuted wholly for obtaining slaves for exportation, but wars of conquest, booty, and domestic slavery. They have been in the habit also of wandering or fleeing from one part of the country to another, when pursued by an enemy more powerful than themselves, and settling where there was the greatest prospect of safety, just as the remains of the Vazimba, the original inhabitants of Imèrina, now reside between the Imanà river and the Imànambòlo river, in Ménabé. A greater approximation to general amalgamation will be perceived in the course of a few years, from the constant residence of the Hóva troops at distant parts, in military stations on different parts of the island, as most of these troops either intermarry with the women of the provinces, or live with them in a far less honourable state. The chief divisions already referred to we now proceed to notice; both as they regard the people themselves, and the portions of the country they respectively occupy" (Ellis, vol. i. pp. 118, 119).

Mr. Dahle's
hypothesis.

Mr. Dahle's hypothesis¹ is summed up in the following conclusions he has arrived at after careful investigation:—

Geographi-
cal posi-
tion.

(1.) The geographical position of the countries occupied by original peoples. The island, or more probably only the coasts of it, was first occupied by East African tribes (*i.e.* by

¹ See "The Race Elements of the Malagasy and Guesses at Truth with regard to their Origin," by the Rev. L. Dahle, Norwegian Missionary Society.—*Annual*, No. VII. Also "The Race Elements of the People of Madagascar," by C. Staniland Wake, M.A.I.—*Annual*, No. IX.

the Vazimba and others related to them). There was a series of emigrations, "from the island world in the east," of peoples who took possession of the coasts of Madagascar, conquering the African natives, and afterwards intermarrying and mixing with them to such an extent as to become gradually one people with them, a mixture of African and Malayo-Polynesian elements. The interior of the island was now first inhabited by the African Vazimba, not very strong in numbers, who broke through the forests and took possession of the interior, especially Imèrina. The Hóvas next came from the east, and finding the coasts already occupied by a people, partly of their own race, and being either unable or unwilling to fight with them, proceeded to the interior. There they settled in Imèrina, not mixing with the people of African blood, and as they grew in strength, the Vazimba, who found themselves too weak to resist them, and were too fond of independence to submit to them, quietly retired towards the west.

(2.) Similarity of manners and customs among the different people. The different tribes in Madagascar afford an instance of manners and customs strangely different among different tribes of the same people, where the common language and physiognomy prove the unity of the race beyond controversy (?). The Malagasy have changed their customs considerably in the course of the last half-century, but they are still the same race, and have substantially the same language.

Similarity
of customs.

(3.) The physiognomy of the different peoples. The reliability of the conclusions drawn from this test is not to be depended upon; but as an examination of the physiognomies of the Malagasy people, they are found to represent a mixture of Malayo-Polynesian and African elements.

Physiognomy
of
peoples.

(4.) Language, which, next to history, is the best criterion of relationship. Viewed ethnologically, the facts in question are, writes Mr. Dahle, the following:—(a) That the inhabitants of Madagascar, broadly speaking, are one people from their unity of language, which is well established. (b) This language is closely related to the Malayo-Polynesian, partly also to the Melanesian. But there are many elements in the Malagasy language not to be traced to this source, but must, if it can, be traced to East African sources.

Language.

The Malagasy
one
people.

Mr. Wake, in a paper read in 1869 to the Anthropological Society, supported the opinion that the Malagasy are *related to* the peoples of *South Africa*.

Mr. Staniland Wake.

Dr. Hildebrandt.

The late Dr. Hildebrandt was of opinion that there is "a strong African element in the Malagasy, especially in the coast tribes."

M. Lesson.

M. Lesson¹ was so much struck with the resemblance of the Papuans to the dark people of South Madagascar as to believe that the former had proceeded from this island; and he appears to have been no less struck with the resemblance between the dark Malagasy and the Kaffirs of South Africa.

Negrito element.

The chief difficulty, says Mr. Wake, in connection with the Malagasy is the existence side by side of dark tribes with frizzy hair and light tribes with straight hair, all speaking the same language, and forming apparently but one race. . . . "In the influence of the Negrito element we have probably the origin of some of the peculiarities of the Malagasy, but whether these have been impressed on the Mongoloid people, who form the chief element in the inhabitants of Madagascar, before or after their settlement in the island, is doubtful. That the Negritos existed in Madagascar before the arrival of the Malayo-Polynesian speaking people is extremely probable, and they may have been aided in the formation of the physical character of the Malagasy.

Dr. Topinard.

Dr. Topinard states that the cranial conformation of the Polynesian approaches the Malay type. The Malagasy are less bearded than the Polynesians, and are classed with them as approaching brachycephaly.

Dr. Davis.

Dr. Bernard Davis gives the measurements of a Bètsimisàraka calvarium which is less dolichocephalic than the African, and characteristic of the Malagasy.

It is possible, writes Mr. Wake, that the Malagasy may possess a strong element of the pre-Malay population of the Indian archipelago which Mr. Keane supposes to be Caucasian.

A mixed origin.

"If all the different tribes of Madagascar are from a common region, as one seems forced to conclude from the unity of their language, how is it that such differences exist in colour and physique? . . . May it not be," asks Mr. Sibree, "that we have in Madagascar, as in the Malayan and Polynesian Archipelagos, *two* races represented,—one, an olive or light-brown people closely connected with the inhabitants of Eastern Polynesia; and also a darker race allied to the Melanesian tribes inhabiting Western Polynesia? The mixed character of the

¹ " *Voyage autour du Monde sur la corvette La Coquille, 1822-1825*, by R. P. Lesson.

words comprised in the Malagasy vocabulary seems to favour this suggested mixed origin."

Nearly all the preceding writers whose opinions have been quoted rely on Drury's evidence as reliable; but it should be borne in mind that doubts as to the authenticity of Drury's narrative are now freely expressed (*Antanànarivo Annual*, 1885).

There is, however, a residuum of a few but important words whose origin has not yet been discovered. Can it be that they indicate the vestiges of an extinct autochthonous race which inhabited the sunken islands, which, in remote ages, seem to have extended from Madagascar and the Mascarenes to the Seychelles and Maldives? It is as probable that Malaysia was inhabited by peoples coming from the west as it is that Madagascar should be peopled by distant races from the East. Could it be proved that an intermediate tract of land once existed, and was the original home of an autochthonous race, now submerged beneath the waves of the Indian ocean, it would go far to solve the problem as to the primæval origin of both Malagasy and Malays, which now must ever remain a mystery.

Autochthonous race.

For the greater facility of description, the compiler has adopted the following arrangement of the divisions of the Malagasy people:¹—

Arbitrary classification.

1. The aborigines.
2. The lowland or coast tribes; (a) Western coast, (b) Eastern coast.
3. The midland or forest tribes.
4. The highland or inland tribes.

Otherwise—

1. The Vazimba and traditional tribes.
2. (a) The Sàkalàva; (b) the Bètsimisàraka.
3. The Tanàla and Tankà.
4. The Hóva and Betsiléo.

In a recent address to the Berlin Geographical Society,²

Mr. Audebert.

¹ Following Mr. Sibree's Classification: "Speaking broadly," writes Sibree, "the Malagasy may be divided into three main groups, the eastern, the central, and the western tribes. Of these the Hóvas (north central), and perhaps the Bètsimisàraka (east coast), and some neighbouring tribes, are the lightest in colour (although there are some Hóvas as dark as any of the more swarthy races), then come the Betsiléo (south central), Tanàla (forest tribes of the east side), other eastern tribes, and perhaps the Bàra (southernmost central), while the Sàkalàva are the darkest.

² "The Wild Tribes of Madagascar," by Herr J. Audebert (*Trans. Berlin Geog. Soc.*, Nos. 9, 10, 1883).

Mr. J. Audebert described what he termed "The *wild* tribes of Madagascar." He divides them collectively—both those of (assumed) *Malayan* descent, viz. the Hóvas, and those of (presumed) *African* descent or origin, according to their mode of life—into three classes: (1) the inhabitants of the coast, (2) of the woods, and (3) of the grassy lands and steppe-like wastes of the southern interior. Of all these races, he states, the Sàkalàva are first in point of number, power, and civilisation. The aborigines, or Malagasy proper, according to this German professor, are generally of a dark complexion, though those of direct Arabian descent are very clear skinned, with hard features, broad also high forehead, eyes wide apart, nose flat, lips prominent but not swollen, mouth broad, with splendid teeth. The long rather woolly hair is worn in innumerable plaits, woven, in the case of the women, into shells, smeared with tallow and ashes into the hardness of stone, and very malodorous. In the grassy interior cattle-rearing is the principal industry; on the coast, fishing and the cultivation of rice. In the woods the people live on roots, tubercules, and honey.

M. Barbié
du Bocage.

M. Barbié du Bocage writes:¹ "Les Malgaches, pris en général, se divisent en trois groupes principaux, les Sàkalàves à l'ouest, les Hóvas au centre, et les Malgaches proprement dits à l'est. Outre ces trois groupes, les indigènes se séparent en un certain nombre de grandes peuplades, qui elles-mêmes, en comprennent dans leur sein de moins importantes. Les premières sont au nombre de dix sept.

"On en compte huit sur la côte est, ce sont, en descendant du nord vers le sud:—

1. Les Antankars, dans la province d'Ankàra.
2. Les Antavarts, dans la province d'Antanvarasti.
3. Les Bètsimsàrac, dans la province de Bètsimisàraka.
4. Les Bètanimènes, dans la province de Bètanimèna.
5. Les Antatchimes, dans la province d'Antatsimo.
6. Les Antaymours, dans la province d'Antaimouri.
7. Les Antarayes, dans la province d'Antaria.
8. Les Antanosses, dans la province d'Anossi.

"Les grandes peuplades de la côte orientale sont au nombre de trois:—

1. Les Sàkalàves qui habitent tout le pays s'étendant entre les limites sud de l'Ankàra et la rivière St. Vincent.

¹ *Question de Madagascar*, pp. 68, 69.

2. Les Andraivoulas qui habitent tout le pays au sud de la rivière St. Vincent.

3. Les Mahafales qui habitent la province de Mahafali.

“ Dans la zone montagneuse qui forme le centre de l’île, on rencontre six grandes peuplades :—

1. Les Antsianacs, dans la province d’Antsianaka.

2. Les Hóvas, dans la province d’Ank Hóva.

3. Les Bétsiléos, dans la province du Bétsiléo.

4. Les Vourimes, dans la province du Vourimou.

5. Les Manchicores, dans la province du Manchicora.

6. Les Andronis, dans la province d’Androni.”

I.—ABORIGINAL TRIBES.

The Vazimba.

Mr. James Sibree considers that the numberless cairns which are found throughout Imèrina and Bétsiléo, scattered over the bare downs, and which are regarded with superstitious fear by the people as the graves of the Vazimba, certainly indicate the previous occupation of the central portion of the island by an earlier people, probably an autochthonous, aboriginal race, and concerning whom but scanty information can be derived from the Hóva traditions. Cairns and tumuli.

These traditions, such as they are, contain, according to the same authority, a considerable element of truth. “ There are so many minute particulars preserved, together with the names of several of their ancient chieftains, with details even of their sayings, etc., that it seems likely we have a substantial basis of fact on many points. According to the accounts handed down, the Vazimba were a race of low stature; they had heads somewhat narrow and elongated; they were ignorant of the use of iron; and from their inferiority to the incursive Hóvas in this respect, they were obliged to flee before the superior weapons of their enemies.” A remnant of this tribe was said by M. Guillain in 1843 to yet exist between the rivers Màmambòlo and Tsiribihina. Traditions. With all the other people of that side of the island, they are said to have been conquered by the chiefs who, from the south of Ménabé, advanced north to Ambòngo and Ibòina; whilst the names of six of the so-called Vazimba kings or chiefs are preserved. The last of these is said to have been driven westwards out of Imèrina by

Andriamanèlo. The tradition goes that Lake Itàsy was formed by a former Vazimba hero named Rapèto damming up a river in the vicinity, in order to inundate a hostile neighbour.

Circles in
Bétsiléo.

In Bétsiléo province the heaps of stone and mounds are represented by circles, and both in Imèrina and Bétsiléo any trespass on these heaps or circles is believed to produce illness, which can only be averted by offerings being made at the same grave where the offence has been committed.

Pigmy
race.
Quimos or
Kimos.

MM. Commerson and De Maudave, the latter of whom was governor of Fort Dauphin from 1768 to 1770, have left circumstantial accounts of a pigmy race of people who were said to inhabit the southern centre of Madagascar, in 22° S. lat., about 180 miles north-west of Fort Dauphin. These *Quimos* or *Kimos* are said to have been of lighter colour than the majority of the Malagasy, to have had woolly hair and very long arms. They are also reported to have been very bold in defending their own territory, and to excel in handicraft, and to be of an ingenious and active disposition, with pastoral habits. (See *Voyage à Madagascar*, par M. l'Abbé Rochon, p. 127.)

II.—THE LOWLAND OR COAST TRIBES.

1. *The Sàkalàva or Western Tribes.*

The Sàka-
làva or
western
tribes.

Mr. Sibree, following the conclusions arrived at by M. Guilain, writes:—"The people who inhabit the whole of the western side of Madagascar, and who also overlap the northern and southern ends of the island, are commonly termed Sàkalàva, and are often supposed to be a single tribe of people. This is, however, a popular error, for the inhabitants of this extensive region consist of a number of separate tribes, all having their own name, and, until about 200 years ago, each having its own government.

Northern
and south-
ern Sàka-
làva.

"For more than two centuries the people of the west coast have been divided into two great sections or distinct nations, called respectively the Sàkalàva of Ménabé or of the south, and the Sàkalàva of Ibòina or of the north. But these two nations derive the name they bear in common from a small tribe coming originally from the south-west, and living on the banks of a small river called Sàkalàva, from which they took their name. This tribe being endued with a warlike spirit, and led by chiefs of superior ability, invaded the neighbouring territory,

and incorporated by successive conquests the different populations inhabiting the whole western portion of the island. The southern kingdom of Ménabé was first formed, and very soon afterwards the northern one of Ibòina, both by members of the same family of chiefs, so that the name Sàkalàva came to be loosely applied to all the peoples in the west of Madagascar. Ménabé.

“For more than 170 years these western people were the most powerful in the island. Not only were the coast tribes subdued, but also some of the more inland races,—the Sihànaka, the Bèzànozàno, and even the Hóvas, who then had little power beyond their own immediate territory. The Sàkalàva chiefs procured European arms and ammunition from foreign traders at the north-western ports; and there seems ground for believing that the chiefs who commenced the aggressions on the other tribes had European blood in their veins, a fact which has always given some supremacy in Madagascar. Their government was absolute, and the monarchy hereditary; and there was a class of feudal chiefs holding their land from the sovereign, and forming an order of nobles. Power of the Sàkalàva.

“But towards the commencement of the present century, the supreme power in both the Sàkalàva kingdoms fell into hands much less vigorous and capable than were those by whom they were founded. Meanwhile the Hóvas in the centre were rising into power, led by Andrianimpòina, and then by his son Radàma I. The yoke of the Sàkalàva was soon thrown off, and pretexts for the invasion of their territory were found before long. Although his army met with severe loss again and again, as much through disease and famine as in actual fighting, Radàma never for a moment abandoned his purpose. Some of the chief positions were captured, and then policy came to the aid of the Hóva king. By marrying the daughter of the Sàkalàva king of Ménabé (see vol. i., chapter i., p. 35), he induced him to acknowledge the Hóva supremacy; and as each of the two western kingdoms left their neighbours to fight alone, they were conquered in detail; so that in 1824 the greater part of the western side of the island was reduced to Radàma’s authority. Decadence of the Sàkalàva.

“During the reign of his successor, the cruelty of the Hóvas caused a portion of the northern Sàkalàva to place themselves under French protection, and to cede some of their territory to France. The Bourbon Government accordingly took possession of the island of Nòsy-Bé, and in virtue of their treaty with the queen of Ibòina still lay claim to territory on the Nòsy-Bé.

mainland. For some years past the Sàkalàva appear to have quietly acquiesced in Hóva domination, although once or twice disturbances have occurred. The Hóva authority, however, is slight over a great portion of the western coast, except in the neighbourhood of their chief military posts; and the tribes in the south-west are virtually independent. Owing partly to this fact, and also to their country being farther removed than that of other tribes from contact with Europeans, we know very little yet about the Sàkalàva, and much of their country is still unexplored. They have less settled habits than most of the other tribes in the island, being more a pastoral than an agricultural people; and they do not use rice for food to anything like the extent common with the people of the central and eastern portions of Madagascar, but live on the manioc and other roots. They are extremely superstitious.

Arab inter-
course with
west coast.

"Although there has been much Arab and Indian intercourse with the people of the north-west coast, the western tribes generally are the least advanced of almost all the Malagasy races. They have as yet been hardly touched by European civilisation, nor has education or Christianity made any progress among them; but as a mission station has lately been formed at Mojangà, it may be hoped that some advance will soon take place. The Norwegian missionaries have also a station on the west coast at a town called Mánja, and for some time tried to settle at a small town on the coast of St. Augustine's Bay, but were compelled to abandon their post.

"The Sàkalàva country is much warmer than the central and eastern portions of the island, and it largely consists of extensive plains at only a moderate height above the sea-level. These are, however, intersected by two or three chains of mountains which run in a very straight line north and south; and there is a good deal of land covered with forest."¹

M. du Bo-
cage on the
Sàkalàva
tribes.

M. Barbié du Bocage writes: "La population Sàkalàve de l'ouest se compose des Tsitampiki, des Mivàvis, de Antimarahs, des Antsansas, des Vazembas, des Antimèna; au sud de la rivière Ste. Vincent, habitent les Andraivoulas et les Mahafales, dont les subdivisions sont représentées par les Zafi-Andatchi-aouti, les Mitiriahhs, et les Befanami." And M. d'Escamps says: "Dans la zone occidentale on rencontre les Sàkalàves qui

¹ *The Great African Island*, by James Sibree, p. 132. See also article by Mr. J. Sibree in *Antanànarivo Annual*, iv. pp. 53-65; and Guillaïn's *Documents sur la Partie Occidentale de Madagascar. Histoire politique du peuple Sàkalàve*.

embrassent les trois quarts de sa longueur totale et qui se divisent en Sàkalàves du Bouéni ou du nord, en Sàkalàves de l'Ambongou, du Ménabé ou du sud ; les Antifihérénanes, puis les Mahafales. On appelle souvent les Sàkalàves du Féérègne Andraivoulas ; ce nom, dit M. Grandidier, désigne seulement la famille royale."

2. *The Antankàrana.*

This interesting tribe occupies the extreme northern part of the island. The literal meaning of their proper tribal name, Antankàrana, is "the people of the rocks," and they are sometimes "(erroneously," says Mr. R. T. Batchelor in his notes on this tribe) called Sàkalàva, to which race, however, they have great affinities. Their stronghold of Ankàrana has been described in chapter iii. p. 269. It was captured by some Hóva soldiers, who were sent from the garrison of Ambòhimèrina in order to dislodge Ratsimihàro and his followers, who had taken refuge in this supposed impregnable fortress. On that occasion, by the counsel of a renegade, weeks were spent in hewing steps on the side of the rock most distant from the spot on which the houses of the refugees were.

The Antankàrana.

"The Antankàrana," writes Mr. Batchelor, "a united tribe before their conquest by Radàma I., have since their partially successful rebellion under the leadership of Ratsimihàro split into two great parties. Those of them who, in order to enjoy more security, were content to remain under Hóva dominion and rule, are only to be met with on the eastern coast. They are not to be compared with their cousins on the western coast either in physique or intellect, and are at the same time much less numerous. The whole tribe, however, is only a small one, and cannot number more than 20,000 all told. Those living on the western coast enjoy a good deal of independence, and though subject to Queen Ranavàlona, to whom they profess to pay an annual poll-tax, yet they do not appear to be called upon to do much *fanompàana* (Government unpaid service). French civilisation is certainly making an impression on them, and the sons of their principal people are mostly educated by the Jesuit priests at Nòsy-Bé. Ratsimihàro, the chief of this division of the Antankàrana, holds his court at Nòsy-Mitsio, more by might than by right ; but both he and his adherents have properties and houses on the mainland, to which they frequently

Division of the tribe.

resort in order to look after their cattle and to plant rice. It is the ambition of every man amongst this people to possess an old Sowar musket and a *lākana* (canoe). They know how to make cartridges, and also how to keep their muskets, for I never saw a rusty one during the whole time I was amongst them.

Canoes.

“ Their *lākana* are exceedingly graceful, and though averaging some twenty feet in length, and only two feet across the thwarts in the widest part, they will in these go considerable distances out to sea on their fishing excursions. They are called for distinction *lākam-piàra* (*fiàra* in this instance being the raised seat in the centre of the *lākana* intended for people to sit upon, or to place anything which the owner may be transporting). The western Antankàrana have embraced for the most part a nominal Mohammedanism. They have adopted the fashion of shaving the head, and wear the long flowing dress of the mongrel Arabs, with whom they are constantly coming into contact; but at the same time they tenaciously keep up their own marriage, domestic, and burial customs. The two former are exactly what they used to be in Imèrina before the introduction of Christianity, and therefore are well known to the readers of the *Annual*; the last are somewhat peculiar, and therefore of some interest.

Funeral
ceremonies.

“ The corpse, after being sewn up in an ox-hide, is bound tight with cords so soon as the friends of the deceased think it time the obsequies should be commenced (which is not so soon as might be wished), in order that great quantities of beef and rum may be consumed by the mourners. This marks the second stage in the mourning. Several times every day these cords are drawn tighter, and this process is continued until nothing but the bare bones remain. These are then carefully laid in a *lākam-piàra* with its two ends cut square and covered in. When this has been done the burial takes place. The coffin, or what does duty for a coffin, is conveyed by the friends of the deceased amidst continuous musket-firing to the family cemetery on the east coast, which is a solitary and unfrequented spot on the sea-shore. Very much is thought of these burial customs, and an Antankàrana will travel a very long distance in order to assist at them when being performed over a dead relation. A cup and a plate are placed by the side of the coffin, and every now and then the surviving friends of the dead go in large numbers, and taking rice and rum with them, they hold a feast in these caves and cemeteries, and believe

that the spirits of their dead ancestors and relatives come and join them. Studious care is taken that these coffins are renewed before they have rotted away.

“The eastern Antankàrana appear to hold the religion which the tribe followed when it first came to Madagascar. One Supreme God is worshipped. Anything unusually fine, such as a very tall tree, and every place remarkable in any way, such as a very high hill, a wide plain, a deep valley, or deep water, is always associated with his presence, and regarded in the light of a manifestation of himself to men. At a small village where I passed a night there was a very fine fan-palm, and wishing to obtain some of its seeds I did not hesitate to throw pieces of wood and stones at its top in order to bring some down. One of the villagers begged me to desist, as the tree was *Zànahàry*, i.e. God, adding at the same time that a man who had dared to cut the trunk with a knife had been killed the same day by *Zànahàry*’s anger. All evil of any kind whatever comes from the *lòlo* (ghosts), which are also associated with certain places and spots. These places and spots are generally the scenes of some calamity or unfortunate accident, and are never passed or entered without something being done to appease the *lòlo*. Both on the west and east coast the traveller will find people who are held in great respect by the others, and called *Onjàtsy*. They are a very interesting class, and I am sorry that the information which I procured about them is so meagre. They are the descendants or representatives,—for if what one informant told me be true, the pure *Onjàtsy* are extinct—of the old priest caste in the tribe. The meaning of the name is ‘holy,’ and peculiar power is still supposed by the generality of the people in the north of Madagascar to belong to them: such as being able to perform miracles, and to bless or curse people so as to affect their temporal circumstances. They keep up in their religious ministrations many customs which go to show that in the religion of this people there must have been at one time ideas of some kind of a sacrificial system of worship. These *Onjàtsy* strictly intermarry amongst themselves. They are as a rule bitterly opposed to the spread of Christianity.

Religion of
the east
Antankà-
rana.

“The Antankàrana speak a dialect differing considerably in many words from that spoken by the Hóvas. The *d* and *k* of the Hóva are sometimes changed in the Antankàrana dialect for *l* and *h*. Swahili is also used, especially by the

Provincial
dialect.

western Antankàrana, in their commercial intercourse with foreigners" (*Antanànarivo Annual*, iii.)

3. *The Southern Sàkalàva.*

Vèzo. —The southern Sàkalàva," writes Mr. Walen, "divide themselves into Vèzo and Māsikòro. (See chapter iii., No. 24, Fiarè-nana.) *Vèzo* is the name of the Sàkalàva who live on the coast, —they are the seamen. *Māsikòro*, on the contrary, are the Sàkalàva who live in the interior,—the husbandmen. Both tribes yield obedience to the king in whose dominions they happen to reside. The Māsikòro are more powerful and populous than the Vèzo. The kings, therefore, usually reside amongst the Māsikòro, although frequently making visits to the Vèzo, especially if there is plenty of brandy among them.

Southern Sàkalàva. —The Sàkalàva of the south are a people of strong constitution and fine physique, their colour being similar to that of the Negro. There are amongst them light-skinned people, but these are not entirely of Sàkalàva origin. They have long curly hair, high and broad foreheads, large and deep-set eyes, and wide nostrils, with supercilious airs and bold appearance, having good mental power and easily excited passions, making them rude, wild, and often raging in their conduct. On the whole, the Sàkalàva are a sly, perfidious, brutal, and arrogant people, given to stealing, drinking, fighting, and plundering at every place where they make their appearance. A more thievish people than the Sàkalàva can hardly be found anywhere. One of the best Sàkalàva I ever knew told me that all the Sàkalàva, without exception, were thieves. He said, 'Mangàlatsa ny Sàkalàva iàby, àndraka izàho kòà' ('All the Sàkalàva steal; I myself also').

Treacherous habits of the Sàkalàva. —How the Sàkalàva conduct themselves towards Europeans living in their country we shall now see. On first coming in contact with them one is surprised at their kindness, readiness to help, obligingness, etc., for they are clever in dissembling and hiding their real purposes. After some time, however, when they think they have the foreigner more or less in their power, they begin to show their true character by begging everything they see, and trying to steal whatever comes to hand; and if by this means they cannot accomplish their purpose they will try others. A European is never safe from danger among them. What they dare not do in open day

they will try to do by night. Formerly the ships in the harbours were plundered by Sàkalàva who sneaked on board in the night, killing the sailors or carrything them away as slaves, and robbing the ship of everything which could be taken away, leaving it to become a wreck on the coral reefs. At last they were compelled to put a stop to these cruel practices, the European Governments sending their men-of-war to seek out and destroy those guilty of such depredations. I never heard a Sàkalàva speak with so much respect for anything as for the European cannon and cannon-balls. Several of the latter are still to be seen among them, being preserved to remind them of the terrible days when those very balls fell among them, destroying their villages and compelling the people to hide in the forests. When the robbers dare not commit their depredations openly upon the shore they do so in the forest, from which they also make raids in the night even down to the coast for purposes of plunder. When they do not act as a violent and declared band of robbers against the Europeans, they resort to sly ways of imposing upon them. They appear sometimes as beggars, and enter the European's house as his friends, of course, always with a prince or some other chief man as their head. They seem to think that they have a perfect right to beg from and otherwise trouble the Europeans, for in their opinion foreigners ought thus to pay for the liberty they take in residing in their territories and exercising the privilege of buying and selling, etc.

Tribes of
robbers.

"Presents are expected on account of friendship, all requests being regularly prefaced by a great number of flattering phrases. There is not anything indeed belonging to the foreigner which they do not ask for. And if he does not heed their sweet palaver, but refuses to comply with their demands, they tell him plainly that they make the demand on account of the permission given him to live in their country. If he still continues to refuse compliance they begin a long harangue, exhibiting great oratorical dexterity, in which they tell him out and out that he is a man of worthless character, having neither honour nor good feeling, whom they will have the pleasure of *turning* out of their country by and by. They even go so far as to threaten to kill him, because they say, 'You are our enemy, and do not wish to live on good terms with the king and the chief men.' To frighten the traders muskets are frequently fired by the drunken Sàkalàva princes into the

Presents.

Traders
put to
flight.

traders' yards, the bullets sometimes piercing through the walls and entering the houses. On one or two occasions they have fired even at the traders themselves. The many holes in the walls of several iron stores on this part of the coast give evidence of the scenes which at various times have taken place in the traders' yards. Very frequently the traders in Fihèranga have been compelled to have recourse to flight in order to save themselves from these cruel savages. Nòsy-Vé, a little island near the coast south-west of St. Augustine's Bay, has frequently been their retreat. The island is easily reached from the mainland. There they can remain in security, as the Màsikòro (who are usually the oppressors) cannot navigate a canoe so as to bring them to the island. Owing to the Màsikòro's inability to navigate, the Vèzo, when they wish to apply an abusive epithet to them, scornfully tell them they are but Màsikòro, by which they mean, 'You no more understand how to manage a canoe than a mountaineer or a man from the woods.' The Màsikòro, if assisted by the Vèzo, might reach Nòsy-Vé, but they are afraid to venture lest the traders might, by some mysterious power which they dare not make use of on shore, destroy them in a moment. Occasionally the Màsikòro, especially the princes and the chief men, begin to desire the return of the traders who have fled to the island. Messengers, therefore, are sent to request their return, and an agreement is made by the Sàkalàva princes, with great professions of good faith, to the effect that they will not annoy them any more. The traders then begin business again. This goes on quietly for a short time, when the Sàkalàva recommence their persecution and carry it on in a more vexatious manner than before.

Vexatious
persecu-
tions.

"As with the traders so also with the missionaries. A few of the Sàkalàva, however, have shown much devotedness and kindness to the missionaries, and have proved perfect exceptions to their neighbours. The people in general, however, dislike the missionaries, because they consider them quite useless, as they do not buy and sell like the traders, and do not give presents to all the chief men, but only to the king and a few other chiefs. They also say that the people are killed by their medicines, and that in a short time all the Sàkalàva would be destroyed by them. On one occasion the Sàkalàva, meditating the murder of some missionaries, but not daring to murder them in the face of day, decided to get a native who

Contem-
plated mur-
der of the
mission-
aries.

lived with the missionaries and taught them the language to murder them by putting poison into their food, for which deed they promised him a large reward. But the good fellow, who knew the missionaries to be undeserving of such a fate, and who loved them as his friends, could not be persuaded to do any such thing. He told the missionaries of the plot, and begged them to be cautious, telling them that he would see that no poison was put into their food. On another occasion a missionary, along with two of the chief men, was on a journey to visit the king at a distance from the coast. Travelling on foot in the burning heat of the sun, he was taken so ill with fever that he was not able to move. There he lay helpless and quite at the mercy of his attendants. The night came on, and the village which they had hoped to reach was still far off. The chief men were anxious to reach the king. They therefore cut down some wood and with this prepared a temporary palanquin. They then ordered their sons to carry the missionary to a village near at hand, where they hoped to find rest for the night. The chief men were extremely pleased thus to be able to help their foreign friend in his illness, but more especially to save him from death by the robbers who are constantly lurking in the forest hereabouts. In the villages, where they themselves even do not feel safe, they never left him alone in the night, but, armed with spears and muskets, guarded him against the ferocity of the people. Such kindness among so savage and rude a people as the Sàkalàva is remarkable, and deeply appreciated by the traveller.

“These Sàkalàva live perpetually in mutual fear. People are suspicious even of their own brothers, and nobody can be sure that his nearest relations are not contriving some plot against him, either to sell him into slavery or take his life in order to get possession of his goods. Wherever he goes or stays he must needs have the means of self-defence near at hand. Fierce and savage fights are frequent among the Sàkalàva, and many are in this way killed or maimed for life. A Sàkalàva without gun and spear is a perfect coward; with them he is a brave and courageous man. Very small and trivial matters often cause the people to enter into the most violent quarrels with each other. On one occasion a Sàkalàva boy said to his companion, ‘You are a disgrace to the free and brave Sàkalàva, for who does not know that you have married a slave woman?’ The other replied, ‘You ought to be more

Perpetual
and mutual
fear.

ashamed than anybody else, because you, proud as you are, have married the ugliest woman I ever saw. Then both cried out, 'Let us fight,' and in a moment the duel took place. They fought with spears and muskets, and they speared and shot at each other like two little savages, as indeed they were, the result being that both were dreadfully wounded, and only narrowly escaped with life.

The Vèzo.

"The Vèzo, being few and weak, are afraid to engage in warfare with the Māsikòro, who are both numerous and strong. Should any cause of quarrel arise between them, the Vèzo take to their canoes and get away as soon as possible northwards or southwards, just as the wind blows, from the cruelty of the Māsikòro, who are not able to navigate canoes. It is little trouble to the Vèzo to break up their homes in this sudden manner, for all the property of a family can be carried on a man's shoulders or a woman's head. Their wretched huts in the sand are of very little account, and it gives them no trouble and little concern to leave them. Their most valuable possessions are their canoes, and so they consider them, for they are their only means of escape from their enemies, and therefore each family has its own canoe, which is generally large enough to carry the whole of them and their baggage. Escape is rendered difficult when the Vèzo are in possession of cattle, which, however, is seldom, except when they have incorporated themselves with the Māsikòro, and, as great men, are countenanced by the king. The Māsikòro easily run down to the coast and carry away the cattle of the Vèzo, and it is useless for them (the Vèzo) to think of revenge. At the same time each tribe feels the need of help from the other to enable them to support life. The Vèzo are dependent for rice and other things upon the Māsikòro, and the Māsikòro are dependent upon the Vèzo for salt and fish, etc. On this account it frequently happens that the two tribes live in friendship and mutual goodwill for a long time. They also frequently intermarry, and for that reason the Vèzo sometimes become Māsikòro and the Māsikòro become Vèzo. When the Vèzo have reached a part of the country they would like to retain and dwell in, they do all they can to live on friendly terms with the Māsikòro; but when they do not like the place of their residence, they do not seek their friendship.

Means of escape.

Foreign elements.

"While the Māsikòro are pure Sākalàva, the Vèzo have had during past ages several additions of foreign elements; but

notwithstanding this they are all, without exception, Sàkalàva, and desire to be regarded as such; for to be a free Sàkalàva, following their forefathers' opinions, customs, and deeds, is their pride; and woe to that Sàkalàva who dares to become a follower of the stranger's thoughts and rules of life.

"As to the different independent Sàkalàva kingdoms, they do not stand in the best relation to or upon the most friendly footing with each other, although they consider the people of other tribes as in a sense their compatriots. They are frequently at war with each other, and many and various are the *causæ belli*, for instance, robbing of cattle, quarrelling of the petty princes about hereditary fiefs, insulting remarks made by one prince to another, disagreements about boundary lines, the pretences of this or that king to supremacy over all others, etc. But although the tribes make war against each other so frequently, their battles are not very bloody. If any are killed it is immediately known on both sides, and all become sorrow-stricken. The weeping women stand up to negotiate peace, and these seem by their weeping to be able to subdue the hate and thirst for revenge of the men, and so they cause the war to cease until a new occasion presents itself for commencing hostilities; and they have not long to wait for that. Although they are so violent in war the number of killed is very small. They only fight in spread order, and everybody does his best to hide himself from his enemies' balls, which very seldom take effect at a distance. When danger is near those who are weak run away in good order to escape from the enemy. Nothing causes them to flee so much as the sight of the fall or capture of a brother-soldier. The idea of assisting a wounded brother never enters their minds. One of the reasons, perhaps, for their lack of courage is that they are often compelled to fight against their own relations, who are among the enemies of their king. When war is proclaimed all the people are obliged to follow their king, and enter into warfare for him whether they like it or not; and if any one dared to make an excuse on the ground of not wishing to fight against friends and relations, he would expose himself to the most cruel treatment by the king and chief men. If a warrior thinks it more advantageous to him to join the king's enemies he will frequently become a deserter. The Vèzo, more especially, are given to desertion in this way. The most secure retreat for deserters is the Fiarènana kingdom, which is

Relations
of inde-
pendent
kingdoms.

Constant
hostilities.

Reasons
for lack of
zeal.

the largest and most powerful of all the independent kingdoms, and offers the most secure protection for runaways.

King
Laimiriza.

"The many petty princes in this kingdom (*Fiarenana*), sons or relations of the present king (1881) Laimiriza, gather together as many men as possible for their own individual ends (for they are always fighting with each other), and in consequence the old weak king has no power to carry out his laws. All deserters from other kingdoms are accepted and welcomed by these princes, who like to have large armies ready to do their bidding; to fight, rob, plunder, and do every kind of evil deed for them. On this account the *Fiarenana* kingdom is the most insecure as to life and property of all the independent *Sàkalàva* kingdoms.

Enmity
against the
Hóva.

"Respecting the *Sàkalàva*'s opinion about the other tribes in the island, they consider it possible to keep on good terms with all except the *Hóva* (or *Ambaniandro*), against whom they have sworn a mortal enmity. Even when fighting with other tribes, which is often regarded in the light of pleasure and enjoyment, they do not regard them as their enemies. The only tribe they regard with real hatred is the *Hóva*, as they believe that the *Hóva* is the only tribe which intends to subdue the *Sàkalàva* and seize their country. Rather than become subject to the *Hóva* and give up their independence they would exterminate themselves by warring with each other. The hatred of the *Sàkalàva* to the *Ambaniandro* is of very old origin, and has gained strength from the traditions of their forefathers, which have been handed down to the present generation. This hatred and enmity is shown even in their ceremonies. The *Ambaniandro* are not considered by the *Sàkalàva* to be true Malagasy. In the opinion of the *Sàkalàva* they themselves, and other tribes akin to them, are the only true and original Malagasy, the *Hóva* being Malagasy in a very secondary sense. They regard the *Hóva* as merely a caricature of the *Vazaha* (Europeans), of which the *Sàkalàva* find evidence enough in their light skin and smooth hair, their ability to read and write, and other customs copied from the Europeans. It will not, perhaps, be an easy matter for the *Hóva* to subdue these independent kingdoms; for, however they may disagree among themselves, should the *Ambaniandro* make war upon them they would unite as one man in opposing them. It would not, however, be so very difficult for the *Hóva* to conquer the *Sàkalàva* and occupy their country if they had the use of men-of-war, by

which they could land a strong body of soldiers on the west coast. *The* difficulty would be the terrible and fatal fever so common here. It would be a useless experiment to attempt an attack from the interior.”¹

4. *The Tanòsy.*

There is some doubt whether the Tanòsy should be included among the Sàkalàva or the Bètsimisàraka tribes.² M. Barbié du Bocage mentions “les Antanosses, race en général plus petite et moins robuste, mais en même temps moins indolente que la plupart de celles qui habitent Madagascar.” A portion of the Tanòsy are found to the south of the Bàra, and were visited by Mr. Richardson.³ He noticed among them, in astonishment, that no one carried a gun. There was no elaborate dressing of hair; the men and women were better clothed, and the speech entirely different from what he had been listening to among the Bàra, whom he had just left. He says—“The Tanòsy dialect does not differ so much from the Hóva as does the Bàra. They speak, however, in a *very* high key, and the women, especially, give forth a kind of sing-song tone. A Tanòsy orator, again, sits down when he is speaking, and winds off his periods with an abrupt ‘*He ! izad !*’”

The Tan-
òsy.

Visit of
Mr. Rich-
ardson.

When examined by the Madagascar Committee in Paris, on the 30th May 1884, M. Grandidier stated that the Tanòsy had, to the present day, preserved their independence:—“The Antanòsy,” he said, in reply to a question from M. Dureau de Vaulcomte, “after having been conquered by the Hóvas, whose supremacy they were unwilling to accept, emigrated into the interior, where they are established at some twenty-five leagues to the east of St. Augustine’s Bay, where I have visited them. Indeed, this people had for many years furnished labourers (‘*engagés*’) to the island of Réunion, and when these labourers, after ten or twenty years’ residence in our colony, wished to rejoin their families, which they had left in the vicinity of Dauphin, they were obliged to proceed to the west coast in order to reach their new country, situated in the interior. I

M. Grandi-
dier.

¹ “Two Years among the Sàkalàva,” by the Rev. A. Walen, Norwegian Missionary Society. *Antanànarivo Annual*, Christmas 1881, p. 7.

² *The Great African Island*, by J. Sibree, p. 132. *Lights and Shadows*, Appendix II., by Rev. J. Richardson.

³ “The Tanòsy in this part are immigrants from the neighbourhood of Fort Dauphin, and fought with and subdued the Bàra, driving them northward. I think these Tanòsy are related to the Bètsimisàraka of the east coast” (*J. Richardson*).

have been twice from St. Dennis to Tolia with convoys of these Tanòsy labourers, who were returning to Madagascar, one of sixty and the other of fifty men. They all spoke French, which is not surprising, since they had just served many years at Rèunion, but when once returned to their homes they only use the Malagasy tongue." M. Grandidier has given an account of his visit to the country of the emigrant Tanòsy on the banks of the Ònilàhy river during September 1868, in the *Bulletin* of the Geographical Society at Paris (February 1872).

5. *The Bètsimasàraka or Eastern Tribes.*

The Bètsimasàraka and other east coast tribes.

"If we cross from the Antsihànaka," writes Mr. Sibree, "over the lower lines of forest, we come to the peoples inhabiting the plains of the east coast. These are often all loosely called by Europeans Bètsimasàraka, probably because the chief ports with which foreign vessels trade are in the territory of that tribe. But the Bètsimasàraka, although one of the most important of these eastern peoples, and formerly perhaps the most numerous and powerful of them, are only one of the many tribes found along the eastern coast. From the northern point of Madagascar down to the Bay of Antongil the people appear to be allied to the Sàkalàva, but south of that bay come in succession the Bètsimasàraka (of whom there are two chief divisions called respectively Antèva and Vorimo), the Bètanimèna (a little more inland), the Taimòro, the Taifàsy, the Taisàka, the Tanòsy, and the Tandroy, who reach down towards Cape St. Mary, the southernmost point of Madagascar. There are numerous subdivisions of these tribes as shown in the tabular statement appended to chapter ii., and possibly there are others not properly included in any of the above-mentioned peoples.

Gentle and docile people.

"Of the east-coast inhabitants the Bètsimasàraka are the lightest in colour, with straight hair, and have most affinity with the Hóvas; the Taimòro are much darker and have frizzly hair; the Taifàsy again are lighter coloured than the preceding; and then the more southerly tribes are mostly dark, like the Taimòro. These coast tribes are, on the whole, gentle and docile people, although some of them made a strenuous resistance to the Hóva invasion of their country; but since their conquest they have submitted quietly to the central government. Among some of these tribes, as the

Taifàsy and Taisàka, there exists a much higher state of morals than is found among the Malagasy generally. The Arab influence in this part of the country has already been spoken of in the preceding chapter. Among the Bètsimisàraka there has been some little educational and Christian work going on; but among the more southern tribes hardly anything has been yet done for the people in this direction, the only advance being found in the neighbourhood of the Hóva military posts at the chief towns and ports.”¹

M. d'Escamps writes: “Dans la zone orientale, se trouvent les Antankars, les Antavarts, les Betsimsaracs, les Bètanimènes, les Ambanivoules, les Benzonzons, les Antancayes, les Affravarts, les Antatchimes, les Ant'aymours, les Tsavouaï ou Chavouaïes, les Tsafati ou Chaffates, les Antarayes et les Antanosses. Les Antavarts, les Ambanivoules, les Antatchimes ne sont que des Betsimsaracs. Ceux du sud appellent ceux du nord Antavarts (*c'est-à-dire qui sont au nord*); ceux du nord appellent ceux de l'intérieur Ambanivoules, mot à mot *ceux qui vivent sous les bambous*” (p. 406).

M. d'Es-
camps.

M. Barbié du Bocage remarks: “C'est surtout chez les tribus de la côte orientale qu'ont disparu presque toutes les traces d'origine africaine” (p. 64).

“In stature,” says Ellis (vol. i. p. 130), “the Bètanimèna and Bètsimisàraka resemble the Hóva; and, though in complexion rather darker, are, next to them, the fairest race in the island; their hair is generally frizzly, though not always quite black; their movements are less active than those of the inhabitants of the centre and western parts of the island, and though their limbs are strong and muscular, they only exhibit occasionally the bold and martial courage of the Sàkalàva, or the enterprise, consciousness of power, and industry of the Hóva; though peculiarly distinguished by cleanliness in their houses and apparel, they seem, with comparatively few exceptions, to be degraded in morals below most of their countrymen, and are often the subjects of apathy and indolence in equal extremes. They are, however, in some respects an interesting people. The inhabitants of Ste. Marie call themselves the descendants of Abraham, a designation probably brought by some of the numerous pirates who settled there. The lineaments of European features occasionally observable in the countenances of the Bètsimisàraka and the Bètanimèna may

The Bètani-
mèna.

¹ *The Great African Island*, by Jas. Sibree, p. 131.

probably have been derived from this early intercourse of the natives with Europeans. In the province of Mâtitanana are some people designated *Zâfindraminà*, i.e. descendants of Imana the mother of Mahomet. Jean René, Fisàtra, and Coroller [names mentioned in the Historical Sketch, chap. i.], were half-castes of the *Zâfindraminà* race or *Zâfiramànà*." In connection with these Mr. Deans Cowan describes a stone elephant at Ambôhisàry, a small village about ten miles north of Imahèla on the east coast. Iràbo, the chief of the village, claims to be the direct descendant of Ramanà, who is said to have brought the stone (four feet high and seven long, of a species of soap-stone) from Imàka, his native land.

M. d'Escamps, after remarking on the vivacity, intelligence, and address of the Bètsimisaraka, proceeds: " Parmi les peuples de la côte de l'est, les Betsimsaracs et les Bètanimènes sont les plus connus des Européens, qui ont avec eux, depuis plus de deux siècles, des relations suivies. Ils sont comme leurs voisins les Antavarts et les Ambanivoules grands et bien faits; leur couleur est le marron plus ou moins foncé; leurs cheveux sont en général crépus. Ceux qui les ont légèrement ondulés ont une constitution moins vigoureuse avec des traits plus réguliers et plus délicats; les yeux ont une expression de douceur et de bonté qui inspire immédiatement aux blancs une confiance, dont ils savent fort bien tirer parti. Les Betsimsaracs sont bons et sociables, quoique indolents, et paresseux. Les Hóvas qui les oppriment sont, en général, porteurs de sabres et fusils anglais, à l'aide desquels cette petite tribu menace incessamment ses victimes désarmées et les frappe de terreur, cette circonstance explique l'attitude passive des Betsimsaracs. Les Bètanimènes diffèrent des Betsimsaracs en ce qu'ils sont moins forts, ils sont dans les mêmes conditions vis-à-vis des Hóvas, qui les traitent très durement. Les Affravarts sont une petite peuplade de guerriers, dont la bravoure et l'intrépidité ont été souvent redoutables à leurs adversaires. Les Antatchimes, leurs voisins, sont primitifs et superstitieux, et bien qu'ils n'aiment point voir les étrangers s'établir chez eux, ils accordent au voyageur la plus généreuse hospitalité. Telle sont des tribus chez lesquelles domine encore le sang noir " (p. 409).¹

¹ Mr. Parrett writes: " When I travelled along the north-west coast I could distinctly trace two types of people, the dark (or Papuan?) with thick beards, and the ordinary Malagasy (Sakalava) type. The East Africans who had been introduced were quite distinct from the above."

III.—THE MIDLAND OR FOREST TRIBES.

1. *The Sihànaka.*

The province and country inhabited by the Sihànaka has been described in chapter iii. The people themselves have but recently been known to Europeans. This small colony is supposed by Dr. Mullens to be an offshoot of the Bètsimisàraka tribe. Their dress, ornaments, plaits of their hair, and the necklaces of their women are evidently, he says, derived from the same quarter. "Now, as a people they stand almost entirely alone. On the south lies Ankày, the only district easily accessible; but all the northern part of Ankày is uninhabited; its population are Tanàla and Bèzànozàno, working from the south. Access to the province on the west, east, and north is barred off by the great mountains. In the north-east is the valley of the Màningòry river, the outlet of the lake waters. It is evident that some pioneers ascending this valley from the sea-coast near Fènoarivo discovered the great basin, saw its rich soil and appreciated its capabilities, as the largest number of villages is still in this direction, at the north-east corner, around the head of the lake. From this point they spread southward along the level shores on its east side; they founded the town of Ambàtondrazàka, and, still pressing on, have rounded the south end of the swamps, and turned northward again along the western shore. Other colonists have passed along the northern end of the waters, and the two streams have not yet met, completed the circle, and filled the land. If this view be a sound one, no better place can have been chosen for their first town than the lofty bluff of Ambòhitandriana. To this day they hold constant intercourse with the coast by the valley of the Màningòry (?) But if they be Bètsimisàraka, how came they to change their name? They did so for a simple but sufficient reason, derived from their new position. The word *hànaka* is an old Malagasy word for 'lake'; *Sihànaka* denotes many lakes and pools of water. The colonists appropriately gave this name to their new home; and for themselves they became Antsihànaka *Lakers*, the Bètsimisàraka of the Lakes. Here they remained for many generations, an isolated people; independent, indeed, but ignorant, superstitious, given to charms, magic, and witchcraft, and greatly addicted to drink. Impòinimèrina, the Hóva con-

The Sihànaka.

queror, partly conquered this tribe, and in 1823 his son, Radàma I., completed the conquest. The last stand the people made was on the island of Anòsizanaka, under the northern hills. To get at the island, Radàma placed his guns and soldiers on rafts. The rain fell in torrents, rendering the guns and muskets useless, and the first attack failed. Some of the Hóva soldiery fled, and, according to the inexorable laws, these fugitives were burnt alive."¹

A young man named Rabè, a slave, whose freedom was purchased by Mr. Hartley's congregation, was sent among these people as a preacher, and from his account the following notes are taken as to the people and their customs:—

Rabè's account of the Sihànaka. Their appearance and dialect.

"The origin of the Sihànaka is still held in traditional remembrance by them, for they are said to be a mixture of Hóva and Bèzànozàno (the tribe inhabiting the Ankày plain or valley to the south). For in former times, while there was still no settled government in Imèrina, many Hóvas fled away northward to Antsihànaka, and the families in Imèrina also drove others to go there. And it was so with the Bèzànozàno; they left their unproductive soil in Ankày, and went northwards to the more fertile country of the Sihànaka. And thus was formed the Sihànaka tribe. In colour of skin the majority are not very different from the Hóvas. And their dialect may be called old-fashioned Hóva; for it sounds provincial and broad to us, and some of their words are perfectly different; and yet still the mass of the language is undoubtedly Hóva." [The differences between the two forms are described by Rabè, and not entered into here.]

Occupations.

"Their occupations are chiefly tending cattle, growing rice, fishing, and making *tòaka* (rum).

Cattle tending.

"Almost every family keeps cattle, save the very poorest. Tending cattle is their chief occupation; and there is nothing the people like better than to follow their herds, and camp out in the pastures with their wives and children. The day of cutting the ears of the young animals (so as to distinguish them from those of the queen) they keep as a day of rejoicing, killing oxen and feasting. But yet very few milk their cattle, for they prefer the broth from fish to milk.

Rice planting.

"As has been already said, there is a large extent of rice-ground under cultivation; but the people do not dig the soil

¹ See *Twelve Months in Madagascar*, chap. viii. "The Sihànaka Province and People," p. 261.

or transplant the rice, as is the custom in Imèrina, but cultivate their fields in the following way: First of all, they make a number of low earthen banks (called *tandràno*), which are not intended to divide off the different properties, but to hold the water, those having rice-grounds on the same level making but one of these *tandràno*. That having been done, the oxen are driven round and round over the ground to be planted, over which the water has been allowed to flow and stand a few inches deep; and when the soil has been well turned over, so that no grass is left standing, then the rice is sown, and there it is left until it is reaped; for they neither transplant it, nor weed the ground, nor look after it in any way, as is customary here. One is reminded of our Lord's parables (Matt. xiii., Mark iv., Luke viii. 5, etc.) when seeing their customs, because, when the sower has but just left, a cloud of birds come and eat up the grain, which does not sink into the ground; and, when it grows up, some grows among thorns, for there is a species of thorn called *ròtra* which springs up in the midst of the rice-fields, and is far more vigorous than the rice; and besides this kind are numerous others. When the rice is ripe it is reaped, and heaped together in round stacks, which sometimes are of a considerable height and size. After a time, when it is thoroughly dried, it is taken from the top and threshed out with a stick. Men only thresh rice, from two upwards, according to the size of the stack, striking in regular turns. Fresh sheaves are continually added to the heap, the chaff and grain falling through the straw to the ground; after being sifted, to separate the chaff from the grain, the rice is carried home to be stored, the straw being burned or left to rot to manure the ground, for they do not use straw as fuel. They do not store the rice in pits, as in Imèrina, but in baskets (*sòmpitra*), which, however, are called there *vòlovàry*, and are made of zòzòro plaited together and set up much like a high circular rice-basket, and in these the rice is stored. In the Sihànaka villages these rice-stores are kept outside the house or in the fields, but in the villages where there are Hóvas they are kept in the house for fear of being stolen. The people are not in the habit of measuring the rice itself, but they reckon it by the number of these stores or *vòlovàry*; for the richer Sihànaka have seven or eight or more of such stores, each of which is from twenty to thirty feet in diameter, and about eight feet high.

Fishing.

" Catching fish in the Alaotra and in all the numerous streams and pieces of water is the business of both men and women. The men angle for eels, the women dredge for small fish in the shallow water (using a kind of basket like a large sieve), and the little children fish with bait. All the children have a tiny canoe, in which they go fishing in the early morning from six until nine o'clock, when they all return home, for their small canoes would be upset by the wind which rises as the day advances. The women catch by dredging small fish called *tôho* and shrimps. These they dry in the sun, sew up in baskets, and take for sale in the markets, some being even brought into Imèrina. A fish called *fôny* is prepared for sale by a number being strung together through the gills on a piece of fine cane or reed, and then singed over a fire so as to dry them quickly. The fish caught in these different ways are not only consumed by those who catch them, but are sold in the markets, many becoming wealthy by their sale. There are some who own from ten to twenty slaves, and from a hundred to two hundred cattle, all bought from the proceeds of the fish they have sold. So that often when a person is conceited about his property, they will banter him by calling out, 'What's the price of a sprat?' (lit., a *fôny* or *taràraka*, one of the smallest fish). Until very recently all the sales were done by barter, exchanging fish for cloth or rice, etc., but money is now mostly used. It is their custom for the men not to bring home what they have caught, but to leave it by the waterside for the women to fetch.

Lake dwellings.

" All round the Alaotra fishing is the chief occupation of the people. But there is a village called Anòrohòro, the inhabitants of which do nothing else. It is situated among the zòzòro and rushes to the south of the Alaotra, and the people there are most curious in their habits, for they are almost like wild men, and extremely superstitious. They are greatly addicted to astrology and observing lucky and unlucky days. The year they divide into twelve months, some months being good and others bad, some powerful and others weak; each month also they divide into a number of parts from the morning to the evening; and if any stranger comes to them on a day which they consider unlucky, or on one of the divisions of the day or of the month which is of bad omen, they will not allow him to enter the village, but make him remain outside, and there they bring him food. Should he, however, per-

sist in coming in they say he will certainly come to harm, either dying in the town or being so ill as to lose his senses, or will be lost and not find how to advance or retreat, becoming hopelessly adrift amongst the rushes on the water. For there is no road to this village passable on foot; one must go by canoe, and even this road is difficult to find, for it is in the midst of the dense zòzòro, winding about so that the village is not seen until you are close upon it. So the people there have no intercourse with any others except upon a certain day, when they go out to sell the fish they have caught. Their rice-grounds even are amongst the reeds and rushes, and the market they go to is one by itself by the waterside, as one emerges from the dense zòzòro. In the rainy season, when the water rises, it enters into the houses of these people; and this is what they do then: They put together several layers of zòzòro so as to make a kind of raft, so that as the water rises this raft rises upon it too; and upon this raft they make their hearth and beds, and there they live, rising and falling with the water, until the rainy season is over and they can live on the ground again. On account of their isolation from all others these Anòrohòro people are more uncivilised than even the majority of the Sihànaka, and they have quite a different dialect from them.

“Most of the houses are made of zòzòro and reeds; there are a few made with upright wooden planking (*trànokòtona*), but only those belonging to the wealthy. The majority are of zòzòro, and the very poorest of reeds. The houses differ from those in Imèrina in having a window to the east, and on the western side the door is to the north and the window to the south (reversing their positions in Hóva houses). The putting up of the framework of the house and door and window frames is the share of the men; but the filling in of zòzòro and the matting and finishing it off is the women's share. Both the floor-mats and the lining of the walls are all of the fine mats (*tsìhy hìsatra*); the houses have no divisions, the hearth being at the south-west corner (where the door is in Imèrina), the fixed bedstead, with the head to the north, at the south-east corner (called in Imèrina the ‘fowls’ corner,’ as they roost there, the fixed bedstead being at the north-east corner), and the space between the hearth and the bedstead being the place of honour where the master of the house sits. (In Hóva houses the north-end, *eo avàra-pàtana*, ‘north of the hearth,’ is

Dwellings.

the place of honour.) When the food is cooked the mistress of the house serves out the *laòka* (meat or vegetables eaten with the rice), although she may have a number of servants.

"All round the house, just under the top of the framework, there is a row of shelves fixed, something like bookshelves, sometimes, however, occupying only three or two of the sides. On these are arranged covered baskets placed in order; and if there are two rows, earthen dishes with a raised foot or stand are placed on the upper one, and the baskets on the lower one. North of the centre post two pieces of wood about the size of a spear-shaft are hung about a yard apart, and on these a number of mats rolled up are always to be seen. The plaiting of mats and baskets and making the earthen dishes is the business of the mistress of the house, assisted by her female slaves, for it is considered a disgrace to buy such things, and it is the men's business to get wood from the forest, and not to buy it. The east side of the house from north to south is considered the upper part, and the west side the lower, so when visitors enter the house they ask them to advance to the east side to sit down.

Dress.

"Most of their *làmbas* are of coarse *rofia* cloth, but the young girls wear unbleached and dark blue calico. The *làmba* they call *sèmbo*. The women wear some kind of jacket or skirt, but the men wear a *kitàmby* or cloth wrapped round the loins. The *làmba* worn by the women is called *làmba salòvana*, and is a cloth sewn together at the ends, into which they get like getting into a bag, but the men's *làmbas* are folded round the body, and the end thrown over the shoulders as is the Hóva custom. They never wash their *làmbas*, for they think that would soon wear them out. It should be said, however, that this is chiefly the custom of those who do not mix much with the Hóvas, and who have as yet been little affected by instruction or by Christianity" (see *Antanànarivo Annual*, iii.)

2. *The Tankày, or Bèzànozàno.*¹

The Bèzà-
nozàno.

"The Bèzànozàno are known by different names, some of which they accept among themselves, and others which are given them by the people of neighbouring provinces. First they are known by the name *Trànomiànatsèmovòdy*. This they

¹ "The Bèzànozàno, or Bush People," article by the Rev. P. G. Peake, L.M.S. *Antanànarivo Annual*, No. iv. 1878.

get from the Sihànaka who inhabit the valley directly north of them. The northern boundary of the one and the southern boundary of the other is the watershed of both countries. One set of streams run to the north into the Sihànaka country and form Lake Alaòtra, which has its exit to the north-east and unites with the river Màningòry near Ivòngo. The other set of streams, forming the Mangòro, flow south, passing through the middle of the country of the Bèzànozàno. With this river all the smaller streams in the valley unite excepting (1) the Ivòndrona, which passes out to the north-east, and flows into the sea a few miles south of Tamatave, and (2) the Isàhanitàndra, which rises south of Mòramànga, runs north-east until it joins the Isàhamòrona, and finally unites with the Ihàroka near Imàrovàto west of Andèvorànty. The Mangòro continues its course southward to about 20° S., where it is augmented by a very considerable river called Ònivé (this latter stream takes its source in the Ankàratra range south-west of Imèrina), and flows directly eastward, joining the sea south of Bètsizaraina. From these two watercourses the two tribes give each other their names; the Sihànaka call the people to the south *Trànomiànatsimovòdy* (i.e. 'by the waters going south'); and the people at the south call the Sihànaka *Trànomiànàvàrabòdy* ('by the waters going north'),—names which are used either for the land or for the people.

"They are also called *Ankày* and *Tankày*. These names are given them by the Bètsimisàraka and the Bètanimèna, who live to the east of them, because great portions of the Bèzànozàno country are free of forest and open, which they call *hay*, and the people Ankày and Tankày. The country of the Bètsimisàraka and Bètanimèna is, on the other hand, full of forest, and they have little open country for planting rice, it being necessary for them to chop down and burn (*mitèvy*) the bush and forest on the hill-sides before they can plant the rice—a work which is not necessary in the Bèzànozàno country. For this reason the Tankày call the country of the Bètsimisàraka and the Bètanimèna *Antèva*, and the people *Antaiva*. Both seem very appropriate names, though neither of them like to be so called, as each is taken as a sobriquet. Some understand the words Tankày and Ankày to come from the root *hay*, 'burnt,' *hay* being often used in such cases, as *hain-tràno*, *haïntanèty*, and think that the open country of the Bèzànozàno was covered by forest in times gone by, which has been cleared

Tankày.

by burning, but that is hardly probable, because the formation of the valley indicates, on the contrary, that it was formerly covered by water. Others, again, are of opinion that the word Ankày comes from the root *hàhy*, 'dry,' exposed to the sun, because there is little forest *comparatively* in the Bèzànozàno country." Mr. Richardson, however, in his Dictionary, shows that the word Ankày comes from the root *hay*, adj. and s., open, exposed, an exposed situation, an open space near a forest or surrounded by forest. Thus, *Tàny hay*, open country on the borders of the forest.

"A third name by which they are designated is *Bèzànozàno*. This is the name of the *tribe*, and not of the country, and they themselves appreciate it, but cannot give a very clear idea as to its derivation. Some *péople* imagine that this name is derived from the fashion in which both men and women do their hair, which is plaited in innumerable long narrow plaits, hanging loose about the head like loose curtain fringe, and called *làva-mizànozàno*. This cannot hold good, because most of the tribes at a distance from the centre of the country dress their hair in this fashion. The name Bèzànozàno is more likely to arise from the fact that the people live between the forests (there being forest on the east and west of them, and patches of brushwood and forest scattered up and down the valley), the word *zànozàno* meaning small trees or brushwood. The people of Imèrina also speak of them as living *ambàny ràvinkàzo* ('under the branches'), hence they may very appropriately be called Bush people; or Bèzànozàno."

Bush
people.

3. *The Tanàla*.¹

Forest
tribes.

To the east of the interior plateau runs the line of dense forest dividing the highlands from the maritime plains, and separating the Bètsiléo and Bàra from the east coast tribes. Here, amongst these almost impenetrable woods, live the Tanàla, or Forest people, as their name implies (*àla* "forest"). They stretch over an extent of forest region about 200 miles long but only a few miles in width, many of their villages being perched upon lofty hills, amidst the trees.

The northernmost of the people acknowledge the Hóva

¹ "Tanàla Customs, Superstitions, and Beliefs," by Dr. A. Davidson, *Antanànarivo Annual*, 1876; *Notes of a Journey to South-East Madagascar*, by Jas. Sibree; and *The Great African Island*, by Jas. Sibree, chapter vi.

supremacy, and were ruled, till lately, by an old chieftainess named Iòvana, whose residence was Ambòhimànga. Many of the southern Tanàla are independent, especially those of the district called Ikòngo. The people here have never been conquered by the Hóva, having successfully resisted them more than once. Their chief town, Ikòngo, is situated on a lofty and almost inaccessible mountain, on which is a large space for cattle and rice. It is well watered by a stream of considerable size. There are, however, no residents, except the guards, who are changed annually. There appears to be no ascent except by long ladders of creepers, which are let down and drawn up by the garrison. They are exceedingly jealous of this mountain, and no stranger is allowed to ascend it.

Rock-for-
tress of
Ikòngo.

Ratsiandraòfana rules over the Isàndrabè and the Imàro-hàla, but the kings of Imànambòndro, Ivòhitròsa, and Imànanàno are subject to him. The Imànanàno district, which is perhaps the most populous of all the Tanàla tribes, is occupied by the people called Ampidòngy, who revolted some thirteen or fourteen years ago against the Zàfiràmbo dynasty, and have formed themselves into a small republic ruled by a few petty chiefs. South of this division there are the Ampèlafà and the Taivòndro, but these, although belonging to the same family as those already mentioned, are not reckoned as being pure Tanàla. The family of the Zàfiràmbo do not claim to be natives of the country, and in all public declarations this is generally stated. Their origin is very uncertain, but they claim to be the descendants of a family of adventurers who at one time settled on the east coast. From these adventurers came the Zàfimanèly, who now rule over the greater part of the Bàra, and the Zàfiramanà, who rule over the coast tribes at Mānanjàra and Māhasòra, and the Zàfiràmbo already noticed. These families of rulers claim for themselves the sole right of taking life, both of animals and men, and, as a sign of royalty, they only are permitted to wear the red cap and use chairs. They generally intermarry amongst themselves, and hence, by mutual help, they maintain supreme authority over the Bàra, Tanàla, and south-eastern tribes.

Petty
chieftains.

Another equally impregnable position of the Tanàla is at Ivòhibé, also a lofty detached mountain with natural scarped defences.

Ivòhibé.

The Tanàla people are probably allied with the neighbouring Bétсилéo. (See *ante*, chapter iii. p. 254.)

4. *The Bàra.*

The Bàra.

Proceeding farther south, through the centre of the island, we come next to the Bàra people, about whom, until very recently, hardly anything definite was known. But, a Hóva army having passed through part of the country in 1873, some information was obtained from the native officers about them. In 1876 two English missionaries made a journey through the eastern part of the province; and in the following year a journey across the Bàra country to the south-west coast (St. Augustine's Bay), and attended with considerable peril while among a west-coast tribe called Vèzo, was made by the Rev. J. Richardson, who has contributed some valuable information about the Bàra and their country in his pamphlet entitled *Lights and Shadows; or, Chequered Experiences among some of the Heathen Tribes of Madagascar*. These people inhabit a series of undulating plains divided by lofty ranges of hills, forming the most southerly central portion of Madagascar. The area of their country is perhaps about 20,000 square miles. They appear to be in a much more uncivilised condition than most of the Malagasy tribes; they are divided into a number of petty states, which are perpetually at war with each other, and the Hóvas have hardly any authority over them. They are distrustful, suspicious, and churlish, and not very hospitable or friendly to strangers; they are also very superstitious and immoral, purity and chastity being unknown, and in speech and manner they are rough and filthy in the extreme. They have far less dexterity in manufactures than either the Hóvas or the Bétsiléó, and they are mostly ignorant of the use of money.

A Bàra
warrior.

Mr. Richardson gives the following graphic picture of a Bàra warrior:—"His hair is done up into knobs of fat, wax, and whitening, numbering from ten to one hundred and twenty; and on the crown is a chignon of the same materials, about the size of or larger than a cricket ball; each knob is impacted against the other, and all have the ring of a hard wax ball. On his forehead or temples he carries his large charm or round shell, about the size of a crown piece, called a *fèlana*. Round his neck he carries a number of beads of various sizes and a few small wooden charms. In his ears he will have rings or pieces of wood, sometimes sticking in the lobe of the ear and

sometimes hanging down like ear-drops. Hanging round his neck and resting on his breast he carries a circular charm about six inches long, covered with innumerable small beads with two or more long ones at the end. The stock of his gun, a flintlock obtained from the traders on the coast, is covered with brass-headed nails, varying in number from forty to two hundred and twenty. His spear-heads—for he generally carries two or more—are very bright and well tempered, and in the shaft, or where the shaft is inserted in the head, rings of brass are worked in. His belt, which is sometimes six inches broad, and powder-horn, his cartridge-box and tinder-flask, are decorated with brass-headed nails to the number of a hundred and twenty, and each one the size of a shilling, or even a florin. Hanging from the shoulder and resting on his right side he carries his scarf of charms. Round his loins he wears a few yards of cloth, coloured or plain. Slung on his gun are a pair of sandals, and thus equipped he stands ready for any fight. . . . What he thinks: ‘Give me my gun, my powder and ball, my spear; leave me my rum, my wives, my oxen, and my king; let me rob, plunder, kill, and destroy anything or anybody I please. Let me despoil every man, and carry away any man’s cattle, his wives, his children, his slaves, to my heart’s content. Let no man molest me; and then, who cares who governs the country!’” (pp. vii. viii.)

Neither education nor Christianity has yet obtained much influence among this degraded people, but something is now being done to enlighten the easternmost portion of the Bâra.¹

Degradation of the Bâra.

IV.—THE HIGHLAND TRIBES.

1. *The Hóva.*

“At the head of the Malagasy tribes stand the Hóvas,² who are now by far the most advanced of them all in civilisation,

The Hóvas.

¹ See also “Rough Sketches of a Journey to the Ibàra,” by George Shaw. *Antanànarivo Annual*, 1876; *The Great African Island*, by J. Sibree, p. 126; *Lights and Shadows*, by the Rev. J. Richardson, Appendix I.; and “The Western Ibàra and their Customs,” *Antanànarivo Annual*, 1876.

² “The first and most important race,” wrote Ellis in 1838, “is the Hóvas, who inhabit the province of Ankòva. They have in every respect the pre-eminence and possess the entire sovereignty over the greater numbers of the other provinces. From Ankòva and from Vâkinankàratra the army of Radàma (by which the greater part of the island was conquered, and by which the conquest is main-

enlightenment, and intelligence, as well as in their political position. They occupy the central province of Imèrina, and from this vantage ground they now dominate a great part of the interior of Madagascar, all the eastern portions of the island, and parts of the north-west. For many centuries, however, the Hóvas were only one among the many tribes inhabiting the country, and their power did not extend beyond their own central region; for in Imèrina itself there were numerous petty independent sovereignties up to a comparatively modern period, and even within the present century they were tributary to the Sàkalàva chieftains. But during the latter portion of their time of subjection to the western tribes, the kings from whom the present Hóva royal family are descended were gradually consolidating their power by uniting the petty states of Imèrina into one kingdom, so that an aggressive policy was begun by Andrianimpòina, father of Radàma I., and carried on by Radàma himself (1810-1828). The Bétsiléó people in the south were obliged to submit; the neighbouring peoples in Imàmo and Vònizòngo were overpowered; then the Sihànaka to the north, and some of the east-coast tribes. A treaty made by Radàma with the English gave him additional power, through his obtaining European drilling and organisation for his troops, as well as firearms and ammunition. With these powerful aids to success he threw off all allegiance to the Sàkalàva, invaded their country again and again, and by a mixture of force and diplomacy obliged them to submit, so that Radàma from that time assumed the right of sovereignty over the whole of

tained), was exclusively formed; and the island may therefore be regarded as held in subjection by the Hóvas. The army was in the first instance formed at Antanànarivo, and afterwards augmented from other parts of the province. The use of the word Hóva, though generally employed to designate the olive-coloured race, requires further explanation. First, as to Ankòva, or the country of the Hóvas. This is the principal residence of the olive-coloured race, and as they seem to be the proper and original Hóvas they give name to the district where they reside. But these olive-coloured are not the only inhabitants of Ankòva. There are quite as many who are black, but who are also called Hóvas, from their residing in Ankòva; in fact, there are comparatively few who are not black residing out of Imèrina, and Imèrina forms only one division of Ankòva (see chapter iii.); and in Imàmo, Mandridràno, Vònizòngo, Valàlafòtsy, and Vàkinankàratra, a large majority are black. Yet in a restricted sense, all these, as belonging to Ankòva, may be called Hóvas. Hence, then, the race of Hóvas (olive-coloured) resides in Ankòva, and gives name to the district; but as all are not olive-coloured Hóvas in the district, although black they are called Hóvas from residing in Ankòva. There is, perhaps, considerable reason for thinking that the Hóva race may be a colony of Javanese" (*History of Madagascar*, vol. i. pp. 121, etc.)

Madagascar, a claim which his successors have always insisted on.

“The same aggressive policy was carried on, often with great cruelty, in the south-eastern parts of the island by Ranavàlona I., who succeeded Radàma in 1828. But the Hóvas have never been really masters of the whole of Madagascar, and probably a third part of the island to the west and south is independent, and their authority is only slight over many other distant parts of the country. It is most fully acknowledged in the central and eastern provinces.

Aggressive
policy.

“There is no doubt that the Hóvas have a greater ability than the other tribes for taking a leading position. They can rule because they can obey; and to this faculty of obedience to authority, organising power, and united action, they owe their present position in the country, as well as to their having had kings of such remarkable energy and intelligence as Radàma I. and his father.

Ability.

“For twenty-five years, during the reign of Ranavàlona I., the country was as much as possible isolated from all foreign influence; trade was shut out, and Christianity cruelly persecuted. But since the death of that queen in 1861 great advances have been made by the Hóvas, especially under the government of the present benevolent sovereign, Ranavàlona II., and her sagacious and powerful prime minister; education and civilisation have greatly progressed, and enlightened views on morals, humanity, and religion, have, through the teaching of English missionaries, chiefly of the London Missionary Society, made wonderful advances, and are quietly revolutionising society in the central provinces, as will be detailed more fully in a concluding chapter.

Isolation.

“It may be remarked, also, that the cooler bracing climate of the country where the Hóvas dwell has doubtless exerted considerable influence in making them what they now are. Imèrina is the most elevated region of the interior of Madagascar, averaging about 4000 feet in height above the sea-level. The soil being generally far less fertile than it is in the warmer coast plains, more energy and continuous labour are needed to procure the necessities of life than is the case among most of the other tribes; and all this has produced a more robust and self-reliant spirit among the Hóvas, who have at length become, what was evidently their destined position, the dominant tribe of the island. Now that Christianity is

Climatic
influence.

beneficially influencing the political conduct of the Hóvas, an extension of their authority over the whole of Madagascar would probably be very beneficial to the country.

"The district which they inhabit is perhaps about eighty miles long from north to south, and about sixty miles from east to west."¹

"The divisions are extremely numerous and intricate, involving not merely divisions of soil, but classifications of people and families; and it not unfrequently occurs that the same is applied both to place and people, though perhaps, as a general rule it may be remarked that the names of villages belong to them strictly as such, but names of districts involve primarily the idea of clans, families, or classes of people. Sometimes the same clan occupies a portion of soil in different districts, and sometimes a district is designated by the name of the principal class or clan to which it originally belonged.

"To illustrate this view of the subject, it may be inquired with regard to its locality, 'Where is the capital situated?' and the reply may be, 'In Vòromahèry.' 'Where is Vòromahèry?' 'In Avàradràno.' Here Vòromahèry, though strictly an heraldic designation, and therefore belonging to a clan, is yet attached to a place, as a portion of the territory called Avàradràno. In other cases it designates necessarily the clan, for example, 'Who are summoned to attend such a kabàry or public assembly?' It may be answered, 'All Vòromahèry;' that is, all the people falling under that heraldic designation, whether residing in Avàradràno or any other district. Or it might be asked, 'Who are ordered to the forest for timber for such a service?' and the reply may be, 'All Avàradràno;' and in that case all the clans belonging to Avàradràno would be intended. These divisions and subdivisions are most tenaciously and rigorously maintained by the people themselves, and by the Government. Proportions of public service to be performed by the people are most scrupulously regulated by reference to these divisions. Quotas of men to be furnished for the army, and of youth for the schools, are fixed on by the Government, agreeably to the arrangement of the people into clans, a mode of proceeding, however, frequently involving great inconvenience, and which must, as civilisation advances, ultimately fall into desuetude. It might be adapted to the feudal state of Madagascar, when the island was split into innumerable petty and

¹ *The Great African Island*, by James Sibree, chap. vi., p. 123.

independent states ; but it is unsuitable for an empire, which requires its services rather by convenience of localities than the prejudice of clans and families" (*Ellis*, vol. i., p. 88, 89).

The language of the Hóvas may be considered as the standard of the Madagascar dialects. It is also the most copious, and, being the least nasal, is the most pleasing to the ear of a European. Its copiousness may in part be accounted for by the constant influx of strangers as well as the soldiers returning from the different provinces after a campaign or a season of garrison duty, bringing with them, in many cases no doubt without being aware of it or intending it, valuable additions to the stock of the *Ténin-Kôva*, the language of the Hóvas. Language.

In person the Hóvas are generally below the middle stature. Their complexion is a light olive, frequently fairer than that of the inhabitants of the southern parts of Europe ; their features rather flat than prominent ; their lips occasionally thick and projecting, but often thin, and the lower gently projecting, as in the Caucasian race ; their hair is black, but soft, fine, and straight, or curling ; their eyes are hazel, their figure erect ; and though inferior in size to some of the other tribes, they are well proportioned. Their limbs are small, but finely formed ; and their gait and movements are agile, free, and graceful. Though distinguished by their promptitude and activity, their strength is inferior to that of other tribes ; and they are far more susceptible of fatigue from travelling or labour. Stature
and complexion.

"Les Hóvas, dont le nom est devenu célèbre, habitent, ainsi que nous l'avons déjà dit, les vallées du centre de l'île. La tradition rapporte que leurs ancêtres arrivèrent à Madagascar sur une flotte nombreuse de *prahos* et qu'ils dépossédèrent ou exterminèrent une partie de la race indigène. La tradition, du reste, est d'accord en cela avec les faits, car les Hóvas ont conservé d'une manière assez frappante les traits de la race malaise. Leur taille n'est pas haute, quoique assez bien prise. Leur teint est olivâtre, et, chez quelques individus, il est moins foncé que celui des habitants du midi de l'Europe. Les traits de leur visage ne sont pas saillants et leur lèvre inférieure dépasse la supérieure, comme chez quelques peuplades de la race caucasienne. Ils ont les cheveux noirs, droits ou bouclés, les yeux de couleur foncée ; ils sont agiles et vifs. L'intelligence des Hóvas est assez développée et ils montrent à cet égard sur la M. D'Es-
camp's
notice.

race noire, cette supériorité relative qui est propre à la race jaune non mélangée. Leur habileté dans plusieurs genres d'industrie est aussi à remarquer. Les mauvais penchants de l'humanité semblent enracinés dans leurs cœurs et ils étendent autour d'eux un cercle affreux de délations et d'exactions infâmes ou dominant la haine, l'orgueil, l'insolence, et la rapacité. On les appelle, dans la langue du pays, *ambòalàmbo*, ce qui veut dire, *chien de sanglier*. Mais cette injure ne leur est adressée que par les peuples indépendants qu'ils n'ont pu soumettre.

“ Cette peuplade eut une étrange destinée ; considérée autrefois comme *paria* par les Malegaches, tout objet souillé par l'attouchement d'un de ses membres était déclaré impur. La case où le Hóva avait reposé était brûlée ; il était maudit par tous les habitants de l'île. Isolé dans son repaire, ce proscrit incendia les forêts qui pouvaient dérober un ennemi, dévasta, dit-on, le magnifique plateau d'Émyrne, fit un désert de son pays et, pour éviter toute surprise, il planta ses villages sur les mamelons de la plaine.¹ Plus tard, comme accord tacite d'une paix dont il avait un si grand besoin et comme tribut au Malegache qu'il reconnaissait alors pour maître, il déposait à la limite des bois, du riz, du maïs et divers objets de son industrie que ce dernier venait recueillir. Cette époque de son histoire a pesé sur le caractère du Hóva ; il est devenu triste, défiant, souple, rampant, faux et cruel, et lorsqu'à la fin du siècle dernier un homme supérieur, Andrianampouine, vint de relever de la servitude, il n'eut plus, pour s'emparer de l'autorité, qu'à réunir, aidé par les Anglais, des tribus éparses dont l'instinct de domination et la soif de vengeance firent des soldats.

“ Ce n'est que sous le roi Radàma, et surtout sous la reine Ranavàlo que ce peuple s'est relevé de sa position de *paria*. Mais, malheureusement, son caractère n'en est pas devenu plus noble, et ses vices l'emportent, de beaucoup sur ses vertus ; le Hóva réunit les vices de tous les divers peuples de l'île. Le mensonge, la fourberie et la dissimulation ne sont pas seulement chez lui des vices dominants, mais encore tellement estimés, qu'il cherche à les inculquer le plus tôt possible à ses enfants. Les Hóvas vivent entre eux dans une méfiance perpétuelle, et ils regardent l'amitié comme une chose impossible. Pour la

¹ M. Grandidier conteste la tradition qui consiste à supposer que le plateau de l'Imérina ait été couronné de forêts, brûlées plus tard par les indigènes. Il base son opinion sur la constitution du sol, qu'il a étudiée, et sur les conditions climatiques, pour émettre l'avis que les Hóvas n'ont pas eu la peine de brûler ce qui n'y existait pas.

finesse et la ruse, ils y excellent d'une manière incroyable et ils pourraient en remontrer aux plus habiles diplomates de l'Europe. Leurs traits tiennent moins du type nègre et sont mieux formés que ceux des Malais de Java et de l'archipel Indien ; ils ont le corps plus grand et plus fort. Leur peau offre toutes les nuances depuis le jaune olivâtre jusqu'au rouge brun foncé. Plusieurs ont le teint très clair ; M. Grandidier en remarqua aussi beaucoup, surtout parmi les soldats, dont la peau tire tellement sur le rouge qu'on les prendrait plutôt pour les Peaux-rouges que les Indiens de l'Amérique du Nord à qui l'on a donné ce nom. Ils ont les yeux et les cheveux noirs et ces derniers longs crépus et cotonneux (*Henry D'Escamps*, p. 409).

“ Les Hóvas, le peuple qui soutient la reine, sont gouvernés néanmoins d'une main de fer et, s'ils ne sont pas exécutés par centaines et par milliers comme les hommes des autres nations, ils sont pourtant aussi mis à mort pour les moindres délits.”

M. Grandidier reconnaît aux Hóvas des qualités relatives qui expliquent en partie leur domination. “ Combien de siècles,” dit-il, “ ces exilés sont-ils restés humbles et inconnus dans leur montagnes ? Peu nombreux à l'origine, ils ont grandi dans l'ombre. Sous Andrianampouine, leur influence à Madagascar était encore nulle ; Radâma I^{er}, son fils, qui lui succéda en 1810, homme entreprenant, plein d'intelligence et de courage, se crut assez fort pour commencer la lutte avec les peuplades voisines. Les razzias de boeufs que ne cessaient de faire sur leurs frontières les rois du Ménabé, furent cause de sa première expédition.

M. Grandidier on the Hóvas.

“ Tour à tour vainqueur et vaincu dans ces escarmouches, le prince, obéissant aux conseils intéressés de quelques Européens, aguerrit ses troupes et les disciplina ; puis, il songea à étendre ses conquêtes du côté de l'est. Les Hóvas ne sont pas plus courageux que les autres habitants de l'île, mais ils ont le respect de l'autorité, l'esprit d'obéissance, l'habitude du travail et avant tout l'organisation sociale qui distinguent si éminemment tous les membres des races se rattachant au tronc jaune et qui manque aux autres Malegaches. Je n'ai pas à énumérer ici les provinces qui sont successivement tombées sous la domination des Hóvas, soit pour satisfaire leur propre ambition, soit à l'instigation du gouverneur anglais de Maurice ; je me contenterai de rappeler qu'en moins d'un demi-siècle, ils ont réussi, sans difficulté, à soumettre la moitié de l'île. De Fort-Dauphin au cap d'Ambre, et de là à la baie de Bombétoek

Conquests of Radâma.

toutes les tribus reconnaissent aujourd'hui leur autorité ; partout ils ont établi des gouverneurs et des garnisons.

"C'est une curieuse étude que celle de ces étrangers, qui par leur intelligence et leur énergie, sont parvenus en quelques années à asservir une population aussi nombreuse. Leur conquête est, du reste, bien plutôt le résultat de la ruse que de la guerre, sauf en de rares circonstances où ils ont dû recourir à la force. Ils attendent patiemment le moment propice et savent temporiser pour atteindre plus sûrement le but. Souvent, ils se sont contentés de semer la discorde parmi les nations voisines et les ont réduits à implorer leur protection.

"Tandis que la population des indigènes de la côte va diminuant de jour en jour ou au moins reste stationnaire, celle des Hóvas s'accroît dans une proportion remarquable. Il ne serait pas étonnant qu'elle doublât en moins d'un demi-siècle, aujourd'hui que la paix est rétablie dans l'île ; il n'y a que les femmes Antaïmours et Bétsiléos qui rivalisent avec les femmes Hóvas sous le rapport de la fécondité" (A. Grandidier, *Bulletin de la Société Géographique*, avril 1872).¹

The clans
of Vòni-
zòngo.

"The inhabitants of Vònizòngo," writes Dr. Mullens,² "have always been a spirited and independent people. Radàma made soldiers of them, and he found them brave, enduring, and self-reliant. They used to have a multitude of chiefs, each with a long pedigree and a longer tail of dependants and clansmen. The power of the chief over his people was as great and as summary in its dealings, as that of the Highland chiefs of old days : and the clannish feeling is still very strong."

2. *The Bétsiléos.*

Mr. Shaw
on the
Bétsiléos.

"As compared with the Hóvas," writes Mr. Shaw, "the Bétsiléos have a greater proportion of big men, and the average size both of men and of women is greater than in the north. The average height is not less than six feet for the men, and a few inches less for the women. They are large-boned and muscular, and their colour is several degrees darker than that of the Hóvas, approaching in many cases very close to a black. The forehead is low and broad, the nose flatter and the lips thicker than those of their conquerors, whilst their hair is *invariably* crisp and woolly. No pure Bétsiléos is to be met

¹ See also *D'Escamps*, pp. 411, 413.

² See *Twelve Months in Madagascar*, p. 116.

with having the smooth long hair of the Hóvas. In this, as in other points, there is a very clear departure from the Malayan type, and a close approximation to the Negro races of the adjacent continent. Very few have any hair on the face, and even where the beard would grow, it is their custom to pull it out with tweezers made for the purpose, having very broad, sharp, closely-fitting lips.

“Morally, the Bétsiléó are in advance of the Hóvas, and the proportion of disease arising from immorality is far smaller here than in Imèrina. It has been found that not more than twenty per cent of all the sick people seeking relief in Bétsiléó suffer from diseases allied to syphilis, while in Imèrina the proportion is said to be over seventy per cent. Lying and cheating, however, are as rife amongst them as in other parts of Madagascar, and neither appears to have been thought a sin, so long as it remained undiscovered. The trait in their character which gives the most trouble both to their rulers and their teachers, is their insincerity. It is with the greatest difficulty that their real opinions or intentions can be gauged, and while apparently agreeing to do what is required of them, or to follow the advice and teaching presented for their acceptance, they have not the faintest intention of doing the one or following the other. This has frequently shown itself to the missionaries in the case of an application for a teacher, when the people of the village will apparently agree to do all that is required of them, in reference to the supplying of rice and a house for the teacher, and will even verbally promise to do so; but after the teacher is appointed, no further thought is given to the promise than if such had never been made. If remonstrated with, they will confess they are wrong, again promise, and yet remain the same.

Moral superiority.

“The Bétsiléó have been called the ‘peaceful Bétsiléó,’ the ‘inoffensive tribes in the south engaged in agriculture,’ and the like. If this means that one portion of the tribe does not now take up arms and attack another portion, the statement is admissible, but does not throw all the credit intended upon the Bétsiléó. They certainly do not now appear in arms, for the simple reason that they are unable to do so, the Hóva Government being too much on the alert to allow of such a state of things. But to say that they are therefore ‘peaceable’ is begging the question, and ascribing a virtue where none such exists, and only fear prevents the appearance in that

The peaceful Bétsiléó.

form of the opposite vice. All accounts prove that naturally the Bétsiléo are a most quarrelsome people, and formerly every single town was well fortified and watched, and that either with or without provocation the people of one village would arm and make a sortie on a neighbouring village, carrying off all that came in their reach, cattle, rice, poultry, children (for slaves), which raid would assuredly be resented in a similar way on the first good opportunity. This kind of thing is said to have been by no means rare, but from the accounts of some of the best authorities it would appear to have been the normal state of society in those days. Chief banded against chief, and village against village. This accounts for the great number of slaves possessed by the Bétsiléo chiefs at the present time: all of which slaves are themselves Bétsiléo. One chief (*Tòm-pomènakèly*) in the Àrindràno has now as many as 3000 slaves, and this is less than the number a few years since, when he possessed over 5000, the majority of whom are the descendants of children taken in the constant wars of his ancestors. The minority have come from other sources, but of these more will be said hereafter.

Quarrel-
some char-
acter.

"This quarrelsome character the Bétsiléo still retain, as is witnessed by their frequent lawsuits, which they carry to a ridiculous extent, spending hundreds of times the value of the disputed property in fines and bribes, often beggaring their families for the sake of a rice-field worth one and sixpence. Very many instances could be brought forward to prove this evil propensity which has made the Bétsiléo a proverb among the Ambàniandro. Drunkenness is becoming a sadly universal vice among the Bétsiléo. During the past six years it has been steadily and too surely on the increase. The amount of sugar-cane grown for the purpose of making the *tòaka* (rum) is at least ten times as great as it was only a few years back. It is, however, chiefly planted and prepared by the Hóvas, and although it can scarcely be said that they introduced it, yet the widespread abuse is certainly to be laid to their charge, with very many attendant evils. Formerly, at a festival or funeral, the number of oxen killed, and the number of pots of rice cooked for the guests, were taken as a standard of liberality, as the bullocks' heads on the graves and the stone trivets around them still bear witness. But now the bullocks are driven to the Ambàniandro *tòaka* makers, who take them in exchange for pitchers of rum, and rice merely

is given to those who have any appetite left after each night's debauch.

"The love of money so universal among the Hóvas is by no means common among the Bétsiléó, and their chief possessions consist of cattle. Hence they have none of the keenness at making a bargain so patent in the Hóva character, and are more simple and unsuspicious in their buying and selling, a very great deal of which is still done by the half barbarous plan of barter. This statement is applicable to all markets at a distance from the centres of Hóva influence, and not on the direct road from the capital. Their wants are extremely simple, and a natural indolence, induced probably by the ease with which they obtain all necessities (to them) of life, creates no desire for labouring to obtain money. Indeed, when a want does present itself, they will frequently prefer to go without it rather than work to obtain it. Simplicity.

"The clannish feeling is very strong among the Bétsiléó, the different tribes (already referred to) keeping themselves distinct in almost every circumstance in which they may be placed. Even in their worship, as for instance in Fianàrantsòà, one tribe meets in one church and the other two in other churches. In all *fanompondana* or Government service, a division of the work is first made, each tribe taking its share. Our teachers have very strong objections to settling in villages in other tribes than their own; and although the marriage of a man of one tribe with a woman of another is not a thing unknown, yet it is so extremely rare as to be the exception which proves the rule. Clannish feeling.

"The same feeling, narrowed, is found in the family. A strong family affection pervades all classes; the children are well cared for, and the old are never left destitute or to their own devices. The love of the parents to their children is intense, and it is by no means uncommon to see the son carrying the aged parent on his back, when necessity or inclination demands locomotion. As might be deduced from this, they are as a people extremely hospitable, and although travellers in Bétsiléó have sometimes had to suffer considerable annoyance from the fact that on their approach all doors have been closed, and no one to be found in a village, yet this has arisen from fear and not from a natural surliness. There is no doubt that, being simple and trusting, they have been, and are being, imposed on by some of the sharper and less scrupulous Family affection.

of the Ambaniandro who have entered their villages and houses, and stolen their children, who have been sold as slaves. This has bred such fear and terror in the minds of the remote villages, that a vazaha (European) or Hóva has come to be spoken of and used as a bogey to frighten the naughty children. But where confidence has been restored, the people readily turn out of their houses and put down clean mats for the use of the stranger without any ulterior hopes. They will walk miles to visit the sick, even when the illness is of quite a simple character, and at funerals the Bétsiléó would consider themselves disgraced and a proverb for ever if they did not show all honour to their dead relatives in the way of spending freely at feasts, in lambas to clothe the dead, and in a large tomb to cover the remains.

Mental
equality.

"Mentally the Bétsiléó are in no wise inferior to the Hóvas, though in attainments they are. But this can be accounted for by their fewer opportunities and the much shorter time which European civilisation has been amongst them. The readiness with which the school-children imbibe instruction, and especially anything connected with calculation (as arithmetic, etc.), has surprised every stranger who has had the opportunity of observing them. As might have been anticipated, the natural mental vigour possessed by them, without any one to direct it into right channels of truth, has led to an immense amount of superstition, which it will take years of careful earnest training to eradicate. Numbers are already rising above their old beliefs, which they look upon now with scorn; and the time is certainly, if slowly, coming, when the Bétsiléó will be an honour to those who have at all helped them, and to the Christian religion and civilisation.

Dwellings.

"The houses of the Bétsiléó may be characterised as warm, dirty, and small. Generally speaking, they are built of wood, or of bamboo split and plaited, and the insides plastered in such a way as to prevent all ventilation. The roofs are thatched with grass, and formerly were of a very high pitch. Each house has two openings, one called a door and one a window, otherwise a stranger would say they had two windows and no door. That designated a window is a very small hole on the north side, nearer to the east than the west. The door, so called, is at the south-west corner, and facing the west. This opening is about two feet six inches in height, reaching from close to the roof to about two feet six inches from the

ground; to enter which is a feat of no ordinary difficulty to the novice, and prevents anything like a dignified entrance into the stranger's house. Exactly in front of the door is the cooking-place, behind which is the stand, often richly carved, for the large water-pitchers, in the south-east corner. Over the fireplace is the invariable frame for drying the rice, and wood for fuel, over which again are the joists, supporting the plaited bamboo flooring of the store-room, and sometimes sleeping-room. The bedstead, at times quite an elaborate affair, is between the doorway and the north-west corner. The bedstead is generally made of wood, reaching from the ceiling to the floor, and panelled all round, except a small opening, very like the door of the house, through which the occupant creeps when he enters or arises. They are, doubtless, very warm and—lively. Suspended from the centre of the ceiling is a round piece of board, with a hook or hooks hanging down below, to which articles likely to be devoured by rats are hung, whilst other articles are put into baskets and ranged on a shelf which runs the whole length of the north and east sides of the house, a foot from the ceiling. When it is remembered that all these things are packed into a space of nine or ten feet by seven or eight feet, one may well wonder how in such a house from six to a dozen people can find room to eat and sleep. Yet it is managed somehow. There being no exit for the smoke except by the window or door, and all the cooking being done in the house, it can be easily imagined that the inside is, after the house is a few months old, perfectly black; and the unlucky stranger who has not learned to go about in a constantly stooping attitude, constantly finds the ceiling and its joists in the way of his head. Some of the houses are furnished with a fowl-house, standing on the south of the *fâtana* (fireplace). Young calves are permitted in the house, but pigs are not tolerated within the doorway. The centre-posts in the larger houses of the chiefs are carved elaborately, with a certain skill in their design.

Ornamentation.

“The villages are in a transition state. Formerly they were on the tops of the hills, and as inaccessible as possible, with obscure entrances through two or three narrow gateways, outside of which were barriers of prickly pear and deep-scarped ditches, ten or twelve feet across. Now that security is felt by the people, there is a general desire to be nearer to their rice-fields, and more accessible to neighbouring villages; therefore,

Sites of villages.

Vâlas.

within the last few years the old villages have been abandoned, and the people built two or three houses together, surrounded with a cactus hedge. Hundreds of these little rings or *vàlas* may be seen on each side of the rivers.

Former
rulers.

"The former government of the Bètsiléô was most despotic. The king or *hóva* lived in the chief village, where his *làpa* or Government-house was the judgment-hall, and he derived his revenues from the first fruits of everything, and from heavy fines levied on offending parties. Under him were officers, *làvahàla* or *andèvo'hóva*, who enforced his orders and collected his dues, claiming large perquisites as their share of the pay. At present the queen's Government has placed governors at Fianàrantsòà, Ambòhimandròso, Imàhazòny, Ifanjakàna, Ikàlamavòny, Imodòngy, and Ifènoarivo, and at other principal centres, with garrisons from Antanànarivo. Besides his lieutenant, the governor of each station has a number of *andriambaventy* to help him to carry out the laws.

Present
Govern-
ment.

Descend-
ants of the
kings.

"The descendants of the old kings (*ànakandràna* or *ànakòva*) still retain a great deal of influence, and are recognised by the Government, being called *tòm pomènakèly* or 'lords of the manor,' and are always ranked first in the kabàry from the queen. In many places the Andèvo'hóva still retain their offices, being made responsible to the Hóva governors" (*Antanànarivo Annual*, iii.)

The Manèndy or Maìnty.

Maìnty.

The population of the Anàtivòlo plain consists, writes Mr. Moss, "with the exception of a few Hóva soldiers, of people called *Manèndy*, a subdivision of the tribe called *Òlo-Maìnty* or 'black folks.' Ethnologically they bear a strong resemblance to the Sihànaka tribe farther north, and to the Bèzànozàno and Bètsimisàraka tribes nearer the east coast. From inquiry at this and other villages along our route, we ascertained invariably that these Òlo-Maìnty have a tradition that their forefathers were not the original occupants of the country, but were removed into it by Andrianimpòinimèrina, eighty or ninety years ago" (*Antanànarivo Annual*, 1876, p. 4).

Ellis mentions, in *Madagascar Revisited* (p. 345), a gathering at the capital of representatives from some inland villages. "I only mention it," he writes, "on account of the last. Their party was composed of individuals, and the descendants of in-

dividuals, who had been slaves, but personal or household servants of successive reigning families, and who, according to the custom of the country, either on certain occasions, or after a certain period of service, had been made free, had received portions of land and occasionally cattle, and had also been formed into communities occupying villages in different parts of the adjacent country. They are called *mainity*, literally 'black,' but that is a frequent name for slave. When these men passed through the gate, and walked across the court attended by a number of their wives and daughters, I thought I had never seen a finer body of men. They were about seven hundred in number; and, as they marched in, their stature and bearing made them appear, in comparison with all the other companies, like a fine regiment of grenadiers. Their appearance and bearing produced a good impression."

The Population of Madagascar.

"In a country which has, until recently, remained almost entirely destitute of every species of statistical record, it is exceedingly difficult to obtain anything approaching to accurate information respecting the number of its inhabitants. Hence the population of Madagascar has been variously estimated by different writers. It has, however, generally been supposed to amount to about four millions; and from as correct a census as the state of the island admitted, taken a short time previous to the decease of the late king, Radàma I., it appears probable that this estimate is not excessive, but that it would be a nearer approximation to its actual amount of population to state it at from four millions and a half to five millions. As the basis of this estimate, it was ascertained by Coroller from the officers of the respective districts, the *vadintàny*, that there were upwards of one million houses; five persons were adopted as the average number of each household. The entire population thus given comprehends the four chief political divisions of the people [*i.e.* in 1827-1828]. Their relative numbers were thus estimated—

Want of
statistics.

Coroller's
estimate in
1828.

Hóvas	750,000
Sàkalàva, including Bèzànozàno and the Sihànaka	1,200,000
Bètsiléó	1,500,000
Bètàmìnèna and Bètsimisàraka	1,000,000
	4,450,000

"This amount of population is evidently less than the island has contained at former and not remote periods of its history. The embankments spread over large tracts of country, now overgrown with grass or brushwood, show that these parts were once regularly cultivated rice-fields; and the scattered ruins of villages, or whole ranges of villages, now totally deserted, especially in the Bétsiléô and Sakalàva countries, mark, though imperfectly, the extent to which the country has been depopulated.

"The female sex greatly preponderates, which, as well as the diminution of population, may in part be accounted for by the fearful waste of life among the men, in their frequent and barbarous wars. The slave-trade, wars, infanticide, trials by ordeal, and the prevalence of certain diseases, may be specified as reasons sufficiently accounting for the very limited population of a country capable of maintaining at least five times its present number."¹

M. Barbié du Bocage states "Les 3,000,000 d'indigènes sont loin de former une nation."

D'Escamps

M. d'Escamps writes, "La population de l'île de Madagascar est très diversement évaluée. Les uns tels que les anciens voyageurs, ne la portaient qu'à un million et demi d'habitants, les autres, l'évaluent à deux millions huit cent mille habitants,

Grandidier.

d'autres enfin, à quatre et à six millions. M. Grandidier la porte à quatre millions et même à moins. Selon ses calculs, la population d'Imerne comprend un million de Hóvas; et les Bétsiléôs, leurs voisins, sont au nombre de six cent mille. L'est compterait deux millions. Quant aux autres peuplades, elles n'atteignent pas ensemble le chiffre de cinq cent mille âmes."²

Lieutenant Oliver, R.A.,³ estimated the population in 1862 as follows:—

Hóvas	800,000
Bétsiléô	1,500,000
Bètanimèna and Bètsimisàraka	1,500,000
Antsihàrika and Bèzànozàno	300,000
Northern and Southern Sakalàva	1,200,000
	5,300,000

Mullens.

Dr. Mullens's estimate in 1874 is as follows:—

¹ Ellis's *Hist. of Madagascar*, vol. i., p. 113.

² D'Escamps, *Histoire et Géographie de Madagascar*.

³ Oliver's *Hóvas and other Characteristic Tribes of Madagascar*.

(Sihànaka, Tanàla, Tankày) Bètsimisàraka . . .	300,000
Sàkalàva North and South	500,000
Hóvas, Bètsiléó, and Bàra	1,700,000
	2,500,000

Mr. Sibree estimates the population at between three and a half and four millions.¹

Of the population, Mr. Pickersgill reports (1885):—

Vice-consul
Pickersgill,
1885.

“The inhabitants of the town and suburbs of Antanànarìvo are considered by careful observers to number not less than 100,000.

“Imèrina, the province which extends around the capital to a distance of about fifty miles, is the most thickly-populated part of the island. Its people are fairly industrious, more so by far than those of any other Malagasy tribe. The skill they show in the cultivation of rice, often in the face of natural disadvantages, points to their future career as that of agriculturists. They can be easily induced to work for wages, but I am convinced that it will be found more profitable in the long run to draw them into such connection with coming developments of their country as will afford them not only an equivalent for their labour, but also a reward for intelligent interest therein. The Hóva race will be proud to furnish bone and muscle to co-operate with European wealth for mutual benefit, but it will never submit to be the white man's slave.

“Evidently the great problem in Madagascar will be, How to get the workers and the work together? The highland interior is poor in material but rich in labour, while the lowland coast is fertile, but lacks the husbandmen. He who can secure Imèrina labourers to cultivate a lowland plantation will test the merits of the country under the most favourable conditions. The necessities of defence are now forcing the population of the interior to distribute itself to some extent, but the migrations of peace cannot be long delayed if the people continue to increase in the near future as they have done recently in the past.

Distribu-
tion of pop-
ulation.

“Next to the Hóva in intelligence, although not in strength of character, come the Bètsimisàraka, who inhabit the eastern coast. They are well disposed towards foreigners, but the rum trade of Mauritius and Réunion has already gone far to render them useless for hard and regular work.

¹ Sibree's *African Island*, chapter vi., pp. 141, 142.

Docility of
tribes.

"The Sihànaka and Bètsiléó tribes, which occupy respectively the interior provinces north and south of Imèrina, are equally docile with the Bètsimisàraka, having, however, an advantage over them in being more closely allied to the ruling race. The labouring peasant of the highlands is pretty much the same sort of person throughout the whole of the central region. To the south of the Bètsimisàraka there are several smaller tribes, of which the Taimòro appears to be one of the most promising, from the intending planter's point of view. A number of these south-eastern natives were, before the war began, in the habit of leaving their homes to work on the sugar plantations near Tamatave, which the Bètsimisàraka had failed to supply with labour. They are known as a fearless race, but are much given to roving, and have the aspect of being most uncompromising savages.

Influence
of trade in
the south-
west.

"In the south-west the Ibàra and Mähafàly tribes seem to be coming in some small degree under the influence of trade with Natal. A kind of broad bean is cultivated in that part of the country for exportation—a very hopeful sign indeed in a people who are related to the Sàkalàva, for the latter are, without doubt, the least useful and least open to improvement of all the Malagasy tribes. Their country, which stretches along the western seaboard from near St. Augustine's Bay to the northern extremity of Pàsindàva Bay, is, with the exception of such points as are under the immediate authority of Hóva military colonies, almost entirely uncultivated, altogether unimproved, and very little open to trade. Even such of the Sàkalàva as have been under the shadow of the French flag at Nòsy-Bé for the last forty years have not made a hundredth part of the advance in civilisation which the Hóvas have made during the last ten under their own Government" (*Consul's Report*).

CHAPTER XI.

MANUFACTURES.

“*Et gracili fiscellam texit hibisco.*”

(*Bucolica*, Ecl. x. 71.)

MANUFACTURES AND INDUSTRY.—Spinning and weaving cotton and silk—Rofia cloth—Cordage and mats—Baskets and bead-work—Leather work—Fictile ware—Bricks and tiles—Metallurgy—Iron smelting and forging—Woodwork and carpentry—Woodcutters and charcoal burners—Stone masonry—Distilling *toaka* and *bèsabèsa*—Decorative art—The industrial classes—Government service—Turtle-fishery—The Press.

Textile Fabrics, etc.

THE manufactures of Madagascar are, in comparison with those of more civilised countries, very inconsiderable, but nevertheless capable of development. The trade of the country having depended entirely on the export of rice, bullocks, timber, etc., attention has only been drawn to the manufacture of native articles for home consumption.

The Malagasy are skilled in all handicrafts, and among these the chief is the manufacture of cloth. The arts of spinning and weaving cotton, hemp, and silk into cloths of valuable material has long been known to the people. Of cotton cloths those, says Ellis, made for the governor of Anòsy were the most esteemed, being the finest and strongest to be found in the island. A down, called *vònimpanandro* (*Gomphocarpus fruticosus*), used for stuffing cushions, is, says Mr. Wills, occasionally made into *làmbas*, which are remarkably light and warm. In addition to these fine stuffs are manufactured from fibre extracted from the stem of the banana, almost equal in texture and beauty to those constructed of silk. Inferior cloths are manufactured from the bark of the rofia palm, as also from *hibiscus* and other fibre-producing plants. Coarser materials are made by beating out with wooden mallets the

Cotton
cloths.

fibrous bark of certain native trees and shrubs. In the present day, however, cottons, linens, silk stuffs, and woollen cloths of foreign manufacture, both Indian and American, as well as European, have long been introduced and have almost entirely superseded the homespun fabrics of the island.

Spinning
and
weaving.

Spindle of
bone or
tree-fern
wood.

Spinning and weaving are conducted by females only, (hence the term for a girl, *zàzaampèla*, "child of the spindle")¹ as follows:—The materials are cleaned and pulled by the hand instead of being carded. The only implement employed in spinning yarn or thread is a spindle, which is used in the following manner: holding the *ampèla* or spindle in the right hand, and twisting the thread, which is drawn out from a piece of carded cotton held in the left, they pull out a thread as long as the two hands can be separated. This they wind up around the *ampèla*, and then repeat the operation till the spindle is filled. One woman with the *ampèla* is not able to spin more than a fourth of the quantity that would be produced with a wheel in the same time. Much time is therefore required for spinning a sufficient quantity to make a piece of cloth five yards long. Threads made by slitting the long inner leaves of the *rofia* resemble those of flax or hemp, but as they seldom exceed three or four feet in length, the natives are accustomed to tie them together, till they are sufficiently long to admit of being woven into cloth. The cloth is always woven in the house in which the family reside, and the loom is generally fixed near the door. In Imèrina the looms, which are extremely simple, are placed so low in the floor as to leave scarcely more than four or five inches between the warp and the ground. Treadles are not used in the interior, but on the coast it is common to have both looms and treadles worked

¹ Mr. Sibree writes: "In the different cloths which the Hóva women weave from various materials, a good deal of taste and ingenuity is shown. In these woven stuffs stripes are largely employed, and in the coarser and cheaper fabrics made from *rofia* the colours are obtained from vegetable dyes and from various coloured earths. A very favourite style of *làmba* is what is termed *arindràno*. In these the body of the stuff is of cotton woven into a strong twilled substance, the ground-work white, and with a number of narrow stripes of black, in which coloured threads are mixed. A broad black border runs along each edge in the length of the *làmba*, and each has a coloured pattern of tasteful design in the centre. The most striking examples of native design are, however, seen in silk *làmbas*. These are of considerable variety of pattern and colouring, often extremely rich and elegant in their effect, and with a peculiar kind of square leaf or flower introduced into the stripes, and various combinations of small diamond-shaped patterns" (*The Great African Island*, pp. 261, 262).

with the feet, so as to open the warp after the manner of the Europeans. When the thread is ready the Hóvas warp it by driving four pieces of wood firmly into the ground and wind the thread around two of them and between the other two, according to the pattern laid before them. Having finished this process, they tie together the threads of the several colours which form the pattern and remove it into the loom or put it up in a basket until required. If the warping be for common white cloth it is easily done, but if it be for diamond or coloured work great attention is required in counting and changing the different threads.

The Malagasy loom (*tènona*) is very simple in its construction, consisting of two strong pieces of wood rounded on the side over which the threads of the warp are passed. These pieces are called *vòditènona*, or ends of the warp. They are made of the branches of the *rofia*, and are put through the warp in order to stretch it out at both ends. One of these pieces of wood is passed through the warp at each end and fastened to posts in the floor. They are drawn nearer together or removed farther apart by cords tied to posts, two of which are driven firmly into the ground at each end. By this means the weaver can tighten or slacken the warp, drawing up towards her what is done and bringing the remainder nearer as the progress of the work may require.

The loom.

The shuttle (*famahànantènona*) used by the Malagasy weaver is a piece of round stick, pointed at one end for the purpose of being passed more easily between the threads. The knocker of the weft, called *fanàntana*, is made of wood and resembles a scythe. The woman employed in weaving puts this between the threads of the warp in order to open them, and then, after throwing in the shuttle, knocks the threads two or three times before she draws it out; and in this manner, with the assistance of a moving rod in the warp to open the threads, and the pressure of her left hand, the process of weaving is continued.

The shuttle.

The small rod placed across the warp to regulate the width of the cloth is called *tòpatènona*, besides which there are other two rods for the purpose of keeping separate the threads. The weaver also uses a small bodkin, called *fòfy*, for the same purpose.

Most of the females in Madagascar are supposed to be able to weave. In many instances the garments used by all the members of a family are home-made, being spun and woven

by the female members of the same; and when the comparatively rude apparatus and simple process of their spinning and weaving are considered, their attainments in this valuable art are truly astonishing. The threads of their cloth are even and well twisted, the weaving regular, and the patterns in their silk and other variegated cloths remarkably regular, exhibiting great attention and often no ordinary measure of fancy and good taste.

In 1822 the London Missionary Society sent out two artisans to introduce the English wheel and loom; but though the king and many of the natives appeared delighted with the operation of both, the endeavour did not succeed, and the death of Mr. Rowlands, the weaver, and the return of his companion to England, left the people still dependent on the spindle and the simple native loom for the manufacture of the chief part of their ordinary apparel.

A few native dyes are prepared in the country; but the chief part of those used by the people are purchased from European and Arab traders, and used with considerable skill in colouring the silks, cottons, and rofia cloth.

Làndy.

The elegant làmbas of silk are sometimes worth from eighty to one hundred dollars. The silk called *làndy* is thick, without brilliancy, but extremely strong, and serves to weave a cloth of remarkable durability. It is affirmed, according to Dr. Vinson, that pieces of this silk, when exhumed from the graves, where they have been for centuries (?) enveloping the dead, have lost nothing of their firmness. The *àrindràno* has already been mentioned. The *làmbamèna* also is another kind, with the body of dark red silk, and with stripes and borders of lighter colours. These are worn chiefly at the national festivals, marriages, and other public rejoicings. They are also used for wrapping the dead.

Rofia fibre.

“From the young and still unopened leaves of the rofia palm (*Sagrus ruffia*),” writes Mr. Wills, “a straw-coloured fibre is obtained which is woven into a native cloth of various degrees of fineness, from the stout *sadiàdiàka*, or *rabanna*, used for wrapping up burdens on the coast, to the *jàbo* of Imèrina, which has almost the appearance of nankeen. Làmbas made of this fibre, and called *jàfòtsy*, were almost universally worn before the introduction of calico, and large numbers are still made and worn by the poorer classes. Some of these, made in Vònizòngo, are gaily decorated with coloured stripes,

and of late years have been extensively imported into England, and sold for window curtains. The rofia fibre is also largely employed by gardeners for tying up plants, under the name of 'raphia grass.'"

Among some of the less-civilised tribes use is made of mats Mats. for clothing. These are manufactured of grass, *zòzòro* (*Cyperus imerinensis*) and *hàzondràno*, a tough kind of rush. These mats are sewn into a kind of sack, which is kept in its place by a girdle of twine made from the bark of trees. The bark cloth of the Malagasy tribes is not to be compared with the Polynesian fabrics; it is rough and brown in colour, and coarse and fibrous in texture, bearing the marks of the grooved mallet heads with which it has been beaten out, and it has little strength except in the direction of the fibres. Some of the pieces obtained by Mr. Sibree must have been taken, he says, from trees of considerable size, while one specimen had been stripped off the trunk without cutting it lengthways. Numbers of women are also employed at times in making mats, which are used for beds, covering the floors, or lining the walls of their houses; these are made of rushes or fine grass, and are plaited by hand.¹

The making of rope and twine is another occupation in Cordage. which many of the people are occasionally employed. They use no wheels for this purpose, but spin or twist the hemp or other material of which their cordage is made with the hand. Besides the native hemp, the bark of the *hibiscus*, and other native plants,² and a species of long and tough grass, are used for these purposes by the natives; and their twine and cordage, which they use in the manufacture of fishing nets and lines, in tying together the framework of their houses, and many of their articles of furniture, are both strong and durable. By the same process as that employed in making their smaller cords they manufacture the large and strong ropes employed in dragging the immense stones used in the construction of their tombs, and in conveying their largest timber from the forests to the capital.

Closely associated with mat-making is the making of Baskets. baskets, *sobiky* and *hàrona*, which are manufactured of the

¹ The *àhibàno*, *manàkalàhy*, *tsidròdròtra* (*Sporobolus indicus*), *làkatra*, and *bànoka* are the chief varieties used (*J. Wills*).

² The *anivona* (a palm), the *hàfotra* (*Dombeya* sp.), the *tsòntsona* (*Pavonia Bojeri*), the *tarètra* (*Fourcroya gigantea*), the pine-apple, the banana, and the *lafa*.

same materials, and are in universal use amongst the different tribes. The baskets vary in size, the largest holding rather more than a bushel; in shape they are usually round or square, and are of open or close work as required for the purpose to which they are to be put. Considerable artistic feeling is to be noticed in the beautifully fine mats and baskets which the Hóva women plait from the straws of various grasses. In some of these patterns are formed by the straws being dyed in red or black, but in the majority of the straw-work there are elaborate and tasteful designs formed without colour, and so as to be only seen on close inspection.

Bead-work. A peculiarly characteristic style of ornament is seen in the dark-red lambas worn by the chief men, in which fine metal beads are woven into the stuff in a variety of patterns across the ends of the lamba.

Leather-work, etc.

Leather-work. "It appears singular that the natives should never have thought of using the skins of their oxen for any other purpose than for making a rude sort of sandal, and covering their drums on the shields. In these instances the skin was used with the hair on, and nearly in the state in which it had been taken from the animal. In 1822 the London Missionary Society sent out a number of artisans to promote the industry and civilisation of the people, and among them Mr. Canham went to instruct them in the art of tanning and currying. His proposal was very cordially acceded to by the king; but lime not having been at that time discovered in the interior, his operations were delayed until the year 1825. In 1828 the vats and other parts of the required apparatus being complete, the king issued orders that every ox slaughtered at the great festival should be skinned, and the skin and two feet from each ox, from which oil might be extracted, taken to the tan-yards, which were situated at Ambòhimandròso. The rump of every ox killed by the people has, from the time they began to feed upon the cattle, been considered as belonging to the ruler or sovereign; one half of the rump the king ordered the people to retain as a compensation for the skins which he now required them to give up; instead of bringing the feet the people were afterwards directed to boil them, and bring only the oil they contained. Upwards of 16,500 hides were brought

on this occasion, and on about half that number the process of tanning was commenced in the month of April 1829. Bark, suitable for tanning, was found in the forest; great difficulty, however, was experienced in obtaining the required supply; and, on the death of Radàma, his successor seemed but little disposed to encourage the undertaking. A small quantity of excellent leather was made. The natives are able to tan, not only the hides of the ox, but also the calf, sheep, and dogskins; and should a change in the government take place favourable to industry and civilisation, the manufacture of leather would undoubtedly form a valuable addition to the productive labour of the people" (*Ellis*, vol. ii. p. 323). "Ever since Government works have existed for preparing leather and making accoutrements for the soldiers; but comparatively little is done in this direction by the Government at the present time. The chief tannery is at Vòdivàto, and the bark of the *lalôna* (*Weinmannia Bojeriana*) and other trees of similar species is the agent mostly used. Private tanneries, on a small scale, exist in the capital, in which the bark of peach trees is mainly used; and cured skins of oxen, sheep, and goats are always on sale in the markets, being used by the natives to make boots, shoes, bags, saddles, hat-linings, etc." (J. Wills, *Antanènariivo Annual*, ix., 1885).

"The horns of bullocks," Mr. Wills tells us, "are made into spoons, of which great numbers are constantly on sale in the markets and universally used by the people. The ordinary spoon is sold at the rate of four or even six for twopence, but some of the finer quality fetch threepence or fourpence each. Bowls, forks, and other fancy articles are also made in small quantities, mostly for sale to foreigners." Horn-work.

"Buttons are punched out of bone and finished off with knives and the leaves of the *ampàly* (*Ficus sororeccoides*); spindles, forks, and paper-knives are also made, but great quantities of bone are thrown away as useless. False teeth are sometimes made from the shin-bone of the ox and also from sheep's teeth." Bone.

"Only very lately has any other use been made of hair than that of stuffing or mixing with builders' plaster; now, however, a few brushes are made with pigs' bristles and bullocks' hair. This is a branch of industry capable of development, as great quantities of bristles are merely burnt or thrown away." Hair.

- Lard. "Lard and suet are melted and sent in considerable quantities to the coast for export; but a good deal of fat is used in the manufacture of native soap and candles.
- Soap. "The artisans connected with the London Missionary Society introduced the art of soap-making as far back as 1828, when the soap was made reasonably white; but it has greatly deteriorated in appearance as manufactured by the natives, although its cleansing qualities are good. The lye used in its production is the ashes of the prickly pear and other shrubs, which are simply mixed without further preparation, thus accounting for the dirty appearance of the finished article. One would think that a chemically-prepared alkali which could be sold cheap would find a market among the native soap-makers, if its proper application could be shown to them.
- Candles. "Candles are a very recent industry, created apparently by the increasing number of students and readers, who require a more satisfactory light during the long evenings than is afforded by the primitive contrivance of a burning wick resting in a dish of melted fat. The candles are made in tin moulds, and frequently have a good deal of wax mixed with them.
- Oil, glue, and nitre. "The legs, sinews, blood, and offal of bullocks are all used in the preparation of oil, glue, and nitre, which last is employed in the manufacture of gunpowder by the Government.
- Feathers. "The only use made of feathers is to stuff pillows. The goose-quills are not even made into pens.
- Wax and honey. "Wax and honey are collected in the forest and sold in the markets, and of the former a considerable quantity is exported. Bees are not much reared, except in a few villages on the borders of the forest" (*Antanànarivo Annual*, ix.)
- Gunpowder. Gunpowder is manufactured by the Government at mills in the vicinity of the capital, where machinery turned by water-power was first instituted by Mr. Cameron. The sulphur is obtained in a native state from beds near Sirabè, and separated from its impurities by a rough process of sublimation.
- Sulphur. The nitre is procured by lixivation from the decayed gneiss.
- Nitre. Bullets are cast from impure lead extracted from native galena.
- Bullets.

Potteries, etc.

- Fictile ware. Another important occupation, says Ellis, which has been long followed by the people, is the manufacture of earthenware. Earthenware is used in every house, and potteries are found

all over the island. Large earthen water-pots stand in all the native houses, those of the greatest size, called *sinibè*, "big water-pot," are about two feet in diameter and globular in shape, and hold the store of water for daily use. Smaller kinds are used for bringing water, being less than half the size of the former, and are carried on the head. These jars are made of a blue clay, and, according to Ellis, although of coarse earthenware, are well made and durable. Sibree speaks of them, on the other hand, as "not very well burnt or durable." He adds, "there are some dishes and water-bottles made of a bright-red clay, which resemble Samian ware in colour, and appear to be of excellent material. Flattish clay vessels are made for cooking rice and are fitted with a cover; and the plates for eating rice have usually a stem to raise them a few inches above the ground. . . . In pottery the Hóvas do not show so much inventive power as in their textile productions. Except in one class of work, the few articles which they manufacture are devoid of all ornament. The exception to this usual absence of any artistic feeling is in the earthen pots called *vilány nòngo*, which are made for cooking the beef eaten at the New Year's festival. These vessels are circular and somewhat flattened, and are frequently ornamented with a series of lines and zigzags, very closely resembling those on the early fictile productions of the Germanic races."

Water-
pots.
Sinibè.

The coarse earthenware is polished with a substance (*mànjaràno*) somewhat resembling plumbago (see chapter ix.), found in many of the provinces. The light crockery is much more brittle than that of European make, but is nevertheless still highly serviceable to the natives (especially when their ports are blockaded); and the progress they have made in this art alone shows that they are far advanced above a state of barbarism.

Plumbago
glaze.

Large quantities of earthenware are made in the eastern parts of Avàrandràno, where a very suitable kind of kaolin (*tàny ràvo*) is found. In this industry females are chiefly employed. When the articles are sufficiently dried, a kiln is prepared by digging a hole in the earth or building a circular wall, of stonework lined with clay, on the surface; in these husks of rice are strewn; the vessels are placed in the oven and covered with rice-husks, which are kindled, and suffered to burn gradually without being allowed to blaze. Fresh husks are added, till the contents of the kiln are considered sufficiently burnt (*Ellis*, p. 320).

Kaolin.

Bricks and
tiles.

The walls of the houses in the capital, as also those of the granaries and furnaces, were of clay, until the Malagasy were taught by the missionary artisans to make bricks. Clay, well adapted for making bricks, was found in Imèrina in great abundance; and, in the year 1829, Mr. Cameron succeeded in making excellent bricks, which were burnt in a kiln. The fuel used in burning them is peat, called by the natives *fòmputra*. "A kind of ferruginous clay (kaolinite), chiefly decayed felspar," says Mr. Baron, "and known as *tànimanga*, is much used now for roofing-tiles."

Metal-work.

Iron-smelt-
ing.

The iron districts have already been described in a previous chapter (ix.) under the head of "Mineralogy." The natives either gather the ore from the surface of the ground, or dig for it in the plain or on the sides of the hills, but seldom penetrating above five or six feet deep.

"The method of smelting is peculiar, and very similar to that practised in many parts of Africa. The ore is washed, and then broken into small pieces not larger than nuts; it is then repeatedly washed in the river, for the purpose of separating, as much as possible, the earthy particles from the iron, which, after repeated washings, is gathered up in large, coarsely-wrought baskets, and kept till submitted to the action of fire. The furnace and its appendages are exceedingly rude and simple in their construction; and the ore, at best, is but imperfectly smelted. In building the furnace, a hole about six feet in diameter and one or two feet deep is sometimes dug in the ground, at other times the earth is only levelled. The walls of the furnace are of rude stonework, built up to the height of three or four feet, without mortar, and thickly plastered on the outside with clay. No aperture is left in any part of the wall for the purpose of drawing off the metal. The blast for the furnace is obtained by a singular and ingenious contrivance, very much resembling those in use in some parts of south-eastern Asia. Two rude cylinders about five feet long, the aperture of each from four to six inches in diameter, are formed out of the trunks of trees of hard wood; these are made air-tight at one end, and are planted in the earth, about a foot apart, in an upright or slightly inclined position, within about eighteen inches or two feet of the furnace; a hole is

made in each cylinder, a few inches above the ground, into which one end of a bamboo cane is inserted, the other entering a hole made in the stone or clay wall of the furnace, a rude sort of piston is fitted to each of the cylinders, and the apparatus for raising the wind is complete. . . . Charcoal is the only fuel employed in smelting the ore. On this account the furnaces are generally built in those parts, of what may be termed the iron districts, that are nearest to the forests where the charcoal is made. In the provinces remote from the capital charcoal is burnt, and iron is worked by the chiefs and their people, or by native labourers, for their own advantage; but in Imèrina and in Antsihànaka, all the iron obtained is for the service of the Government; hence five or six hundred men are constantly employed by the order of Government in burning of charcoal for the foundries in the provinces and the smitheries at the capital. The only return these men receive in the shape of compensation for their labour is exemption from certain taxes levied on other members of the community. The charcoal-burners, as well as the miners and founders, are, however, a sort of Government slaves; they live in the forests, or near the places where the ore is found, and they dare not leave their occupations on pain of death. The charcoal, as well as the ore, is brought in large baskets, in which it is kept near the furnaces.

Charcoal
fuel.

“In smelting the iron, they first kindle a fire in the bottom of the furnace; over the fire they spread a quantity of charcoal, and then throw in the ore, either mixed with charcoal or spread in alternate layers, till it reaches the top of the walls. Over this a sort of covering of clay, in a conical shape, with an aperture in the centre, is occasionally spread. In procuring the blast, the pistons are sometimes worked by a man sitting on the inner edges of the two cylinders, holding the shaft of one of the pistons in each hand, and alternately raising and lowering them by the action of his arms. Sometimes the man working the cylinders stands on a low bank of earth raised behind them. There are in general two cylinders to each furnace; but when one only is used, it is of much larger dimensions than those already described, and the piston is worked with both hands. The contents of the furnace are brought to a white-heat, and kept in this state for a long time, after which the fire is allowed to go out. The covering is taken off, and the iron, which is described as being partially

Rude blast-
furnace.

melted, and forming one solid or a number of smaller masses at the bottom of the furnace, is removed, beaten with a hammer, and then again submitted to the fire, prior to its being conveyed to the capital for the use of the native smiths.

“Rude as the processes of mining and smelting are at present in Madagascar, yet, from the number of men employed, the nature and variety of their occupation, the value of the mineral which they are rendering available for many of the purposes of civilised life, and the activity with which the natives pursue their respective departments of labour, few scenes in the country are in many respects more interesting to a foreigner than those exhibited on a visit to the mines in the province of Imèrina.

Smitheries.

“In the working of iron, the natives seem to have made greater advances than in smelting the ore; the art, however, may still be regarded as but in its infancy among them. In some parts of the island the smiths reside in different villages, and mingle promiscuously with the other portions of the community; but near the capital, where many hundreds are the servants of Government, they sometimes congregate together, and form the majority of the inhabitants of a village. When this is the case, they sometimes erect one or more sheds in convenient spots adjacent to their dwellings, and pursue their work together; but in general, the forge of the native smith is fixed in his house, usually at the south end of the building. The whole apparatus is exceedingly simple. The fire, which is kindled on the floor, is surrounded by three or four stones, through one of which a hole is perforated to admit the end of the bamboos, fixed in the cylinders, that answer the purpose of bellows. These are smaller but in other respects resemble those used in smelting the ore. The pistons are worked by an attendant or a slave. The anvil, which is about the size of a sledge-hammer, is either fixed in the ground near the fire, or fastened to a thick and heavy board. The water-trough is placed near, and the smith, when at work, sits or squats on a piece of board on the ground, his assistants sometimes sit, but more frequently stand, on the opposite side of the anvil ready to strike with larger hammers, according to his directions.

Articles of
hardware.

“Until the arrival of the artisans who accompanied the missionaries to the capital in 1822, the articles in iron manufactured by the people were exceedingly few, and the workmanship clumsy and unfinished; they consisted chiefly of spears and

javelins, knives, hatchets and spades, chisels and hammers, a rude sort of plane-irons and files, pots, spoons, and lamps. Shortly before the arrival of the missionaries they had begun to make nails; but of the methods of making hinges, screws, and nails, excepting those of a simple round form, they were ignorant. . . . Formerly they had no locks; but Europeans since the commencement of the Mission have taught the natives to make several kinds of locks. A very clever smith once borrowed a patent padlock from Mr. Jones, which he opened, and having examined it thoroughly made one exactly like it.

“Mr. Chick, an excellent artisan, sent out by the London Missionary Society in 1821, was the first European smith who settled in the interior of Imèrina, and it is to him that the natives are indebted for their improvement in the art of working in iron. He reached the capital in 1822, and fixed his residence at Ampàribé, where he erected his shop and fitted it up in the European style as far as circumstances would admit. Mr. Chick was a powerful man; and the tools, the bellows, the anvils, and the sledge-hammers which he used filled the natives with the greatest astonishment. A number of youths were placed by order of the sovereign under his charge as apprentices, and were carefully instructed by him in the several branches of his work. When the king commenced building the palace, Mr. Chick furnished the ironwork for it; while thus occupied, he had about 250 native smiths employed under him, and from that time may be dated the improvements made in smithing by the natives. Mr. Chick’s work at the palace entirely ceased when Radàma I. died. He was employed by Ranavàlona’s government to furnish the ironwork for the mills erected by Mr. Cameron at Anàlakèly, and had under him about 200 persons, who had every opportunity of improving themselves and learning the more difficult branches of the business.

Mr. Chick’s
work.

“Many of the native smiths are now able to make hinges, screws, and a variety of the most valuable articles of iron used in civilised life. They have also attained considerable proficiency in wire-drawing. In making brass or iron wire, they beat the rods till they are nearly reduced to the size required, when they are heated, and drawn through holes in a plate of iron or steel till brought to the proper size. The wire is drawn through the hole by a rude sort of winch turned by one or two persons. Great numbers of swords and bayonets have been made by the native smiths for the Government, and the manu-

Ability of
native
smiths.

factory of muskets has been carried out; indeed it is said by late reports that a machine-gun on either the Nordenfelt or Gatling pattern has been turned out by the native mechanics.

"The native goldsmiths and silversmiths exhibit considerable ingenuity in the manufacture of rings, chains, and various ornaments of the precious metals which are obtained from foreign traders. Silver dishes, vases, mugs, and other vessels with spoons, etc., are wrought by them in a manner creditable to their skill and perseverance. Bowls, dishes, and plates of tinned metal and lead, in imitation of those brought from Europe, are also manufactured to a small extent among them. Exceedingly fine gold and silver wire for chains is likewise drawn by the Hóva workmen, and filigree work is also to be met with of native make" (*Ellis*).

Woodwork, Carpentry, etc.

Wood-cutters and charcoal-burners.

Numbers of Malagasy are employed in felling and splitting trees as a means of subsistence. They convey, with immense labour, the trees or thick planks to timber-markets, of which there are several between Antanànarìvo and Angàvo, and to which builders repair for the purpose of making purchases. The price of timber at the capital is very high. Formerly the Malagasy obtained planks by splitting the trees in halves with their hatchets and chisels and wedges, and then chopping away the outsides till the planks were sufficiently reduced in size. The wood-cutters still obtain the thick boards in the same manner; but many of the builders at the capital now use the pit-saw, and obtain as many boards as they require. The use of the saw was unknown in Imèrina until 1820. When the first missionaries arrived, the Malagasy tools for carpentry consisted of a hatchet, chisels of different sizes, a rude sort of plane, a wooden hammer or mallet, a drill or borer worked by twisting it between the palms of the hands, and a rule or graduated measuring-rod six or eight feet long. Since that time tools used by workmen in Europe have been introduced, and have been readily adopted by native carpenters. Their work is often strong and usually neat, and in appearance well finished.

Saws introduced in 1821.

The native carpenter formerly pursued his work in his ordinary dwelling-house, or squatting on the ground in the open air. In 1821 the saw was introduced by M. Le Gros, a French carpenter, who introduced many improvements in the

native methods of working in wood, and taught them how to make glue and to use it in joining boards together. Glue.

The manufacture of large dishes and fans for winnowing and cleaning rice, of wooden bowls, and the preparation of wooden handles for spades, occupied many of the native carpenters.

Lathes have been introduced since 1826, in which year Mr. Cameron arrived in Madagascar. He instructed many of the natives in the most approved methods of working in wood; and by the buildings he erected for the Government, and the number of natives whom he taught as apprentices, greatly promoted the civilisation of the people. Many of the natives at this period made respectable proficiency in building, carpentry, and joinery, under M. Le Gros, Mr. Cameron, and subsequently under M. Laborde.

Stone-masonry.

The chief works in which masonry was formerly employed in Madagascar were the walls and pavements in the courtyards around the houses of the sovereigns and the chiefs; and in the construction of the tombs and monuments. The original method of quarrying stone by the masons was by heating it with fire kindled along the line in which they wished to detach pieces from the rock, and then dashing water on the parts thus heated. The masons are accustomed to hew the stones which cannot be sawn, getting surfaces smooth and level with small pointed hammers. In paving or erecting their structures of stone they used a kind of red earth for cement, until 1828, when Mr. Cameron discovered lime and taught the people to burn it, and prepare excellent mortar. Mr. Ellis, in company with Mr. Cameron, discovered chalk in the valley of Ankàzondàndy, and good limestone diggings near Fàliàndro and Modera, where a siliceous limestone containing annelide tubes is found which Mr. Cameron examined and decided to be excellent stone for masonry. The missionaries obtained the leave of Rasohèrina to blast and quarry as much as was required for the erection of their memorial churches.

Stone-
work.
Masonry.

In preparing the ground on the site for the church at Ambàtonakànga in 1864, a quantity of hard white stone was found in and near the capital resembling the finer qualities of the Yorkshire stone called Bramley Fall, and the whole supply

of material was derived from this source. Speaking of the building of this church, Mr. Sibree says: "The greatest hindrance was the limited number of workmen whose services were worth having, and still more the impossibility of retaining these for long together. Stone-masonry was not an entirely new thing in Madagascar. Tombs and gateways had already been constructed, as well as two or three stone houses for the sovereign. But a large building which required careful scientific work was a new thing to them; and in the case of the majority of the workmen, it was necessary to commence with the A B C of the art, and to teach them first how to dress stone to a true face, and then how to square it accurately. The use of the level and plumb-bob and cord was a mystery which even the most intelligent but slowly apprehended, and it was necessary for me to inspect minutely every course and almost every stone. Unless this was done, the third or fourth course would frequently be found to overlap the lower ones by two or three inches. . . . Notwithstanding every precaution I was often mortified to find a good block wasted through the stupidity of my unpractised masons. It was the same with labourers and with carpenters; centering, scaffolding, fencing, and earthwork. Instead of being merely the architect, I found myself contractor, builder, clerk of works, and foreman. From the first I had but from twenty to thirty men at most, at any one time, and these held certain traditions of working, by which they abided as strictly as any trades-unionist in England follows the instructions of his committee. For instance, every man quarried his own blocks, dressed them, and then built them into the walls; and, for a long time, I could not get a system of division of labour. Another of their rules was, that if a workman had begun on any part of the building, no one else would touch that portion of the walling, but seemed to regard it as the vested right of the one who commenced" (see *Madagascar and its People*, by J. Sibree). Another great hindrance was the *fanompàna*, Government service, alluded to farther on.

Arrival of
Mr. Poole.

In 1865 Mr. Sibree was joined by Mr. Poole, as architect and builder, and in building the second church at Am-bôhipòtsy a better finish both in masonry and carpentry was obtained, as the trained masons and artisans were then more capable of executing more advanced work under careful supervision.

Distilleries.

Originally the Malagasy were not addicted to drinking spirits, and the general and universal beverage of the natives was water. The exception occurred on the coast, where rum was introduced by Europeans. A distilled spirit, however, known under the general name of *tòaka*, was occasionally used throughout the island, but only as a luxury, and not as a common beverage. *Tòaka.*

How long the art of distillation has been known in the island cannot be ascertained. But in various parts of Madagascar an inferior, and, to the European palate, disagreeable, fermented drink is prepared from sugar-cane, honey, the berries of the *Buddleia madagascariensis*, and other indigenous plants; this is known as *bèsabèsa*.¹ In Ibòina and some other places on the north-west coast a native spirit is obtained from the seed of the *sàtrana*, a species of fan-palm. A juice is also procured from the rofia palm in a manner similar to that in which toddy is obtained in India. The natives make a hole in the tree extending to the centre, tie a bottle to it, and leave it a short time to fill by the oozing out of the liquid, which is perfectly clear and mild. *Bèsabèsa.*

The native still, by which spirit is obtained from sugar-cane, is rude and simple. After the cane has been crushed by rolling a trunk of a tree or heavy circular log over another log, in which a groove has been formed to carry off the juice into a pan or tub, fermentation having taken place, the liquor is boiled in any large vessel the natives possess; while boiling, the steam is carried through a bamboo or piece of iron piping fixed in a cask of cool water, and the condensed liquid flows into the receptacle prepared for it. Native still.

In the central province there is, happily, a very stringent law against the manufacture or importation of spirits. In Bétsiléo public proclamations have been made to prohibit the manufacture of native spirits, but, nevertheless, it is found for sale at nearly every wayside station where rice and food are to be bought. Its cheapness makes this spirit very tempting to the Bétsiléo, who can get a quart for about two shillings.

¹ "Cette boisson qui ne me parut rien moins qu'agréable, se compose de jus de canne à sucre, d'eau et d'écorce amère d'*anamafaitra*. On verse d'abord l'eau sur le jus de la canne à sucre, on laisse fermenter le mélange, on y ajoute ensuite l'écorce, et on attend une nouvelle fermentation" (*Voyage à Madagascar*, par Madame Ida Pfeiffer, p. 136).

The Rev. J. Pearse states, in his report on Antsilànaka, that around Ambàtondràzaka, in almost every village and hamlet through the length and breadth of the district, there are rude native-made stills constantly worked in the manufacture of rum. The expenses connected with the manufacture are but trifling; there is no duty levied on it, and it is sold at the low price of twopence per quart bottle. It is drunk universally by men and women, etc. (*Ten Years' Review*, 1880).

Malagasy Decorative Art.

Neither in Imèrina nor in Madagascar generally is there to be found any native architectural design deserving of that name, for, although many large stone tombs have been built of late years with a considerable amount of carving employed upon them, nevertheless the details have been copied from European designs, although these have been adopted with great ingenuity by the native artists.

Hóva architecture.

House horns (*tàn-drotràno*).

The Hóva style of architecture, which attained its zenith at the death of the first Ranavàlona in 1861, was fully exemplified at the city of Antanànarivo at that date, when it was crowded by numerous wooden buildings with lofty and extremely high-pitched roofs, finished at the gables with crossing timbers, forming horns, the extremities of which projected beyond the ridge of the roof to various heights, indicating by their length the rank of the tenant or owner. In the case of royal houses these reached a length of from twelve to fourteen feet beyond the neat rush-thatched roofs. The royal palaces were large timber structures with European-like roofs of wooden shingles, and surrounded by large massive verandahs in two or three tiers. These had more or less been constructed with European assistance. In the interior ornamentation of the royal and aristocratic buildings the upper parts of the walls were decorated with florid painted designs (which reminded Mr. Sibree of the Assyrian style of ornamentation). A curious stone structure at the capital is the elaborately designed family tomb of Ràinihàro and his successors, which building, with its series of colonnades and four minarets, resembles an Asiatic mosque.

In the timber houses of the Hóvas there is seldom any trace of ornamental carving. In the interior decoration of some of the village churches in Imèrina considerable taste has

been noticed by Mr. Sibree, who writes: "That, with a little guidance, and a few hints for conventionalising somewhat the natural objects employed in decoration, the native talent might be trained to produce very appropriate adornment for the walls of sacred and other buildings. . . . In many cases the walls are painted with a diaper of groups of leaves and flowers, giving them the appearance of a well-papered surface, while the doors and windows are bordered by bold lines and running sprays of leaves and flowers." In one example Mr. Sibree noticed he says: "There were, however, no figures, nor even attempts at representing such natural objects as leaves and flowers, but only combinations of lines and circles, and curves and zigzags, in a variety of colours. But the most noticeable feature was that, both in the forms employed and in the key of colour pervading the whole, there was a remarkable resemblance to the style of ornamentation which may still be seen remaining on the stonework of a few of our ancient churches in England."

Among the Bétsiléo, however, a very decided and special style of ornament is prevalent, and some of the memorials raised to the early chiefs are described as being highly decorated with carvings of an elaborate description.

Bétsiléo
carvings.

The Industrial Classes.

"It is not easy, even for foreigners who have lived long in Madagascar," says Mr. Sibree, "to give satisfactory information as to how the great masses of the Malagasy gain their livelihood. There is no great working class of people living solely by being employed in manufactures, and there are no such extremes of poverty and wealth as in civilised countries. The great mass of the people are in pretty much the same easy circumstances: every one is engaged more or less in agriculture, almost every woman is skilled in some handicraft, strictly so called, especially weaving, and almost every man can do a great deal in the simple building required to put up a dwelling; every person, the slaves included, has his rice-ground, so that, if he will only work, he can always procure the necessaries of life. And as the population, except in the neighbourhood of the capital, is small compared with the extent of the country, land for planting edible roots and vegetables may always be obtained by those who will take the trouble to cultivate it.

Handi-
crafts.

Then, again, the absolute wants of daily life are few ; rice, with the manioc root and sweet potato, is the staple food ; cattle, sheep, and poultry are abundant ; very little clothing is worn, and of this an industrious woman can weave the rofia, hemp and cotton stuffs which are required, and the very young children go almost or quite naked until a few years old.

Easily constructed houses.

“A house can be put up with little money outlay ; the red clay of the ground on which it is built forms the walls ; the coarse grass makes the thatch ; no glass is needed for the windows, or boarding for its floor, which is simply the ground itself with a thin layer of cow-dung plaster, and covered with the strong neat mats also made by the women ; so that the wood for the roof-framing and the door and window-shutters is almost the only thing requiring money expenditure. Of course all this refers to the poorest class of native houses ; the well-to-do people often expend considerable sums on their houses, and during the last ten years the capital has been almost entirely rebuilt, good substantial houses of sun-dried bricks, with tiled roof, European arrangement of rooms, staircases, fireplaces, etc., have replaced hundreds of the old native houses with their single large room and lofts in the high-pitched roof.

Trades and occupations.

“In Antanànarivo and its neighbourhood there are, however, many changes now passing over native society. Trades and occupations are beginning to more sharply define the different classes of people, and an increasing number are being chiefly occupied in one distinct pursuit. The large number of buildings which have been erected within the last few years have trained a great class of skilled artisans, masons, bricklayers, plasterers, carpenters and joiners, tilers, glaziers and painters. Then there are bootmakers and tailors, straw-hat manufacturers, leather-workers, blacksmiths and coppersmiths, gold and silver smiths, and potters. Then there are a large number who gain a living by selling all kinds of things in the markets, and there are a good many who go down to the coast and purchase European goods, cloths, and hardware, etc., and bring them up for sale. Besides this there is an increasing number of people who are engaged in educational work, as well as in printing and bookbinding at the mission presses. Since the reopening of the country to the Europeans in 1862 the establishment of large missions in the capital and the erection of the Memorial Churches and other important build-

ings have brought a large amount of money into the country, a fact which is slowly altering many of the old usages, and is raising prices generally" (Sibree's *Great African Island*, p. 194).

Unfortunately, under the old system, the feudal service called *fanompàana* has hitherto operated as a severe check upon all industry and enterprise, so that it often has happened that any one who has shown superior intelligence and ability, in any line of business, had additional work given him to do without the slightest remuneration. Under this system, to be clever was a calamity, and to be diligent was a sure means of bringing increased oppression. This system included not only all direct Government service, but also all kinds of service which might be required by those in positions of authority over any who happened to be below them in the political or social scale. Such labour as the making of bricks, the building of houses, the fetching of wood from the forests, the making of furniture, etc. etc., is included in what the natives call their *fanompàana*. For all this no remuneration was *formerly* received, beyond perhaps a little food during the hours of labour, or a small share of a bullock when some important work was completed. We are happy, however, to have noticed, during the last few years, considerable amelioration in the practical working of this system (*Ten Years' Review*, Rev. B. Briggs, p. 49).

Drawback
of the *fa-
nompàana*.

Turtle Fishery.

(Report of M. Guinet of the Madagascar Company, March 23, 1864.)

Turtle-catching on land.—"The search for tortoise-shell has been from time immemorial one of the industries held most in honour among the Sàkalàva, for the resources which it procures for them are most valuable. In consequence they are all devoted to the capture of the hawk's-bill turtles (*Caretta imbricata*), which sport, besides the benefits it confers, suits that nomad and independent life which delights them so much.

Tortoise-
shell.

"At the present day, on account of the occupation of the north of the island by the Hóvas, the Sàkalàva, ex-proprietors of the soil, are expatriated and refugees with Tsimiàro, at Nòsy-Mitsio, and at Nòsy-Fàly, or elsewhere; but nevertheless they still carry on their employment in their fashion along the sea-shore of their ancient country.

Extent of
fishery.

"In consequence of an agreement entered into between the Sàkalàva chiefs who have submitted to the Hóvas and those who generally inhabit Nòsy-Mitsio, all the coast-line included between Cape Amber to the north and Màmambàto to the south has been divided and handed over to the Sàkalàva refugees of the islands, who have the right to take within these limits all the turtle which come ashore to deposit their eggs, without dividing the shell with the Sàkalàva chiefs under the Hóva rule. This convention has been tacitly conceded by the Hóvas, who do not trouble in any way these turtle-gatherers on their shores.

Equipment
of a Sàka-
làva.

"One must be a savage and a Sàkalàva to follow the calling of a watcher for turtle, as practised by them. Towards about the month of June or July, those Sàkalàva of Nòsy-Mitsio who follow the calling of turtle-catching leave this island for the spot fixed upon for their *tòby* (encampment). Each one of them takes with him, ordinarily, a hatchet, a *sagaye* (spear), an *àntsy* (species of bill-hook), fish-hooks, a case-knife, two earthen marmites, a flint and steel and some tinder (*amadou*), carefully kept dry in an ox-horn. The locality where each fisherman establishes himself is well recognised within certain limits, and no one else has the right to take turtle there without the penalty of losing all he possesses. As long as he stays in the settlement which he has chosen the turtle-catcher has the exclusive right to all turtle which come ashore on the beach under his surveillance. As soon as he arrives he commences to construct for himself a hut, and there installs himself. He has now nothing to do but to watch for the arrival of the turtles and to procure the wherewithal necessary to feed himself.

Watching
for turtle.

"These turtle generally come up on the sandbanks at night, and consequently the watcher patrols several times during the night, and especially every morning, the sands which he overlooks. It often happens that the turtles come up on one spot whilst he is absent at another point. If so, he marks the spot, and fastens to his waistcloth a small cord on which he makes a knot. Each time that he notes fresh marks on the sand he attaches another string which he knots in the same fashion. When he has completed fourteen knots corresponding to fourteen days, he establishes himself near the spot where he remarked the traces a fortnight previously, and redoubles his look-out, for almost always the turtle returns to the same spot every

fifteen or sixteen days or more, when he captures the turtle and deprives it of its shell. If in spite of his careful observance the turtle does not appear, he concludes that it has been taken or changed its place, in which case he betakes himself to another spot, and goes through the same manœuvres as before.

“The turtle-catchers remain absent from their homes sometimes for seven or eight months, during which time it is providence of nature which feeds them. The time of their fixing their *toby* corresponds with the maturity of two kinds of roots; one is the wild yam, which grows in the sands, called by the Sàkalàva *òvinjia*, and the other a tuber which is found abundantly on the moist wooded shores, which, although poisonous when raw, is a nutritious and wholesome aliment when cooked. Besides these roots they obtain salt from the rocks, and fish, which they take by hook and line, or spear in the water; whilst they also get honey and fruits in their season.

Duration
of turtle
season.

“These *guetteurs de sable* are said, during the season, to catch from fifteen to twenty turtles; but sometimes the unfortunate ones only take one or two. It is owing entirely to chance and vigilance that their takings depend. They are able to sell the tortoise-shell at from eight to ten francs the pound.

Price of
tortoise-
shell.

“*The Ampivèhy or Turtle-Fishers in boats.*—It is as a turtle-fisher in a canoe (pirogue) that the Sàkalàva is really happy. This calling is only one for men hardy, adroit in throwing the harpoon, and above all possessing a perfect knowledge of the localities where they carry on the turtle-fishery. The *làkam-piàra* (canoes) which are used in this profession are often constructed from a single piece of wood of a particular kind, measuring about sixteen feet long by thirteen and a half inches wide, tapering very fine at the bow and stern, and so light that with all on board ready for sea it can be put in the water or carried up above high-water mark on the shore by two men. The crew of this vessel is composed generally of two associates, co-proprietors, who take two harpoons, two lances, fishing tackle, cooking pots, and a calabash of water, and one or two light sails, which also serve as an awning for shelter. Besides, each carries always his case-knife, and flint and steel, tinder, etc. The sea-fishing is open to all, and the fishermen claim no limits to their fisheries, but so long as they are afloat they can approach within five yards of a *guetteur* on shore, who can say nothing if the boat fishers take the turtle in the sea.

Boat-fish-
ing.

Precarious
life of
fishermen.

"During the season all the Sàkalàva who have canoes takè to the pursuit of turtle; and when night comes on or bad weather, they are so intimately acquainted with all the passes and coasts in their neighbourhood that they can always find a safe passage or shelter for their frail pirogues where no one else could suspect its existence. When they land, should there be no hut, they make a tent of the sails and poles of their canoes. These fishermen make use of the yams and shore produce, but they always have plenty of fish, and almost always a copious repast.

"The turtle-catching by sea is always more sure and advantageous than that on land; and it is said that the proprietor of a pirogue never takes less than ten turtles in a season" (*Documents*, pp. 344, 345.)

The Press.

1826.
Introduc-
tion of the
press.

The first printing press arrived at Antanànarivo in November 1826, and was brought up by Mr. Hovenden, who had been previously employed by the Bible Society at St. Petersburg, and was now sent out by the London Missionary Society as printer, with press, types, and the requisite printing material. Unfortunately, within two days of his arrival Mr. Hovenden was seized with fever and died on the 15th December. In consequence no attempt was made to bring the press into use until the autumn of 1827, when, although no practical knowledge of the art of printing existed among the missionaries, it was hoped that they might succeed in a trial upon a small scale, by the help of books, which they were furnished with, for guides. The success of their first attempt was such that they were encouraged to proceed in the printing of many useful books. In a report from the Mission dated March 1828, is the following:—"There is now in the press a first catechism, which is nearly finished, and of which there will be 1500 copies; also the Gospel by St. Luke, which is printed as far as the eighth chapter. The 1st of January this year, 1828, we employed in finally revising and putting to press the sheet containing the first chapter of Luke. . . . The king [Radàma I.] and the royal family have expressed themselves highly gratified with the introduction of the art of printing into Madagascar, to circulate among the *ambàniàndro* (subjects) useful and religious knowledge. His majesty sent word that six or eight

1827.
First trial
of printing.

youths might be selected to work at the press permanently." Mr. E. Baker was sent out by the Missionary Society to replace the late Mr. Hovenden, and arrived in Madagascar on the 3d September 1828, and on reaching the capital he kept the press in active and efficient operation, assisted by the Malagasy youths who had been sent to learn printing by the late king.

Arrival of
Mr. Baker.

In the month of March 1830 the mission press had completed an edition of 5000 copies of the New Testament in the Malagasy language. Mr. Baker had also printed 1000 copies of different tracts, and a small system of arithmetic for the use of schools; 1500 copies of a catechism, and 2000 spelling books. They had also 400 copies of the entire New Testament, upwards of 2000 copies of single gospels, and a number of catechisms and spelling books.

1830.
New
Testament
printed.

By 1832 a number of native youths had been taught to work at the press; and these, under Mr. Baker, had been actively employed in printing the Old Testament and other books. The former was completed as far as the Psalms, 1000 extra copies of which were printed for separate distribution. Large editions of spelling and other elementary books, also an edition of a collection of hymns, were provided, not only in order to meet existing wants, but to provide against any views or measures of the queen's pagan Government that might prohibit the operations of the press altogether. The printing of the remainder of the Old Testament was deferred, and Mr. Baker left Madagascar in June 1832. In the absence of Mr. Baker, however, the printing and bookbinding of the mission was continued, being executed by the natives under Mr. Kitching, one of the artisan missionaries.

1832.
Old Testa-
ment com-
menced.

Mr. Baker returned to Antanànarivo in July 1834, bringing an edition of 5000 copies of the Psalms, printed in Malagasy by the British and Foreign Bible Society. He also brought out a new printing press and types, and work was carried on without intermission until February 1835, when the queen Ranavàlona prohibited her subjects from observing the rites of Christianity.

1834.
Edition of
the Psalms.

In consequence the natives were not allowed to assist any more at the press, but Messrs. Baker and Kitching cheerfully undertook the labour of printing themselves. The missionaries having completed the revision of the Holy Scriptures, Mr. Baker undertook the composition and Mr. Kitching worked off the sheets at the press; and by the strenuous efforts of these

1835.
Messrs.
Baker and
Kitching.

devoted men they had the satisfaction of accomplishing their object, viz. the completion of the printing of the entire Bible in the Hóva language. Mr. Baker subsequently laboured with great assiduity at the press, and in the course of the summer finished the second part of the *Dictionary*, viz. the Malagasy and the English.

1836.
The press
closed.

At last Mr. Baker was ordered to leave the capital in July 1836, and the press, which had been in use for ten years, was closed, not to be reopened for a dark period of twenty-six years—until 1862.¹

1862.
Arrival
of Mr.
Parrett.

One of the first steps taken by the London Missionary Society, on the reopening of the country to European intercourse, was to re-establish a mission press in Antanànarivo. Accordingly Mr. Parrett was sent out with all the requisite apparatus, which was duly installed at Imarivolànitra in Antanànarivo, and in working order by 1863. "The nation was still under the influence of the excitement caused by the sudden change of tactics of the people in power with regard to Christianity, and there was an abnormal demand for books and school material."

1872.
Mr. King-
don at
Fàravò-
hitra.

Nine years subsequently Mr. A. Kingdon was sent out under the auspices of the Friends' Foreign Mission Association, and under his superintendence another printing office was established at Fàravòhitra, and for some years there was almost more called for than the two offices could supply, though latterly the demand fell off, and there was no longer any extraordinary pressure of work. The energies of Mr. Abraham Kingdon found full scope in training in his art the score or more of boys whom he employed to help him. He succeeded well, and both teacher and taught worked hard to attain the good result. The lads understood their business well, and the work they turn out, now that their teacher has left them, does great credit to his perseverance and skill. Ordinary printing, bookbinding, and lithography are all successfully carried on by lads who eight years before knew nothing of the arts. In the first eight years of the F.F.M.A. printing office as many as 539,468 miscellaneous publications were issued from the press. Some of these were books varying from 100 to 700 pages, while others were simply broadsheets for hanging on the walls of schoolrooms. A lithographic press was also started, and constant employment is found for the

¹ See Ellis's *History of Madagascar*, vol. ii., chapter xiv. to end of volume.

native draughtsman, Rajàmisa, who was trained at Ambòhijatòvo school of the F.F.M.A.

Among the larger of the works issued may be named an *English-Malagasy Dictionary, History of the Christian Church, The Companions of Our Lord, The Trades and Occupations of the Bible, Malagasy Folk Lore, Therapeutics, Diseases and their Cure, Physical Geography*, etc. 1880. Works issued.

The first newspaper ever published in Madagascar appeared from the Friends' press on 1st May 1875. *Ny Gazèty Malagasy* had soon a large circulation. It was a monthly paper of four pages, and issued at one *èranambàtry* (one-third of twopence) per copy. The editorship was quite independent of the press, and the publication rapidly became popular. Under judicious management it might have become an organ of much power for good, but unhappily, by a too independent style of criticism of public matters, the displeasure of the authorities was incurred, and at their request the publication ceased. The time had not come for the free discussion of public affairs; and for some period the Hóvas had no direct means of knowing of the doings of the great world outside. 1875. *The Malagasy Gazette.*

The Friends' press was also used to print the proofs of a new *Malagasy-English Dictionary*, but only a few proofs were drawn, and the work was abandoned.

An attempt was made to issue a paper on the plan of the *British Workman*, the illustrations coming from England, but it never became popular and was given up.

Subsequently the issue of the *Children's Friend* (*Ny Sakai-zan ny Ankizy Madinika*) on the same plan was tried, and with entire success. The engravings are purchased in England and the Malagasy letterpress added in Antanànarivo. Frank Rasòamànana, the secretary of the Sunday School at Ambòhijatòvo, is editor, and upwards of 1500 copies are issued every month, the greater part of which are regularly sold at the low price of $\frac{2}{3}$ d.

In 1873 a small shop was built adjoining the schoolhouse at Ambòhijatòvo where bibles and other books, school materials and stationery, can be purchased. Encouraged by the success of this shop, another shop with a dwelling was erected close by the market-place which has proved of good service.¹ Bookshop opened.

The first number of a small newspaper, bearing the title of 1882.

¹ "Review of the Work of the Friends' Foreign Mission Association in Madagascar. From 1867-1880," *Antanànarivo*, 1880, chapter vi. pp. 80, 81, etc.

1882.
The *Madagascar Times*.

The *Madagascar Times*, was issued on Saturday, 22d April 1882. This newspaper was published weekly until 22d July, when, owing to the departure of the proprietor and editor, M. A. Tacchi, for England in company with the embassy to Europe, it was suspended. The contents of the paper were chiefly in English, with an occasional intermingling of French and Malagasy. The editor had in view not only European readers, but Malagasy who are able to read English, and much of the writing was evidently intended for readers of the latter class. In reference to all Malagasy questions the *Madagascar Times* was decidedly on the side of the natives; indeed, in certain quarters it bore the reputation of being an organ of the Government. In the concluding number of the first volume, however, the editor clearly stated that such was not the case, but that the paper was entirely a private undertaking.

1875-86.
The *Antanànarivo Annual*.

The most important periodical published by the press of the London Missionary Society at Imarivolànitra, Antanànarivo, and printed by Malagasy printers, is the *Antanànarivo Annual and Madagascar Magazine*, a record of information on the topography and natural productions of Madagascar, and the customs, traditions, language, and religious beliefs of its people. The first number of this *Annual* appeared at Christmas 1875, under the editorship of Mr. James Sibree jun., architect of the Memorial Churches, who also edited the two succeeding *Annals* of 1876-77. On Mr. Sibree leaving Madagascar Mr. G. Cousins undertook the management of the magazine, and produced the number for 1878. Owing to various contingencies the publication of the *Annual*, No. V., was delayed until 1881. This and No. VI. of 1882 were edited by the Rev. R. Baron. Messrs. Sibree and Baron are now the co-editors of the latest numbers. It is impossible to overrate the value of this most interesting and instructive record, and the frequent reference made to the work by the compiler is the best evidence of his obligations to the successive editors.

Mr. Parrett's long services.

"For twenty-three years," writes Mr. G. Cousins, "Mr. Parrett's name has been honourably associated with the Society's Central Mission at the capital, during the whole of which time—an absence on furlough in 1873-75 excepted—he has rendered most valuable service as superintendent of the Mission press. In no branch of missionary operations in the island has there been more marked and satisfactory advance than in that entrusted to his care. When he began work he

had only a small hand-press and a very meagre supply of type : to issue a 16mo reader was a formidable undertaking ; to-day, the printing establishment at Imarivolànitra has an excellent plant, a staff of forty - two trained compositors, pressmen, binders, etc. ; and the work turned out would not discredit an English firm. There are also five other presses in Antanànarivo, all of them directly or indirectly the out-growth of the work at Imarivolànitra. Moreover, Mr. Parrett has been an earnest worker for the general enlightenment of the Malagasy, and has evinced the warmest interest in everything affecting their social and political progress " (*L.M.S. Chronicle*).

In this brief account of the various manufactures and industries of indigenous and foreign creation it would be wrong not to notice the successful labours of the late M. Laborde. This gentleman, who was born at Auch (Gers) in 1806, was shipwrecked on the coast of Madagascar in 1831, and through the agency of M. de Lastelle obtained permission to proceed to Antanànarivo, where he was employed by Queen Ranavàlona I. to cast ordnance. Here, with incredible energy and with no other resource¹ than the rude native labour of the country, M. Laborde established a large foundry at a place named Sòatsimànampiovàna, about twenty miles from Antanànarivo. By great perseverance he not only succeeded in installing a large cannon foundry, but added forges, smelting works, and workshops, with machinery of various descriptions. Subsequently he added glassworks, potteries, brick and tile works, etc. ; sugar-mills, distilleries, dye-pits, and tanneries, etc. ; in fact the place became an enormous manufacturing village where anything required by the queen was made. Most of the machinery was driven by water-power, and it is said that he had 10,000 workmen under his direction.

1831-57.
M. Laborde.

¹ According to M. Francis Riaux, secrétaire de la Compagnie de Madagascar, the only technical help M. Laborde used consisted in that afforded by some scientific manuals ; he writes : " Un Français, M. Laborde, que les incidents d'un naufrage avaient jeté, il y a quelque trente ans, sur les côtes de Madagascar, avait gagné la confiance de Ranavàlona en construisant et en organisant pour elle, à l'aide des seuls *Manuels Roret*, diverses usines industrielles où dix mille ouvriers étaient occupés sous sa direction. Dans ces établissements on fondait des canons, on fabriquait du verre, de la faïence, de la soie, du sucre, du rhum, de l'indigo, ainsi que toutes les machines nécessaires à l'installation et au fonctionnement de ces fabriques." It must, however, be remembered that Mr. Cameron left a number of skilled artisans whom he had instructed whose services were utilised by M. Laborde.

CHAPTER XII.

ADMINISTRATION.

“ *Totiusque ordine gentis*
Mores, et studia, et populos, et prælia dicam.”
(*Georgica*, lib. iv. 4.)

INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION.—Civil government—Modified despotism—Succession by nomination—Federation of tribes—*Kabàry*—Military precedence—Royal clans and caste distinctions—*Andriambaventy* or nobles—Officials—Ancient Hóva code—Sàkalàva laws—Ordeals—Code of Ranavàlona I.—Revised laws of 1861-62—Revolution and change in the constitution—New Charta—Reform of administration—*Sakaizam-bokitra*—Provincial governors—Code of Ranavàlona II.—Independent tribes. ECCLESIASTICAL ADMINISTRATION.—Cessation of idolatry—Native churches and evangelistic work—The palace church—The town churches—The suburban and country churches—The government of the churches—Districts—Missions—Schools. MILITARY ADMINISTRATION.—The army—*Levéé en masse*—Elementary discipline—British subsidy—Bodyguard—Police—Rank—Military code—Conscription—Betting—*Vòromahèry* regiment—Burning—Degradation—Words of command—Government service—Reorganisation—Reduction of the *dekà*—Inspection of troops—Foreign drill-sergeants—Gun-tax—Army regulations of 1879—Review in 1881.

Map.—Mission Districts of Imèrina, by Mr. William Johnson, F.F.M.A.

Internal Administration.

The Government of Madagascar.
Modified despotism.

“THE Hóva Government of Madagascar,” writes Mr. Ellis, “was in theory neither despotic nor monarchical, but a mixture of both with a preponderance of the former, and might have been termed a modified despotism, there being on one hand too many public assemblies of the people under the pretended necessity for consultation upon the affairs of the nation to justify the designation despotic;¹ on the other hand, the sovereign was invested with too much authority, beyond the control of fixed and definite laws, to be considered merely as a monarch. Previous to the revolution of 1863 the sovereign

¹ Much the same as in Germany when Tacitus wrote: “De minoribus rebus principes consultant, de majoribus omnes; ita tamen, ut ea quoque, quorum penes plebem arbitrium est, apud principes prætractentur” (Tac., *De Mor. Germ.* c. xi.)

of Madagascar claimed nominally a right to do whatever he pleased with the life and property of his subjects, and so far was a despot. But certain customs having the force of unwritten law, and to some extent the will of the people, modified the despotism of the sovereign, who was therefore a monarch. This modified kind of supreme authority was applicable on a limited scale to the chieftainship of an independent province, and on a broad scale to the sovereignty of the island. During the reigns of the first Radàma and his widow, Ranavàlona I., the increased power of the military officers, and the extent to which the troops were employed by the crown, rendered the Government almost a pure military despotism.

“Succession to the throne was hereditary, but not necessarily so, for the reason that cases occurred in which the eldest son did not possess the talents of his father. The sovereign nominated his successor by right, as he was best qualified by his knowledge of his kingdom and family to decide upon the exigencies of the former and the capacity of the latter. His nomination was respected by the people thinking that the king could do no wrong, and that in the person of the monarch was united the collective wisdom of the royal ancestors, the *Rda amby ny fòlo manjàka*, ‘the twelve kings.’

Hereditary
succession.

“Anciently, therefore, the sovereign appointed not only his immediate successor, but frequently extended his appointment to three or four successions, and fixed the line for future generations. Failing such appointment, or should unforeseen circumstances prevent the appointments taking place, the nomination to the succession rested with the nobles, and, as usual, in this case the decision probably rested with the strongest. Unless positive disqualification existed, the eldest son was usually chosen, but this rule was not invariable. Andriamàsinavàlona, grandfather of the first Radàma, divided his kingdom equally between his four sons and a nephew. Radàma’s father put to death his eldest son for ambitiously aspiring to his father’s government while he was still living, and Radàma I. himself had been chosen to the government in preference to the lineal descendants of his ancestors. It was said that the line of succession by Radàma was limited by his father to the issue of a certain marriage, appointed for him by parental authority. By this nominal marriage he, however, had no issue, and the crown was placed on the head of the nominal

Succession
by nomination.

widow. [See chapter i.] So devotedly attached were the people to the strict observance of such appointments, that a struggle for ascendancy without its support could only be maintained by force of arms. Females were not excluded by law from holding the reins of government in former days, but it was not exactly in harmony with the feelings of the Malagasy to admit of female domination. With the exception, however, of the brief unfortunate reign of Radàma II., the crown has been held by women since the death of Radàma I. in 1828, a period of fifty-six years. The powers of Radàma and Ranavàlona and their ancestors were to a great extent really absolute. The sovereign in those days was lord of the soil, owner of all property, and master of all the subjects. Their time and services were at the disposition of the crown, and to refuse either would have been resented not merely with displeasure, but with loss of life and the confiscation of property. But the genius of the Malagasy, and long-established usage, seemed to require, even then, at least a show of justice in the proceedings of their sovereign.

Federation
of tribes.

"Accustomed to servility, subjects might submit for a time to the enactment of measures, however arbitrary and capricious, but disaffection would necessarily be generated and rebellion ultimately follow. After all the Malagasy were only a federation of minor tribes, and the long conflicting claims of hostile chiefs afforded so many opportunities for loyalty or disaffection on the part of their adherents, that the sovereigns were careful to secure the affections of their subjects by the administration of stern justice and upholding the ancient laws and customs. The peoples were not so degraded as to render a tyrant inviolably safe. On the contrary, the paternal monarch was adored by the people and hailed as *Adriamànitra*! ('god'). The Malagasy are not impatient of control, and are fully alive to the value of a regular government as securing their own safety, and render a willing submission to its restraints. Indeed, there are few people who are more law-abiding and loyal to their sovereign and government than the Malagasy.

Kabàry.

"The office of sovereign has ever been maintained with considerable pomp and splendour. The monarch in olden times could consult whom he pleased, and would assemble his people under the pretext of consulting them and laying before these kabàry or assemblies his plans and projects—from which,

however, they never dissented—but the final responsibility and decision in all affairs of government rested with himself. The monarch was the father of the kingdom, and all its numerous and diversified officers were under his independent control. He was invested with all legislative and executive authority, and all laws emanated from him, being proclaimed in public by royal messages or kabàry before large concourses of people either at the public markets or on the special parade grounds.

“The army was raised and officered by the king, who naturally had the power of peace and war in his hands. All important civil cases were finally decided by him, and death could only be inflicted or remitted by his decree. The king went forth to war in person, and was commander-in-chief of his army. No official council of ministers was ever held under Radàma I. further than might serve to maintain the appearance of a public consultation. Army.

“In right of precedence the members of the royal family held of course the next rank to the sovereign. The mother of the sovereign, if living, usually took the highest rank, next the consort, queen, or prince, next the other wives, brothers and their wives, sisters, children, etc. The Malagasy are tenacious of the honours due to their rank, and great attention is paid to strict rules of etiquette in all that pertains to precedence. The descendants of the eldest and second sons of Ralàmbo, the ancient head of the dynasty, possess high rank and yet hold many privileges. The district occupied by those of the eldest son is still called Ambòhimalàza, ‘the illustrious village.’ Both these clans or castes have certain privileges, which they maintain with great tenacity. So also the descendants of Andriamàsinavalona’s twelve sons possess the liberty of intermarrying with the royal family. Precedence.

Royal clans and caste.

“The nobles or *andriambaventy* rank next to the members of the royal family. These are also the judges. Their number is not fixed, but usually there were about twelve residing at the capital. Their business was to hear cases (*sub Jove*), and decide by what appeared to them the equity of the case. In important affairs their decision was taken to the sovereign, whose word was final. They were also employed in delivering royal messages and announcements from the sovereign to the people assembled in kabàry, although latterly the first Radàma sometimes sent his communications by a military officer of high Andriam-
baventy, or
nobles.

rank. The highest profession is that of judge, or rather magistrate, of whom there are always a number on duty at the capital, and one or two in the lesser towns. The office is not hereditary, but the judges are appointed by the sovereign, and only hold their appointments during his pleasure" (*Ellis*).

Zàzamàro-
làhy.

Andriam-
àsinavàlona

Andrian-
tòmpokoin-
drindra.
Andrian-
ambònin-
òlona.

Andrian-
dranàndo.
Zànadra-
làmba.
Tsihibe-
làmbana.

The first class among the Andriana or noble clans, ranking after the family of the sovereign, are called Zàzamàrolàhy; and next in order of precedence are the Andriamàsinavàlona, so called after the Hóva sovereign of that name, who is supposed to have reigned about 1667. The third class are the Andrian-tòmpokoindrina (*tòmpoko*, "sir"; *indrindra*, "especially"). The fourth class are the Andrianambòninòlona (*ambòny*, "above"; *olona*, "people"). The fifth class are the Andriandranàndo (*ranàndo*, "a name"). The sixth class are the Zànadralàmbo (*ralàmbo*, "Mr. Lambo"). All people except those of noble rank, above mentioned, are Tsihibelàmbana (*Tsihy be làmbana*, "a wide mat") (*Richardson's Dictionary*).

Tsiàron-
dàhy.

According to law (No. 59 of the Hóva code, 1881), marriages amongst the classes of the Andriantèloray nobles can only be contracted between members of the same caste. The widows of such marriages contracted previous to the promulgation of this law have been permitted to resume their original caste. If an Andriantèloray marries a Tsihibelàmbana, then such becomes a Tsihibelàmbana. The widows and children of such marriages revert to their original caste. The Zànadralàmbo nobles cannot contract marriages but among their own caste; but marriages contracted between Andriantèloray and Zànadralàmbo before the promulgation of the law are legal and valid. Marriages of *mésalliance* between the above castes are now forbidden, and parties convicted of intermarrying outside their rank or caste are subject to imprisonment, eight months for the man and four for the woman; and they are also punishable by the laws of the ancestral caste. The lowest in rank of the free people amongst the Hóva are the Tsiàron-dàhy (see law No. 249).

The judges.
Mènakely.

"Most of the judges possess a *mènakely* (feudal estate) in different parts of Ankòva; and the people living on such estates, though free, were not only obliged to work for their feudal lord, but were dependent upon him for his decision as a judge in all cases of dispute between them and their neighbours." Should the feudal chiefs of the *mènakely* oppress their people by maladministration or by wasting their property, they

lose, by law 121, all their rights and privileges, and their feudal subjects *mènakèly* become *ménabé*, i.e. they will owe their feudal allegiance direct to the Crown instead of to their feudal lord (see New Code).

The officers immediately under the judges were the *faràntsa* who were the civil police of the country. Their duty was to take charge of the money due to the sovereign from fines, taxes, and confiscations. They had also to receive the rice and other productions falling to the sovereign from the land; and in fact to undertake the custody of whatever contributions the law required for the Government. They were also expected to preserve the general tranquillity and order and promote the wellbeing of the people. In each provincial town certain *faràntsa* act as magistrates, having under them the *lòhòlana* or heads of villages.

Faràntsa,
tax collect-
ors and
magistrates

Lòhòlana,
heads of
villages.

“Another class of civil officers consisted of the *vàditàny* or king’s messengers. They carried the messages from the Government to the headmen of the villages on all public business, and constituted a sort of general watch, as constables of the peace, throughout the country.

Vàditàny,
king’s mes-
sengers.

“In every village headmen (*ampitaka*) were appointed, whose jurisdiction extended over a certain district, from among the inhabitants of which they enrolled from time to time such as had reached the age of manhood and were suitable for the public service.

Ampitaka.

“The officials termed *ambòninjato* (over a hundred) were subordinate, again, to the *vàditàny*, and conveyed individually the orders for attending public service, *fanompòana*, etc. Under the headmen inferior officers were placed, the system of obedience to elders and superiors being very extensively enforced, under the idea that seniority necessarily conferred authority—‘Evil is the land without elders’ (Proverb).

*Ambònin-
jato*.

“The *màroserànina* were the heads of those districts of Imèrina who had willingly submitted to Radàma I., and others appointed for their distinction in war and services to the monarch. These constituted a military class, and among them were some of the royal family. They were men of greater influence and weight in the courts than the judges; most of them possessing larger *mènakèly* (estates), and a greater number of tenants and vassals,—in fact they somewhat resembled the old European barons. They were not only more wealthy but more expert in war, and exhibited superior taste in the adop-

*Màroserà-
nina*.

tion of European dress and customs. The *màroserànina* had great influence over the people, and from this class the privy council of the sovereign was chosen. The highest ranks in the army belonged to this distinguished class. Ultimately Radàma became jealous of the influence and power of the *màroserànina*, placed them in garrisons in the unhealthy parts of the island, where most of them fell victims to the pestilential fever, and the title of *màroserànina* is now extinct. The court of Ranavàlona I. was composed of the *andriambaventy* or judges and the principal officers of the army who took the place of the *màroserànina*, called *mànambòninàhitra*, or 'possessors of honour'" (*Ellis*, vol. i. p. 550).

*Mànambò-
ninàhitra.*

Ancient
Hóva code.

Previous to the days of Ranavàlona the Hóva people were subjected to the following laws. The text of this ancient code¹ of laws must be taken for what it is worth, as, long after its alleged promulgation, laws were proclaimed by speech and handed down by tradition. For it was not until the days of the first Radàma that written letters were introduced to express the sound of the native language. But this *soi-disant* code possibly gives a *résumé* of the old unwritten law as it was handed down by Andrianimpòinimèrina, who only died in 1808, to his son Radàma I., who was the first Hóva chief that came in contact with Europeans. As the ancient unwritten laws of the Hóva chiefs are often appealed to, or at least have been recently, it is thought not out of place to preserve what is recorded of them.

ANCIENT HÓVA CODE.

Penalties.

1. The penalty of death, with the sale of wife and children into slavery and confiscation of all property, for the following crimes:—(1) For desertion to the enemy; (2) For any one who shall try to procure the wives of princes and nobles; (3) For concealment of arms beneath clothing; (4) For stirring up a revolution; (5) For forcing men beyond Hóva territory; (6) Theft and forgery; (7) Unnatural offence; (8) Discovering, working, or denouncing mines of gold or silver; (9) Chiefs can only lose their wives and children for the above offences.

2. Whoever spreads false reports out of Andohàlo (public place of Antanànarivo) or of the Champ de Mars² shall be bound by those who hear him, and taken before the judges.

3. Whoever makes use of false weights, false measures, and whoever

¹ This code, which is given by M. d'Escamps, is stated to have been obtained by M. Charney, when in Madagascar in 1863. M. Jules Duval published it in an appendix of his work, *Les Colonies et la politique de la France Coloniale*, p. 499 (see *D'Escamps*, pp. 451-445).

² Màmàmàsina.

takes advantage of his strength to oblige any other to buy from him or to sell to him, is declared guilty.

4. I have no enemies except famine and inundations. When the dykes or rice-plantations are broken, if the neighbouring people are not sufficient to set them to rights, all the people must give a helping hand, so as to get finished at once. If the dyke at Vòhilàra (rice-field in front of Antanànarivo) is damaged all the people must join together to repair it immediately.

5. When there is to be a *corvée* (*fanompòana*), and among those who owe this *corvée* there are too few or some who are ill, whoever is in charge of the *corvée*, if he pays for men to replace these, and then gets paid more than he has given, he is guilty.

6. Whoever in a lawsuit corrupts or tries to corrupt the judges shall lose his lawsuit, and be condemned to a fine of fifty dollars, and if he cannot pay this fine, he is to be sold.

7. Whoever buys from any white people, or from any people subject to the Hóvas, and whoever carries off the goods without paying, shall be seized and sold, as well as all his property, in order to pay the value of the goods he has carried off.

8. Whoever buys some article and gives an instalment, if afterwards he has not enough money to pay the entire sum, he is obliged to give up the article and to lose his instalment.

9. If you have given to your own children or to those you have adopted part of your goods, and later on you have reason to complain of them, you may disinherit them, and even disown them.

10. If an orphan behaves badly to his grandparents they may disown him, even if he should be a soldier.

11. If you take a poor child and bring him up as your own child, if, after your death, he should claim part of your property, he cannot have anything unless he can bring witnesses to prove you have adopted him as son.

12. If you make use of false witnesses in a lawsuit, you shall lose the suit and be condemned to lose half the value of what you claim.

13. If any one wishes to institute a lawsuit about land you have bought, the seller of which having died after its sale, he shall lose the suit and be condemned to fifty dollars fine.

14. If any one carries off a slave without his master's leave, he shall be condemned to give back the slave and to pay the amount as a fine.

15. The slaves of the province of Imèrina cannot be sold out of this province. If any one transgresses this law he is pronounced guilty.

16. If any one sends his bullocks to graze in pastures belonging to another, and does not withdraw his bullocks at the first summons, he shall be condemned to pay a fine of one dollar per bullock.

17. If you have troubles or sorrows, whether men, women, or children, inform the officers and judges of your village thereof, in order that your troubles and sorrows may be made known to me.

18. When a drunken man fights with the first comer, abuses him, or damages articles which do not belong to him, let him be bound, and when he has regained his senses, let him be released and made to pay for the havoc he has committed.

19. Whoever has bought powder and guns is ordered to carry the powder and guns to the Government, and he will not be held guilty, for powder and guns can only belong to the soldiers.

20. If, whether in play or in talk, you make use of money which does not belong to you, you shall be condemned to give back this money ; also to a fine of twenty dollars.

21. A chief or commander asking those under his orders to help him in some personal work, if he bear ill-will to whoever has not wished to give his assistance, and if he make him feel that ill-will in the service, shall be considered guilty.

22. Be good friends together, agree between yourselves, because I love you all equally, and do not wish to withdraw my friendship from any one.

23. You are a chief and have people under you ; if a chief of higher rank than yourself asks you to help him in some work of his own, and you employ my people for this in order to gain his favour, I shall consider you guilty.

24. You are great, a chief, etc. You are trusted with money, because confidence is placed in you. If later on this chief will not give him a sum claimed of which he is proved to have been the depositary, he shall be condemned to give up the sum, and to pay a fine of 100 dollars.

25. Whoever manufactures sagayes is guilty.

26. Whoever has medicines not inherited from his ancestors is ordered to throw them away.

Additional articles, generally sanctioned :—

27. Whoever does not respect certain gifts and customs coming from Andrianimpòinimèrina shall pay a fine of one hundred dollars.

28. Whoever does not follow our laws shall be marked on the forehead, and shall not be allowed to wear his hair long, nor to wear clean linen, nor a hat on his head.

According to M. d'Escamps, the same deeds which are considered crimes and misdemeanours, as well as the laws repressing them, are nearly identical throughout all the different tribes in the island, and are preserved by oral tradition.

Sàkalàva
laws.
*Ampiàsy-
firazàna,
Fitèra.*

Among the Sàkalàva, the individuals specially charged with the enforcing of the laws are called *ampiàsy-firazàna*, and the laws or customs themselves *fitèra*. The principal misdeeds which the Sàkalàva law (which must not be confounded with the Hóva law) denounces as crimes or contraventions are witchcraft, the desecration of tombs, murder of all kinds, theft, assault or violence against a free man, calumny, adultery, and insolvency. The penalties applicable to the delinquents are death, slavery, and compensation.

Trial.

“All cases, civil as well as criminal, are tried in kabàry (open court) by a jury of notables taken from the same class as the accused. The houses of the judges are in the immediate neighbourhood of the palace, and on the western side of the palace-yard the judges hold their courts. The causes are tried

in the open air, in true patriarchal style, beneath the shadow of the fine row of *àviàvy* (fig-trees), or on the stone wall. Formerly the judges met to hear causes, deliberate, and administer justice, in a house not exposed to the gaze of the rude or curious; but on one occasion Radàma I. was passing by the house in which the judges were assembled when the latter omitted to rise and pay his majesty the usual tokens of homage, upon which the king ordered the house to be pulled down, and directed that in future all causes should be tried and awards given in broad daylight, *sub Jove*.

“The accusation (*ampànga*) is ordinarily established by parole evidence, either simple statement or on oath. Ordinary witnesses make a declaration pure and simple. The oath is an imprecation, pronounced by certain *mpandòzon-dòha* against the accuser, by which the prosecutor is responsible for the truth of the information he produces against the accused. The formula runs somewhat as follows: “If what I say is false, may such-and-such an individual be struck dead by lightning,” or, as the case may be, “may he be changed into such-and-such an animal.” This oath has the greater influence on the judges according to the status of the person over whom the condemnation is thus pronounced. Should the testimony be discovered to be false, the perjurer becomes the slave of the person by whom he has sworn. The contending parties—prosecutor and defendant—are heard in turn before the jury; and every time one of them affirmed any fact by oath, the other, if he denied it, must also swear to enforce his denial. At each proof or point made by the prosecution, and at each convincing evidence made in favour of the defence, the judges put into a vase a small ticket of wood. Advocates are permitted to defend the accused. These advocates are not paid except they gain their cases. When the prosecution and defence are both closed the judges count the pieces of wood contained in each vase, and judgment is given in favour of the party to whom the larger number belongs.

“Should the evidence, made by witness and oath, not be sufficient to satisfy the judges completely as to the guilt of the accused, and should the accused absolutely deny the crime imputed to him, recourse was had to certain ordeals. The ordeals practised by the Malagasy were those by water, by fire, and by poison. When the accused was put to the proof by the *tangèna* (poison) the accuser, unless he belonged to a class

Accusa-
tion.

Ordeal by
tangèna.

superior to that of the defendant, was also obliged to submit to the same proof. In this case judgment was delivered in favour of the one who suffered least from the effects of the tangèna. In the other case, the opinion of the judges was formed after the manner in which the sufferer supported the test. When the innocence of the accused was proved, the prosecutor had to pay a considerable indemnity, or, if of inferior rank, to become the slave of the accused. Should the ranks of both be equal, the accuser, failing to prove his case, was forced to suffer the same penalty to which the accused might have been condemned. Lastly, when the guilt of the accused was fully established, the jury assigned the penalty awarded by the law according to the crime or wrong committed. Witchcraft and defilement of tombs was always punishable by death. Any individual found guilty of murder or poisoning was generally delivered over to the parents of the slain, who could either kill him or enslave him, or force him to pay a large sum, either in silver or oxen, according to his station in life. Theft was punishable by slavery or by double the value of the article stolen, should it be of small importance. Whoever failed to respect properly the ancestors of another was condemned to pay a proportionate compensation to the person so insulted. Whoever caused any material or moral injury to any free person was forced to make amends by an indemnity proportioned to the damage, as fixed by the jury.

Ordeal by
water.

“The ordeal by water was practised in the neighbourhood of Fort Dauphin, to the south of the island. The accused was conducted to the foot of the rock Itapère, a projecting promontory; here the unfortunate prisoner was bound up to his knees in the water for a certain fixed period. If during this period the water did not rise higher than his thighs the accused was declared innocent; if, on the other hand, the water came above his waist the victim was speared on the spot. Of course the innocence or guilt of the sufferer depended entirely on the wind and tide and time of exposure, which could always be taken advantage of by the judges.

Ordeal by
fire.

“The ordeal by fire was made by passing red-hot iron over the tongue of the accused by certain experts; should the tongue not be burnt or blistered the person submitted to this test was declared innocent.

“In all the above the professional services of certain classes

were called in, all more or less connected with the idol-worship. Among these may be mentioned the *mpandzon-dôha*, administrators of the tangèna ordeal; the *mpisikidy*, or diviners; the *mpanàla vintana*, "discoverers of fate," or astrologers; and the *mpanaô-dôdy*, makers of charms or medicines. These professions were not hereditary; but as the son generally assisted the father whilst living, acting constantly under his direction, he generally was chosen by the sovereign to succeed to the paternal office; and occasionally adopted sons succeeded to the discharge of their patrons' duties.

Mpanôzon-dôha.
Mpisikidy.
Mpanàla vintana.
Mpanaô-dôdy.

"As before observed, the laws were till lately unwritten, depending on oral tradition alone; and it was not until the death of Radàma I. that these ancient customary laws were reduced to writing and codified. Great regard, however, was paid to traditions, customs, and opinions, from which few were willing to deviate without at least the appearance of strong reason. When events arose which required the formation of a new law or the revival of an old one which had become obsolete, the sovereign announced his intention to the judges and officers, and they conveyed the intelligence to the people generally at the public markets. Radàma occasionally adopted the mode of affixing to the outer gate of his palace a written notification of a new law" (see *Ellis*, vol. i. p. 370).

The laws by which the island was governed when Ranavàlona I. reigned were issued by that sovereign when she ascended the throne in 1828. They are entitled "The Laws of the Kingdom, or the Commands of the Sovereign, with the Fines to be imposed on the Malagasy, made at Antanànarivo, 27th Àlahasàty 1828." The enactments are regularly numbered, and the following is a translation of the chief laws:—

Code of
Ranavà-
lona I.
(1828.)

1. All rebels, or persons who violate the royal bed, who steal from the sovereign's house or from the houses of any of the nobility, who entice or lead the people to rebel against their sovereign, all persons guilty of murder and witchcraft, shall be punished with death.

2. All persons found guilty of kidnapping, bullock-stealing, digging under the walls of a house in order to rob it, robbing in a house, cutting off any part of a person's cloth in which money is tied, cutting and stealing rice by night, swearing allegiance to any besides the sovereign, giving the tangèna privately in order to decide any cause whatever without the knowledge or consent of the sovereign, removing a landmark or boundary fixed by the sovereign, reviving a lawsuit after it has been once finally settled by the sovereign or judges, the *hàsina* and the *ôrimbato* having been accepted, such person or persons shall be lost, with wife and

family ; but on surviving the tangèna, shall receive a fine of ten bullocks and ten dollars from the accuser.

3. All persons found guilty of a contumacious violation of the laws, being admonished and yet not obeying, shall be fined one hundred dollars.

4. If any person accuses another of being bewitched, there being no witness, and the accused is conquered by the tangèna, whether by drinking it himself or by giving it to the dogs, he shall be lost and his property confiscated ; but if he survives the test, the accuser shall pay him a fine of twenty-nine and a half dollars ; no excuse can be admitted in this case.

5. Any person found guilty of robbing a tomb, or using unjust weights, or untying any part of a person's cloth in which money is tied, or using unjust measures, or making bad money, or the uniting together of four and upwards to bear false witness, striking with iron or even with wood having iron attached to it, shall be lost and his property confiscated ; but if he gains the cause he shall be paid five bullocks and five dollars by the accuser.

6. All persons found guilty of concealing the property of those who die childless, or the property of those who die by the tangèna, or who consume the property of the sovereign without permission, or receive a bribe from a thief to screen him from justice, or who take the law into their own hands by imposing a fine on another, or who settle the affair of a robbery without informing the sovereign, or who eat the rump of the ox without the permission of the sovereign or the nobles, to whom it belongs, shall each pay a fine of ten bullocks and ten dollars, and an additional sum of thirty dollars to the informer ; but if they gain their cause they shall be paid three bullocks and three dollars.

7. All persons guilty of stealing in the markets, for whatever they steal (excepting kidnapping, stealing bullocks, cutting off a part of cloth, or untying a part of cloth in which money is tied) they shall pay a fine of seven bullocks and seven dollars, and twenty dollars to the informer.

8. If a person seizes another person or his property, and sells or keeps his person or property for debt, without permission of the sovereign or consent of the debtor, he shall forfeit the debt, and pay a fine of five bullocks and five dollars.

9. And for all small thefts, whether of pigs or sheep or goats or poultry or money or rice or sugar-cane or manioc or sweet potatoes or cotton or Indian corn or pumpkins or *vòvo* (nuts) or bananas or *horirika* or lemons or yams or grapes or *voàngo* or French beans, with all other small thefts whatsoever, the person or persons (being detected by the owners of the property stolen) shall pay a fine of seven bullocks and seven dollars ; and, if informed against by others, shall pay an additional sum of twenty dollars to the informer, and be put in irons for a week ; and if they cannot pay the fine, and their family gives them up, they shall be sold ; but, if they gain the cause, they shall be paid two bullocks and two dollars by the accuser.

10. If a *tsiàrondàhy*, or a slave, be found guilty of theft, and cannot pay the fine, he shall be sold (but not his wife and children), and one-third of his price shall belong to the master ; if he can pay the fine, it shall be at the same rate as for free people.

11. If a slave absconds from his master and commits theft, the master of the said slave shall pay two and a half dollars for catching him ; and

if only a small theft be committed, the master shall pay half the value of the goods stolen ; but if the value of one slave and upwards has been consumed by the runaway slave, the owner of the slave and the owner of the goods stolen shall have an equal share in the runaway slave.

12. If the slave of a soldier runs away from his master, one-fourth of the two and a half dollars shall be taken off ; but if the master of the slave be dissatisfied, the two and a half dollars shall be paid.

13. If a slave that runs away is worth ten dollars and upwards, the master shall pay two and a half dollars ; but if he is under the value of ten dollars, a fourth of his value shall be paid, instead of the two and a half dollars, to those who apprehended him.

14. Any person concealing a runaway slave shall pay one bullock and one dollar for every month's concealment.

15. If a man informs against his wife, or the wife against her husband, even if they are separated, or a slave informs against his master after he has been sold to another, or even should they employ others to inform against them, their information shall not be admitted.

16. If a person borrows money and will not repay it at the time fixed, and the owner of the money informs the sovereign of it, the debtor shall pay one-third more, in addition to the principal, if the money has not been taken on interest ; but, if taken on interest, the interest shall be equal to the principal.

17. If an affair at law has been made known to the proper authorities, and a day appointed for trial of the same, and either of the parties do not appear on that day, not being prevented by illness, the party not appearing shall have his choice whether he will redeem himself by paying the value of his body, or lose the cause.

18. Any person accusing another of guilt, in the name of the sovereign or judges, without having authority from them so to do, shall pay a fine of two bullocks and two dollars.

19. Any person having five houses and upwards destroyed by fire in the town shall pay three bullocks and three dollars to the sovereign ; no excuse can be admitted, and the three bullocks shall be killed for the people in the town.

20. Whoever inters the corpse of one killed by the tangèna with its head to the east, such persons being seen to do so, and being informed against, shall pay a fine of four bullocks and four dollars ; but if he begs pardon and confesses his guilt, he shall pay only four dollars.

21. Any person guilty of stealing fuel shall pay a fine of one bullock and one dollar. If a large quantity of fuel is stolen, the fine is three bullocks and three dollars.

22. Any person taking away a canoe without permission of the owner shall pay a fine of one bullock and one dollar.

23. Any person who sells to a slave, and the master of the slave is not present, if even the master himself is a slave, and the purchaser has not wherewith to pay, the seller shall lose his money.

24. If any things lost be found by the people, one-third shall go to the sovereign and the persons who find them.

25. If any person buys lost property and the owner of the property finds it, he must make the person prove where he got it ; if the property be small that he bought, then it shall be divided between the buyer and the owner ; if the latter declines, accusing the former as a thief, the per-

son of whom the property was bought shall be sought after, and if he be found the property shall be divided. But if much property has been bought by him, and he cannot prove from whom he had it, the tangèna shall be given.

26. For bullocks that trespass and destroy the people's property, the owners shall pay one-quarter of a dollar for each bullock, for a pig one-forty-eighth, for a sheep one-seventy-second, for ducks, etc., one-hundred-and-forty-fourth, and hens, etc., may be beaten to death. And for small thefts also, if the article is eaten on the spot where it was taken, and not carried home, the theft is not punishable.

27. Any person found guilty of stealing fowls shall receive forty stripes and have his or her hair cut off.

And for all the above-mentioned crimes, if the persons guilty accuse themselves, one half of the fines shall be taken off.

28. All the fines arising from lawsuits shall be divided between the sovereign and the parties who gain the cause. For taking person or property by force or theft, or beating a person, even if the tangèna is not given, the fines shall be divided, half shall belong to the sovereign and the other half to the owner of stolen goods and the informer. And for other crimes (not decided by the tangèna, theft, taking persons or property by force, beating), if informed against by people, and the tangèna is not given, the money shall be divided into three shares, and two-thirds shall go to the sovereign and one-third to the informer.

29. Such are the laws for robbery here above.¹ And these are the laws of the kingdom for you also.²

30. Look well to this paper. Those crimes that cause the loss of wife and children here above, make the loss of person and property there with you. And all the fines shall be reduced one-half, according to the nature of the fines, if the persons guilty accuse themselves. And if the convicted parties put in a plea of former services, and establish their plea of having done great good to the country, then a third again is to be remitted from the fines.

31. Look well to this paper, for the fines are different above from the fines there with you. And for the capital crimes as specified in article 1 (rebellion, violation of the royal bed, robbery in the *làpa*, regicide, exciting revolt, murder, witchcraft), let the persons guilty of such be brought up to Tanànarivo.

Saith RANAVÀLOMANJÀKA.

These laws continued in force until the death of Ranavàlona I. in 1861. On the accession of Radàma II. a revised code was instituted, being chiefly drawn up by Ràinivòninàhitrinion̄y and Rahaniraka. Ellis³ gives the following account of this revision :—

¹ In the province of Imèrina.

² The inhabitants of the remote provinces and on the sea coast.

³ *Madagascar revisited: Describing the Events of a New Reign, and the Revolution which followed; setting forth also the Persecutions endured by the Christians, and their Heroic Sufferings, with Notices of the Present State and Prospects of the People*, 1867 (chapter v. pp. 109, 110), by the Rev. W. Ellis, L.M.S.

In Madagascar the king is the fountain of all law as well as all honour, and according to the customs of the country, one of the early acts of a new sovereign on ascending the throne is to announce publicly to the people any changes he may make in the laws of his ancestors, and any commands of his own which he may add to them. The newly-proclaimed king thus introduced the code of his reign: "These are the laws of the kingdom given by the founders of the dynasty and his successors (enumerating their names) which I do not change, except in abolishing the punishment of death, and ordeal by tangena, saith Radàma the Second, King of Madagascar."

The separate enactments of this code, which extend to sixty-four in number, include crimes against the person or property or rights of individuals, and offences against the Government or the public by the several classes of the community, freemen or slaves. The laws are in substance the enactments of preceding sovereigns, differing chiefly in the change of punishment for the highest crimes, with a few additional orders introduced by the king.

The first law declares that for murder, rebellion, attempted assassination, robbery in the palace, unauthorised administration of the oath of allegiance, and other crimes formerly punished by death, the penalty shall be loss of wife and children, to be sold into slavery; that those guilty of murder, treason, or attempted assassination shall be branded on the forehead¹ and be loaded with fetters; and that traitors and rebels shall be sent away so bound in fetters to such distant part as the people shall determine. The descendants of Radàma's great-grandfather, a privileged class in the community, were to be punished by fines or confiscation of part of their estates. The sums are also specified at which persons sentenced to slavery may be redeemed, and the proportions of fines or confiscated property which shall belong to the sovereign and to other parties.

The law guaranteeing perfect religious freedom to all residents in Madagascar, native or foreign, to practise, preach, and teach their religion without the least interruption or hindrance, occurs among the earliest of those which Radàma now incorporated in the Malagasy code.

The 57th law enacts that if any native or foreigner should discover any land or place in Madagascar in which there is gold or silver, precious stones, or copper, lead, or coal, such discovery shall be reported to the sovereign, who shall appoint persons to arrange what reward shall be given to the discoverer; but that the digging or working for such metals and precious stones, etc., shall belong to the sovereign alone.²

¹ Criminals were sometimes branded on the forehead with a heated musket-barrel, and the circular marks thus burned into the skin were permanent. At other times the nature of their crime was marked on their foreheads by piercing and raising the skin with an awl or other sharp instrument, and inserting a coloured liquid into the puncture so as by this means to declare their crime. Thus, a traitor would be sent to the place of banishment not only in irons, but with the word *mpikòmy* tattooed on his forehead. The latter was not permanent. The culprits managed either to get the colouring matter removed or the lines obliterated; and in those that I have seen the skin has been slightly seamed or corrugated, and the marks in course of time obliterated.

² Some dissatisfaction was expressed by the friends of M. Lambert when this law was promulgated, and it was said that the king had agreed with that gentle-

The next law requires the sovereign's approval of any engagements made by the natives with foreigners for beeswax, indiarubber, gum benzoin, or other native products, to render such engagement valid. All such native productions as are obtained without cultivation had been considered as belonging to the sovereign, and hitherto contracts for these had been made with the sovereign alone, who had ordered the people to collect the articles as part of the Government service. This was therefore an improvement in allowing the collector to make the contract, requiring the sanction of the sovereign, to whom probably a portion of the price of the gums, etc., would be paid.

In this code it is also stated that foreigners are permitted to build houses or cultivate ground, with the permission of the authorities, but that such land cannot become the property of those who thus occupy it, but must belong to the sovereign.

These laws are proclaimed by the judges to the people, and laws or orders are also proclaimed to strangers from the country on the day of the great market, and, though only signed by the king, must be regarded as the code in which the members of the Government agree. The penalty substituted for crimes generally considered capital was heavy, and in such a state of society would certainly deter from crime as effectually as any short of taking life which they could inflict. The abolition of the poison ordeal,¹ so fearful an engine of cruelty and death under cover of judicial proceedings, and the legal recognition and guarantee of religious freedom, are blessings of incalculable value to Madagascar. These laws were promulgated in the other provinces as well as in Imèrina.

1863.

Change in
the consti-
tution.

The narrative of the revolution of May 1863 has already been told in chapter i. (p. 105). It is only necessary here to refer to the changes effected by it in the constitution of Madagascar. Immediately after the death of the king it was announced by the Government of Rainivoninahitriniöny, the prime minister, that Radäma's widow, Rabödo, under the title of Rasohèrina, was queen: that for the future the word of the sovereign alone was not to be law; but that the sovereign, the nobles, and the heads of the people were to unite in making the laws; that no one was to be put to death on the word of the sovereign alone, but that the nobles and heads of the people must concur in the sentence before it could be inflicted; that the ordeal of tangèna was not to be used, but that death was to be inflicted for great crimes.

New
charta.

Articles of agreement were drawn up and concluded between the nobles and the queen, forming an altogether new

man that the discoverers of any mines of precious metals, etc., should have the exclusive privilege of working them. The king said if he had done so he had done what he ought not to have done, and that the above must be the law.

¹ It seems strange that many of the heathen were averse to the abolition of this ordeal, and would not object to its re-enactment, notwithstanding its uncertainty and frequent cruelty.

constitution for Madagascar. "In the document drawn up and presented by the nobles to the queen," writes Mr. Ellis, "there were two or three remarkable items. In every former reign among the Hóvas the title to the throne had been by conquest or by bequest. Radàma had derived it by both; and although there are instances among the traditions of the people in which the claim by descent has been set aside by bequest, the sovereignty had never been derived from any other source than that or conquest. In this instance a new source of power appeared to have been introduced. It was now assumed that the power to dispose of the sovereignty, and therefore the possession of it, was in the hands of the nobles and of the heads of the people; and they tendered it on certain conditions, to the selected individual, without any reference to descent or bequest, and with the intention, it was stated, of looking elsewhere if the conditions should be declined. The very proposal seemed to be breaking the claim of succession by right and creating an additional source of supreme power, to rest in the choice of the nobles and the heads of the people; and they were careful to set forth in their early kabàries or proclamations that the queen was the people's choice. On her mother's side she was of royal descent; but this was not the ground on which the crown was offered.

"The next important change was that of uniting with the sovereign and the nobles the heads of the people in the exercise of power over the lives of the community, by requiring the consent of their representatives before anyone should be put to death. The frightful destruction of life during the reign of Ranavàlona I., and the threatening aspect of the project of Radàma II., after his mind had become disordered, naturally induced a desire to provide a safeguard of life.

Consent of
popular
representa-
tives re-
quired.

"The third great change initiated by the new constitution was the share secured to the nobles and heads of the people in the making of the laws for the nation. Practically, it had occasionally and to some extent been so, even before the days of the first Radàma; but though the sovereign generally took counsel with his selected advisers and chief officers, it was optional on his part to do so; and as in the case which caused the fall of Radàma II., he might issue orders, if he chose to risk the consequences, in opposition to their advice. The condition, therefore, that the word of the sovereign alone should not be law, but that the heads of the people should take part

Reformed
legislation.

in the making of the laws, was intended to secure most important advantages to the entire community. And even should these stipulations not be strictly adhered to by those who had been parties to the engagement, the very fact that one party should have selected and urged them as the conditions according to which the supreme authority should be exercised, seemed an indication of progress in a right direction and towards a better condition, which must be gradual, and can only be reached by advances concurrent with their own intellectual, moral, and social improvement" (*Ellis*, p. 310).

Proclama-
tion of new
laws.

"The new laws were publicly proclaimed by Ravahatra, the chief judge, accompanied by several of the assistant judges, on the 25th May 1863 in public kabary at Andohalo. The laws retained without alteration were simply enumerated. The laws changed and those introduced were then read over and afterwards presented, each separately, to the whole assembly. The maintenance of friendly relations with foreign nations was the first thing clearly and explicitly stated; and a corresponding conduct was required from all classes, especially at the ports. The encouraging of commerce or trading with other countries was the next. Duties on both exports and imports were to be levied at the rate of ten per cent each way. Perfect religious freedom or liberty to teach and worship according to their faith was guaranteed to all—Christians and non-Christians, natives and foreigners, throughout Madagascar. There was only one exception, viz. Ambòhimànga, said to be, much of it, the queen's private property. But even here Christians were secured from molestation, only their place of worship must be outside the gates. This was the only alteration. The officers of the place who had been dismissed for prohibiting Christian worship were not restored to their posts, but those appointed by the late Radàma to succeed them continued in office.

Important
enactments

"The important changes specified in the brief but pregnant conditions on which the crown had been offered and accepted, were embodied in the several enactments then publicly and authoritatively published. They were somewhat enlarged, but in their import were the same. The enactments that were new, such as the associating the nobles and the heads of the people with the sovereign in the forming and authorising laws; in inflicting the sentence of death; in maintaining the efficiency of the army; in the continuance of slavery in the country, with the liberty of the master to give freedom to his slaves; the

prohibition of the use of the ordeal by tangèna; and the forbidding of the circulation of false reports, were most of them explained by the judges as means of preventing evils which they had deplored, of securing the confidence and satisfaction of the people and increasing the prosperity of the country.

“The question of slavery had been introduced both in the conditions on which the crown had been offered and in the laws. There had been complaints of the importation of slaves to the north-west coast, and the Government knew that it was offensive to the English. Some of the people had supposed there might be a proposal to abolish slavery and the buying and selling of slaves among themselves. The law then promulgated set their minds at rest on that question. Some of the more intelligent and reflecting of the people seemed to ponder over the great change which had taken place, especially the associating of other classes with the sovereign in the framing of laws and in inflicting the death punishment. But they seemed to doubt whether it would be permanent, and few of them comprehended the fact that their Government had, in some of its most important functions, ceased to be an absolute monarchy, and had provided safeguards for human life which never existed before. The reckless waste of life by the late queen had, in all probability, determined the authors of the revolution to avoid again lodging the power of human life in the hands of any sovereign alone; and the infatuation, or whatever it was, that impelled Radàma II. to propose to issue on his own authority a law so dangerous to the peace and safety of the community as his last proposed order (see chapter i.) had induced them to determine that for the future the sovereign alone should not be the framer of the laws that were to be binding upon the people” (*Ellis*, p. 325).

In July 1864 the powerful prime minister, Ràinivòninàhitrinìny, was deposed, and sent into banishment the following year. Ràinilaiàrivòny became the minister in his stead, and in consequence of the treaty concluded with Great Britain the queen engaged to put a stop to the foreign trade in slaves; but the regulations were not carried out. Queen Rasohèrina died in 1868, and with the reign of the new queen, Ranavàlona II., a total change of policy was inaugurated (as related in chapter i.) In 1874 all the Mozambique slaves, who had been imported into Madagascar since the signing of the English treaty of 1865, were freed by royal proclamation; and finally,

Slavery.

1864.
Deposition
of prime
minister.

1868.

1874.

1877. in 1877 all Mozambiques, without exception, were freed throughout the island.

Reforms of
administra-
tion. At this time the Government determined to reform and improve the administration of public justice. The old system was corrupt and bribery universal. The administration of the laws was in the hands of a class of men called *andràmbaventy*, and what was known under the name of justice was simply the decision of these nobles, which was, says the Rev. B. Briggs, almost unexceptionably awarded to the highest bidder. Under this system anything like equity was impossible, and the rich had unlimited power of oppressing the poor. Cases were kept in abeyance for years with the hope of increased gain to the judges. Money was borrowed at exorbitant rates by suitors in order to bribe the judges, and this, not seldom, ended in the complete ruin of both parties with their families. These evils were notorious, and the prime minister determined to reform

1878. the course of procedure. On the 21st February 1878 he called together the judges and the chief officers in the courtyard of the palace and made known to them the new arrangements determined upon. It was decided that instead of one court, as formerly, at which all cases, of whatever nature, had been investigated, there were in future to be three, each having charge of a distinct class of cases brought up for trial, and having also its own place of assembly.¹ Each of these departments was to consist of thirteen individuals, two of whom were to be appointed from the *andràmbaventy* (the former judges), and eleven from the *mànambòninàhitra* (officers holding honours), who had hitherto taken no part in such business. Another important part of the new arrangements was that the functions of each of these separate courts were to be confined to the examining of witnesses and the collecting of evidence. The evidence when collected was to be submitted to the prime minister and a few of the chief officers for their opinion, which opinion was afterwards to be submitted to the queen for final decision. The principal objects aimed at by these arrangements were the more quick despatch of judicial business, and the pre-

¹ The first of these courts was to take charge of all civil suits and to meet north of the palace; the second was to have charge of all forcible and unjust seizure of property, and to meet west of the palace; the third was to have charge of all criminal offences, such as theft, murder, etc., and to meet south of the palace. A fourth department was afterwards added to take cognisance of all important cases and appeals from a distance, viz. from Bétsiléo and other places.

vention of bribery, thereby securing greater justice in the administration of the laws. In consequence, it is stated that there has been a decided improvement in these respects. Cases of bribery are less frequent, and the people have more confidence than formerly that they will obtain an unprejudiced hearing in regard to any cause of complaint; there can be no doubt, however, that some of those in authority (1880), writes Mr. Briggs, still find means of extracting money from their too credulous clients. As a rule, cases of litigation are treated with greater despatch, but, nevertheless, litigants are still kept a considerable time before they can obtain a settlement, yet this delay is apparently unavoidable.

On the 4th July 1878 there was published the great kabary appointing the order of *Sakaizam-bôhitra* (Friends of the villages) to superintend all political and social matters affecting the order and welfare of the numerous towns and villages in the province of Imèrina. "This order of *Sakaizam-bôhitra* is one of the most important institutions that have appeared, not only within the last decade (1870-80), but in the history of Madagascar," writes Mr. Briggs in the *L.M.S. Review*. "It indicates," he adds, "great wisdom on the part of the rulers of the country, and also a sincere desire for the welfare of the people generally. We are confident that if faithfully carried out it will do much to raise the social status of Imèrina and also of other provinces as well. These police, *lapôlsy*, are now termed *antily*." 1878. *Sakaizam-bôhitra*, or *antily*.

"At the time of the appointment of these *Sakaizam-bôhitra* a handbook was published by the Government, containing definite instructions for the guidance of these officers in the discharge of their duties. These 'friends of the villages' are soldiers who are too old for regular service in the army, and who have been put in charge of their respective villages throughout Imèrina as guardians of the civil rights of the people, and as the only but easy means of communication between the common people and the Government. They thus occupy a very important and responsible position, and are entrusted with all matters relating to the political and social order of their respective villages and districts. There are over 6500 of these officers, with 198 head-stations. There is no Government officer in England whose position answers in every respect to that held by these *Sakaizam-bôhitra*. They seem to combine, in a modified sense, the duties of all civic

Publica-
tion of
handbook.

officers from those of mayor down to those of common constable. They have no power, however, to settle any matter of importance, but have to report everything to the prime minister for final settlement. The book of regulations with which they have been supplied contains instructions with regard to divorce, polygamy, the registration of births, deaths, and marriages, the annual returns of the residents in each village, all acts of oppression and causes of social disturbance, the sale or renting of lands or houses, the registration of property, stealing, loans, false weights and measures, the cleaning of the roads and public thoroughfares of the villages, the non-separation of young slave children from their parents, and also general instructions with respect to the observance of the Lord's day, the attendance of children at school, and the proper regard to be paid to places of worship. For the work involved in the discharge of many of these duties the Sakaizam-bôhitra receive small fees, *e.g.* for the registration of a birth the fee is twopence, for the registration of a marriage it is sixpence, for other work the fees vary from sixpence to two shillings. The publication of these regulations has had a most beneficial influence on the country. As most of these officers are men of no education, the Government has appointed several writers or clerks to each company. These writers were selected from the best scholars in the English schools, and as the position is regarded as one of honour and eagerly sought after, the measure has acted as a new stimulus to the work of education. The system has now been in operation for some years, and although the institution has not perhaps answered all the expectations attached to it, nevertheless, as the older uneducated veterans give place to younger and more enlightened officials, a great improvement will gradually be developed, when the salutary regulations, at present partially in abeyance, may be strictly enforced.

Reforms in
administra-
tion.

"These reforms, in regard to the administration of justice and the government of the country towns and villages, greatly increased the work of the prime minister, and rendered other changes necessary, in order to relieve him of some of his onerous duties. In addition to his being prime minister and commander-in-chief of the army, Rainilaiarivôny had, by the new arrangements above referred to, made himself chiefly responsible for the impartial administration of the laws, and the adjustment of all difficulties reported to him by the

Sakaizam-bôhitra. This was seen by all his friends to involve more labour than his strength was equal to, and he himself was conscious of the same. He therefore began to devise some plan by which the work, and to some extent the responsibility also, might be shared by others. In addition to obtaining personal relief, he was anxious to establish a more permanent and constitutional form of government. After devising a scheme which seemed adapted to the specialties of the Malagasy people, the difficulty appeared to be to find men of suitable character and ability to occupy the various offices. Under these circumstances, the attention of the prime minister was directed to the ten evangelists (usually called the *Fôlo-làhy*), who had been sent out by the palace church in 1874 (see chapter i., p. 130), and stationed in the principal towns of Imèrina. These were all men of good social position and superior intelligence. They were among the most successful of the first lot of students trained in the L.M.S. College, and on finishing their course of study were sent out as evangelists, each having, in addition to his station, church, and school, fourteen or fifteen churches and schools under his care. These men did their work well, and proved themselves worthy of confidence and respect; and Rainilaiàrivôny decided to withdraw them, filling their places with other students from the college, and place them in charge of various departments of his newly-formed ministry. They were appointed ministers of education, justice, jurisprudence, etc., and made responsible in their separate departments. Meantime the scheme of reformation in the Government departments proceeds although slowly.

Fôlo-làhy.

Appoint-
ment of
ministers.

"In addition to the changes and reforms in the conduct of public business in Antanànarivo, the Government decided on extensive changes in its representatives at the numerous stations and garrisons throughout the island. This was most desirable, as many of the old governors, with their assistants, had been at their posts for many years, and knew very little of the novel principles and reformed Government of later days. In November 1879 a new Governor and staff were sent to Fianàrantsoà, the capital of the Bétsiléo province; and at the same time a new governor was despatched to Mahàbo. Suitable changes have since been made in the local governments, at Tamatave and elsewhere, and a great good, politically and socially, has resulted in provincial administration" (*Ten Years' Review*, pp. 22, 23).

1879.
Change of
local
governors.

Provincial
governors.

In the *Malagasy Gazette* of Saturday, 28th February 1885, the following Government notification was published with regard to the provincial governors :—

GOVERNORS.—It seems that many people still have a wrong idea of the object for which Governors are appointed, and the duties which the Queen assigns to them, therefore it would be well to say a few words here on that matter. Some imagine that when an officer is appointed Governor he can do as he likes in the district under his jurisdiction, especially in the matter of accumulating money and wealth for himself personally. Other ignorant people suppose that the reason for appointing Governors is to subdue the people on the coast and make slaves of them, and that whatever work these people are given to do must be done ; and that such people as do not do everything to their fancy are to be fined like felons and rebels. Such people have an entirely false opinion about the power conferred upon the Governors ; they are not sent by the Queen to impoverish and oppress the people at all, but to guide them in wisdom, truth, and the industries ; and, above all, to be as a parent and a lawyer to the ignorant and those of little knowledge.

Here, in Imèrina, there are no Governors, because here is the capital where the Queen resides, and she is the head of the kingdom. If there is any Government business which she wishes to be done she notifies the officers, and in a very short time the people hear it, for the farthest limits of Imèrina are only one day's journey ; and not only that, but here, in Imèrina, civilisation, knowledge, and the industrial arts are making good progress, and it can be said that enlightenment exists in the land, and the people round about the Queen ; and the country districts are quiet, and the kingdom is at peace,¹ because the people see and admit the power of the Queen and of the Government, from the fact that it is before their eyes continually. And although there are evil-doers here, for in every land where there are human beings there will be evil-doers, they dare not attempt much, for when they are found out by the Government they are severely punished, according to laws.

But when we go outside of Imèrina, the change both in the land and the people is very plain. The towns and villages are more sparse, and the condition of the people is dark for want of knowledge. They know nothing of the industries, except in as far as the planting of their food is concerned ; reading and writing are little known among them, for they are far from the teachers ; and the condition of their houses and clothing, cleanliness, and manner of healing the sick, are far below us in Imèrina ; for they still adhere strongly to the customs of our ancestors, and very few advisers are to be found among them.

If, therefore, we travel farther on, and come down to the coast, we shall be really surprised at the people's want of ability. The usages and industries for securing the comfort of people up here are still completely unknown to them. What a little child here in Imèrina knows is quite above the capacity of grown-up people on the coast. Their social organisation too is bad ; strength is respected more than justice, and upright conduct, according to our way of thinking, is still hid from their sight. Frequently those who are powerful confiscate whatever they like, and the

¹ That is, there is no interior rebellion.

weak and the orphans are enslaved without reason. Charms, and the customs of their ancestors, still have great power over them, and both the land and the people are in utter darkness.

Nevertheless this is not happening in another country, for these people are Malagasy ; they have no other Queen among them, but they are actual part of this land and people and kingdom of Madagascar, under Ranavalomanjaka. And seeing that the land and the kingdom belong to the Queen, she is responsible for the happiness of those distant tribes, and that is the chief reason for appointing Governors to reside among them. The Queen herself cannot go and visit all her people on the coast, for there is much work to be done here which cannot be put off, therefore she appoints men in whom she has confidence to be her representatives at those places which are too far to be visited frequently ; and those appointed representatives are to teach the people under them the judgments and laws of the kingdom, which they have to observe, and to do their best to advance civilisation and knowledge among the ignorant ; for it is a source of regret and anxiety to the Queen and Government that these people on the coast should be so ignorant. We Malagasy are not people of different nationality, but one nation only, and our advantage lies in unity and not in separation ; but if the intelligent and fools live together their condition cannot be the same, for the intelligent will be masters of the good and the fools will have the burdens to bear, and this does not tend greatly to the prosperity of the land and of the kingdom. The Queen sees this, and that is her chief reason for desiring to spread civilisation throughout the whole kingdom. The Queen is wise and it pleases her to rule the wise, and it is bitter to her to rule over fools. That, then, is the reason for seeking wise, intelligent, and trustworthy men to be her representatives on the coast. The Queen, however, is sometimes deceived, and those who appear to be just men when before her become evil-doers when they are far from her. They do not preserve the Queen's kingdom, but damage it ; the soldiers who are sent forth by the Queen as horns to her kingdom are not well cared for, but are continually sent about trading ; the people are not governed like a people who love their sovereign but like stubborn children, and this does no good to the people among whom they live, but ruins them entirely. Governors who dare to do this are downright bad men, and their daring is astonishing, for they carry on every day what is positively sacrilege to the Queen. People who are guilty of nothing are threatened and ruined ; the people end by hating civilisation, and the land under their jurisdiction advances in evil instead of good. And what is greatly to be regretted is that the people ruled by these Governors are so stupid and frightened that they dare not report what is going on to the Government, and the consequence is that the Queen becomes disliked, for some think that it is the Queen's will that they should be oppressed like that.

The Queen loves justice, and however much a person is liked by her, he has no power to enslave and oppress the people. And however high in rank a Governor may be, or however influential he is in his district, there are higher and more powerful here at Antananarivo, who will deal with him according to the laws of the kingdom, if it is heard that he is an evil-doer. And whoever loves his Queen and his country ought not to be ashamed or afraid to accuse his superiors if it is seen that they are

doing wrong, for the Queen will not join with evil-doers, however influential they may be.

The duties then of Governors ought to be plain to us—they are the substitutes and representatives of the Queen, and if the Queen is true, wise, and devoted to her people, the Governors ought to be likewise. The Queen works continually every day to advance the kingdom in justice and equity, and those who serve her ought not to be weary of following the example of their sovereign. The Queen refrains from condemning the just, or justifying evil-doers, and will not allow that those who are far off shall consume the people's possessions; and it is a great crime when the Governors dare do what is hated by the Sovereign. The Queen is kind and merciful, the guardian and protector of the widow and orphan, and the same duties are incumbent upon the Governors. The Queen desires to unite all her people as one, whether Hóva, Bàra, Bétsiléó, or Sàkalàva, etc., for she loves them all, and the same policy ought to be observed by all the inhabitants. Ranavàlomanjàka is zealous in doing good, and eager to defend the fatherland, and seeks to increase the glory of the kingdom continually; and if the men appointed by her are anxious to learn to do as she does, then this land and kingdom will make great progress indeed. May then all the Governors be just and upright, governing the people under their charge in wisdom and prosperity, to advance the Queen's kingdom in fame and honour, that Madagascar may be full of enlightenment and truth.¹

Finally, the new laws were codified and approved by the queen and her ministry, in 1881.

1881.
Revised
code of
Ranavà-
lona II.
published.

On the 29th March 1881 the new and revised code of civil laws was promulgated to the great kabàry held at Andohàlo in Antanànarivo (see vol. i., p. 131). This collection of edicts contains 305 distinct statutes; and these, together with a lengthy preamble, index, and other matter, were printed in a pamphlet of thirty pages. Following is an abstract of the code from the translation by M. A. Tacchi published in the *Madagascar Times* of 1884:—

THE LAWS OF THE KINGDOM.

The twelve
capital
crimes.

1. Laws affecting all the people. The twelve capital crimes, punishable by death and confiscation of property, without regard to sex:—

- (1.) Preparation of poisons, with the intention of causing the queen's death.
- (2.) Organising plots for purposes of rebellion.
- (3.) Complicity with rebels with intent to encourage rebellion.
- (4.) Encouraging or provoking the people to rebel.
- (5.) Exciting the popular mind for purposes of rebellion.
- (6.) Designating a usurper to the throne with intent to rebel.
- (7.) Calumny against the Government with intent to cause a rebellion.
- (8.) Intent to murder for purposes of rebellion.

¹ Translation in *Madagascar Times*.

(9.) Forceful entrance into Government buildings with intent to rebel.

(10.) Manufacture of daggers for purposes of rebellion.

(11.) Receiving bribes for purposes of aiding a rebellion.

(12.) Murder.

These are the twelve capital crimes, and whoever shall be found guilty of any one of them will be punished with death, and his goods confiscated, even if they have been passed into other hands.

2. The wife and children of a rebel who shall fail to denounce any of the above crimes of which they have certain knowledge will be condemned to chains for life.

3. Any person who shall have been known for certain to have witnessed murder or rebellion, and have failed to denounce the offender, will be condemned to chains for life.

4. Any one striking another with a weapon of war, with intent to kill, will be punished with death, even though he may not have caused death. Homicide.

5. Any person receiving a bribe or payment to commit murder shall be condemned to death equally with the person from whom the bribe is received.

6. Any one assaulting another with iron, but not causing death, will be condemned to 1 year in chains.

7. Any one who fails to manifest proper respect to the Queen's sovereignty will pay a sum of 20 dollars and 30 dollars redemption; or in default of payment will be sentenced to 5 years in chains. Respect to the Queen.

Crimes punishable with 10 years and upwards in chains :—

8. Any person introducing Mozambiques or other foreigners into the kingdom as slaves, or selling them as such; and any person carrying people out of the country to treat or sell as slaves, will be condemned to chains for life and his property will be confiscated. Slavery.

9. Digging for gold, silver, diamonds, and coining money are acts punishable with 20 years in chains. Precious metals.

10. Searching or digging for mines of gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, precious stones, coal, etc., is forbidden, whether on lands leased or on unoccupied land, and any person found guilty of such offence will be condemned to 20 years in chains.

11. The practice of charms and evil sorceries will be punished with 20 years in chains. Divination.

12. Any person carrying off another (as captive or slave) will be condemned to 20 years in chains, and his property will be confiscated. Abduction.

13. Any person convicted of forging seals will be condemned to 20 years in chains. Forgery.

14. Robbers of Government property will be punished with 10 years in chains. Robbery.

15. Any person convicted of forging a signature will be condemned to 10 years in chains. Forging.

16. Incendiaries will be condemned to 10 years in chains and their goods confiscated. Arson.

17. Violation of tombs punishable with 10 years in chains and confiscation. Violation.

18. Robbery with violence, 10 years in chains and confiscation.

19. Unauthorised night assemblies for unlawful purposes, 10 years in chains and confiscation. Violent robbery.
Unlawful assembly.

- Collection and purchase of gunpowder 20. Unauthorised collection of gunpowder, 10 years in chains.
- Larceny. 21. Unauthorised sale or purchase of gunpowder, 10 years in chains.
- Pocket-picking. 22. No person accused of theft can be judged elsewhere than before the properly appointed tribunals. A person convicted of not denouncing larceny will be fined 5 oxen and 5 dollars or imprisonment of 1 day for every 6d. unpaid.
- Theft. 23. Cutting a person's *lamba* for stealing, 6 months in chains.
24. Theft of rice by night from fields or cellars, 1 year in chains and restitution.
25. Stealing a canoe, fine of 1 ox and 1 dollar with restitution.
26. Robbery of a church, 7 years in chains.
27. Stealing oxen, fine of 1 ox and 1 dollar for each ox stolen and restitution.
28. Owner of stolen oxen recovering the same must denounce the thief or be subjected to fine.
29. Stealing sheep, goat, pig, cat, or dog, 14 days' imprisonment and restitution.
30. Stealing turkey, goose, duck, or fowl, 7 days' imprisonment and restitution.
31. Stealing in the market money or article of value $\frac{1}{2}$ dollar, 1 year in chains and restitution.
32. Do., under $\frac{1}{2}$ dollar, 3 months in chains and restitution.
33. Do., sugar-cane, manioc, or vegetables, 7 days' imprisonment and restitution.
- Fraud. 34. Any person committing a fraud by assuming to be an official messenger, and obtaining money, will be fined a sum equal to one-third of the sum thus obtained and restore the value extorted.
- Lost property. 35. Lost property when found must be taken to the nearest Government authority; and $\frac{1}{5}$ value will be divided between the Government and the finder.
- Any person failing to deposit lost property will suffer 1 month's imprisonment.
- Embezzlement. 36. Embezzlement of Government money, fine of $\frac{1}{3}$ value and restitution.
37. Embezzlement of Crown dues, 2 years in chains and forfeiture of property.
38. Embezzlement of *hàsina* (fee of allegiance), 2 years in chains.
- Slavery. 39. If a slave run away and is caught, the master is subjected to $2\frac{1}{2}$ dollars fee.
40. Slaves in Imèrina district cannot be sold into coast districts.
41. Delegation of agents to carry slaves to be sold on coast, fine 100 dollars.
42. Slaves resident on the coast may be sold, but sale to be registered.
43. Concealment of a slave.
44. Sending slave to coast without permission of master.
45. Traffic and speculation in slaves forbidden, under penalty of oxen and fine of money.
- 46-49. Purchase, sale, and freedom or liberation of slaves, regulations.
- Marriage. 50. Bigamy forbidden. Any one having more than one wife will be fined 10 oxen and 8 dollars.
51. Contracting of marriage by free-will, compulsion, and convenience forbidden.

52. Marriage with deceased wife's sister or deceased husband's brother cannot be enforced.

53. No marriage legal unless registered in Government books.

54-63. Marriage regulations. Divorce forbidden. Penalties of adultery. Caste marriages. Marriages of misalliance forbidden.

64-66. Penalties of procuring abortion.

67, 68. Lepers to live apart. A building for smallpox patients to be provided in each district.

69-73. Penalties of selling diseased meat. Ill-treatment of cattle, etc.

74-79. Penalties for using false scales and weights (see chapter xiv.)

80. The division of time and the hour adopted by the Government is that given by the clock on the royal palace.¹

81-84. Obstruction of footpaths, encroachment of highways, casting refuse in the public roads, fines and penalties.

85. Land in Madagascar cannot be sold or mortgaged to foreigners of any nationality whatever, but only among subjects of the Queen of Madagascar. If any one sell or mortgage land to foreigners he will be condemned to chains for life. The value of the purchase or mortgage cannot be claimed, and the land reverts to the crown. (This is the famous law No. 85, which figured so prominently in the late French dispute with the Government of Madagascar.)

86. All leases are null and void when the contracts are not submitted to the Government authorities to be certified and sealed with the Government seal, and copied into the Government books.

87, 88. Regulations as to expiration of leases.

89. All leases must pay five per cent to the Government.

90, 91. Secret leases forbidden. Forests and unoccupied lands cannot be sold or leased without the permission of Government under penalty of 20 years in chains.

92-100. Regulations for letting houses on lease, penalties for non-payment of rent.

101-106. It is forbidden to burn down the forests under penalty of 10 years in chains. Regulations for charcoal-burners. Clearing forest lands. Destruction of forests on seashore forbidden.

107. Free people can no longer be reduced to slavery.

108. Registration of births.

109. Registration of deaths.

110-113. Children bound to support their parents. Parents to support their children. Burial of paupers claiming parentage.

114, 115. Passing a freeman for a slave. Slave passing for a freeman.

116. Noble or chief preventing a civilian from performing Government business, fine or imprisonment.

117. Soldier passing as civilian or *vice versa*, fine.

118. Levying civilians for military service, enlisting without authority, fine.

119. Chief receiving of money for deviation from duty.

120. Extortion by any one in authority.

121. Oppression of feudal subjects by chiefs of *mènakely*.

Abortion.

Leprosy and smallpox.
Butchery.

Weights and measures.
Time.

Highways.

Sale and leasing of land.

House rents.

Forests.

Laws affecting the free people.

¹ *N.B.*—When universal time is adopted local noon at Antananarivo will be at 8h. 45m. and local midnight at 20h. 45m., reckoning longitude at 47° 46' E.

122. *Mènakèly* subjects cannot be sold or mortgaged as slaves.
123. Chiefs cannot adopt *mènakèly* subjects as heirs without Government permission.
124. Chiefs cannot levy taxes without Government authority.
125. On death of chief, the relations not to raise money from the *mènakèly*.
126. *Tòmпомènakèly* are to denounce exactions.
127. Exactions by chiefs, relations of the royal family, or lords of the *mènakèly*, to be punishable by fine.
- Laws of property. 128. Land upon which the family tomb is situated cannot be sold, not even among the descendants.
129. Fine payable by owner of house where fire breaks out.
130. Owners of stray animals liable for damage.
- 131, 132. Trespass of oxen, unlawful cattle traffic.
133. Adulteration.
- Convicts. 134-142. Convicts, prisoners, exiles. Guards of escaped convicts or exiles to suffer punishment in their stead.
- Disturbers of the peace. 143-148. False reports, false accusations, calumny of Government in books or newspapers, immoral literature, meetings of agitators, libels and defamation, etc., imprisonment and fines.
- Various laws. 149-159. Wounding in self-defence allowable; pollution of water-courses; furious driving; infraction of contract, refusal of documents; possession of false documents; incarceration of insubordinate children; children under age; inviolability of correspondence; false interpretation; swindling.
- Money. 160-162. Coins and exchange; interest and base coin.
- Police. 163-167. Police may arrest vagabonds, suspicious and bad characters, disturbers of the peace, suspected and accused persons. Police may enter houses in search of stolen property, may warn assemblies to disperse.
168. Any person creating a disturbance in a place of worship will be liable to 6 months' imprisonment.
- 169-171. Law-breakers to be handed over to the police. Soldiers liable to arrest by police.
- Lynch law forbidden. 172, 173. No person caught in the act of transgressing the law, whether in the markets or public places, shall be ill-treated by the people. Bribes to the police forbidden.
- Medicine. 174-180. License required to sell medicines; poisons; inspection of drugs; purchase of poisons; labels.
181. It is forbidden to cultivate the poppy for extraction of opium.
- Government officers. 182-188. Records to be carefully kept. Exact application of law by officials. Evasion of law. Striking Government officials. Illegal receiving and bribes. Government seals. Extortion by false pretences.
- Trials and judgments. 189-205. Judges only to exercise their functions and to receive evidence in the Law Courts. No secret communication allowed with parties to a lawsuit. Court only open to parties engaged in a suit and five friends on either side. Fees in civil actions; evidence; judgment; cross-examination. Registers to be kept. Cases to be adjudicated on promptly. Special cases. Execution of judgments. Register of evidence and contracts.
- Erring judges. 206, 207. Infringement of law by judges. False condemnation by judges punishable by 5 years in chains.
- The *tsitilainga*. 208-212. Accusation of judges. Arbitrations; summons; witnesses. Summons to be served by the *tsitilainga* or silver spear.

- 213-228. Limitation Act. Discussion of judgments forbidden ; suits entered upon wrongfully ; false statements ; seizure of property ; false accusations ; false witnesses ; refusing evidence ; feudal suits ; laws of succession ; sales of land ; commercial suits ; non-appearance after summons. Lawsuits.
229. Adoption of children and disinheritance to be registered. Adoption and disinheritance.
- 230-235. Civil actions ; payments ; divisions of property ; disinheritance.
- 236-240. Claims of adoption ; gambling by children ; borrowing money ; loans ; mortgages ; prodigality ; false suing for debt.
- 241-243. Goods seized to pay debts ; creditors. Borrowing and debt.
244. Hiring of rice-fields and land measurement ; displacement of irrigation banks. Rice-fields.
- 245-248. Sales ; bargains ; leases ; purchase of property. Sales of property.
249. If any person sell anything to a *tsiàron-dàhy* and give credit, no claim can be made for payment if the debtor is insolvent. Sale to a *tsiàron-dàhy*.
250. Village communities or lords of *mènakèly* are only allowed to decide civil suits by consent of the contending parties, and with special permission from the Government. Civil suits.
251. As to civil suits between members of the same family.
252. Government to advance fees in civil actions under certain circumstances.
253. Appeals to superior court.
- 254, 255. Destruction of deeds ; refusal to produce deeds.
256. Delay of trial on bail being given.
- 257-261. Regulations in conducting trials.
262. If a Malagasy infringe any clause of the Treaties made by the Queen of Madagascar with friendly foreign Powers, he will be punished according to the laws of Madagascar. Infringement of treaties.
263. The laws and customs which have been in use from olden time, and which are still observed, although not written in these laws, are still living laws and customs, and are to be fulfilled in the same manner as the written laws of this code. Ancient laws and customs.
264. In religion there is no compulsion, for God made you.
265. If any person desires to send a letter to Rainilaiàrivòny, Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief, he may do so, whether to make complaints or to express his satisfaction.
- 266-301. Laws connected with the schools of the six provinces of Imèrina. School examinations and laws concerning teachers. Schools.
302. It is forbidden to make rum in the district of Imèrina bounded by Anàlamazaòtra on the east, Ambòhibalàla on the west, Sàhasàrotra on the north, and Ambòdifiakàrana on the south. Any person making rum within those boundaries will be fined 10 oxen and 10 dollars, the rum will be destroyed and the apparatus broken up ; in default of payment the offender will be imprisoned at the rate of one day for every 6d. unpaid. Intoxicating liquors.
303. Any person selling or keeping rum within the above defined district will be fined 10 oxen and 10 dollars.
304. Any person found drunk within the above district will be fined 7 oxen and 7 dollars.
305. Any person introducing rum into the above district will be fined 5 oxen and 5 dollars.

Final pro-
clamation.

Ye have heard the laws of my Kingdom, then let every one observe them, O my people ; for if you keep the laws of my four ancestors and mine, be assured that I shall be the protector of your wives and your children and your possessions ; and when I have said—"Be assured," you may be assured indeed, for I, the Monarch, do not deceive. Is it not so, O ye people ?

The words of RANAVÀLOMANJÀKA, Queen of Madagascar.

These are the true words of the Queen, saith RAINILAIÀRIVÒNY, Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief.

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN.

These laws, although ostensibly applicable to the whole island, are obviously only carried out in Imèrina and neighbouring provinces where the Hóva governors are stationed ; for even now there are wide tracts of territory where the supremacy of the Queen of Madagascar is only acknowledged within range of the Hóva muskets. Now that the refractory tribes can no longer look to the French for assistance against the dominion of Antanànarivo, the complete subjugation of the hitherto independent chieftains is only a matter of time.

Independ-
ent tribes.

The following account of the independent tribes is given by M. d'Escamps :¹—

"From a political point of view the island of Madagascar is at the present day divided into two parts which are quite distinct and of nearly equal extent : viz. the part ruled over by the Hóvas, and the part independent of that race. The whole of that region situated to the east of the 44th degree of longitude,² and to the north of the 22d degree of latitude, is the country of the Hóvas, who, under Andrianimpoinimèrina, Radàma I. and his wife Ranavàlona, successively rendered themselves masters of the different provinces comprised within these limits. It should, however, be added that the inhabitants of that portion of the coast included between Manàfiàfy and the river Mènanara have revolted against their oppressors and have thrown off the yoke ; they are to-day independent, so also the Sàkalàva who inhabit the bays of Narèndry and Mojangà as well as the neighbouring coasts are independent.

"As to the west and south portions of the island, they have never yet been subject to the Hóva, and they are governed by a crowd of native chiefs, with the exception of the south of Ménabé, which has placed itself for some time since under the protection of Queen Ranavàlona. The tribes which have preserved their independence are :³—(1) the Antandròy ; (2) the Mahafàly ; (3) the Bàra ; (4) the most part of the Sàkalàva ; (5) a portion of the Antankàrana ; and (6) the Antsihànaka. All these races have their own kings as the Hóvas, and obey them as veritable subjects. It is therefore exact to say that there is *not* a 'King of Madagascar,' for

¹ *Géographie de l'Île de Madagascar*, p. 348.

² That is, of Paris, or 46° 20' E. of Greenwich.

³ A. Grandidier, *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, about 1872.

there are in the island as many kings as tribes. These kings exercise an absolute authority over their subjects, but they do nothing by themselves, actually, but take counsel of the principal chiefs of their district. In fact they are obliged to humour their chiefs, whose acts they cannot control, and who are often the more formidable to their kings that they can, if they choose, go over to the enemy with their families, slaves, followers, and belongings. Such defections are very frequent.

"The independent tribes are not regularly armed. No man, free or slave, ever goes out unless armed with gun and *sagaye*. In time of war they unite and form an irregular body, making their attacks by night. But they have never thought, and, at the present day, never think of ought else but booty, and never dream of an extension of their territory by force of arms.

"Amongst the kings and queens on the west and south coasts who live under the protectorate of France¹ we may enumerate the following :—

(1) Binào, queen of Bávatóby ; (2) Otsingo, queen of Rabòky ; (3) Mònja, king of Ankify and of Sàmbiràno ; (4) Tsimihàro, king of Nòsy-Mitsio ; (5) Tsiàhòana, king of Ambòngo ; (6) Naròvy, queen of a portion of Ménabé ; Vivàny, brother of the above, late king of Ménabé, who succeeded Ramitràha, both recently dead ; (7) Ibòina, king of the Sàkalàva of Bouèni ; Somònga, king of Mòrombè (since assassinated by the Bàra), cousin of Lāhimiriàja ; (8) Toèra, king of the Antimèna, who has succeeded Vivàny ; (9) Riàndy, king of the Bàra ; (10) Lāhimiriàja, king of Tolia ; (11) Lahetafigue, younger brother of the late Rafiàla or Fiay, whom he succeeded, king of Salàry ; (12) Tafara, king of Māhafàly, successor of Radi-gòna ; (13) Laisalàma, king of Itampòlo and Langràno ; (14) Ibàra, king of Ampalàza ; (15) Bèfànila, king of the Kàrambòlo ; (16) Tsifanihy, king of Cape St. Mary ; (17) Razòmèna, ex-king of the Antanòsy.

"All these kings or kinglets have treaties with France. The rights of these kings and queens over the islands and provinces which they have ceded to us [the French] are unquestionable and admitted by every one [?], not excepting the queen of the Hóvas, who has only the pretension to conquer them. It is in order to exempt themselves from these pretensions that ever since the Sàkalàva kings have always recognised and invoked the protectorate of France. These concessions, which date from 1841, comprise, amongst others, the province of Ankàra and the north region which includes the vast bay of Diego-Suarez."²

The foregoing quotation from M. d'Escamps, although

¹ It is needless to point out that this was written during the late hostilities.

² "Under the reign of Napoleon III. treaties of commerce, concluded with the chiefs of the south-west coast, opened to trade and free rights of anchorage, the following bays and ports, viz. Māsikòra, Salàry, St. Augustine, Tolia, and Māhanòmby, rights which have fallen into disuse, according to the latest information. Add to these ports the ports or stations constructed and occupied by us [the French] for the last two centuries and a half, Port Choiseul in Antongil Bay ; Tintingue and Point à Larrée in the province of Antavàra ; Foule Point and Tamatave in the province of the Bètsimisàraka ; Mānanjàra and Mātitanana in the Taimòro province ; Mānantànana on the Ambòlo ; Manàfiàfy in the bay of Ste. Lucia ; Fort Dauphin ; and lastly Ste. Marie ; and it will be recognised that we [the French] have never ceased to preserve a foothold in Madagascar, save only in Imèrina."

written in 1884, is now altogether out of date. The Antsihàna have long been thoroughly subdued, whilst all the Bàra and the majority of the Sàkalàva at the present date acknowledge the supremacy of Ranavàlona III. Even during the late war various Sàkalàva chiefs gave in their submission, and virtually the whole island may be looked upon as theoretically submissive to Hóva authority.

Ecclesiastical Administration.

Cessation
of idolatry.

Prior to the accession of Queen Ranavàlona II., 2d April 1868, the national idols and their supporters were acknowledged by the Hóva Government as a potent factor in the administration of the state. But when Ramòma, the first cousin and successor of the late sovereign, Rasohèrina, was proclaimed queen under the title of Ranavàlona II., no idols were brought forth on her first appearance before the public on the balcony of the large wooden palace of Manjàkamiàdana. Nor were the idols permitted to be present at the funeral of Rasohèrina; and after the days of mourning, on the 25th October 1868, the queen and the prime minister, Rainilaiàrivòny, assembled the royal household for Christian worship.

Ranavàlona II. next sent for Rainingòry, Rainibèsa, and Rainilàmbo, three of the leading chiefs in the Hóva aristocracy, and declared to them—"I tell you, who are to me as 'father and mother,' that I intend to worship God. And why do I do this? I behold the heavens, they could not have been formed without a maker; and I look at the earth, it could not have come of itself unless it had a creator; but it was God who made them, and I will worship God. So I tell you, for you are my 'father and mother.'"

Her hearers were obliged to reply with seeming consent: "That is well, madam, and we thank you;" though it was but too clear, from the ill-concealed dismay on their faces, that the deep-rooted convictions of a lifetime in favour of idolatry had received a violent shock. Their duty to their queen, however, overcame every other consideration, and from that time they attended the Sunday services regularly held within the palace. On 21st February 1869, the queen and prime minister joined the church, by receiving the rite of baptism from the hands of Andriambèlo, one of the leading pastors.

About the same time as the palace service was begun all Government work was stopped on Sunday. The various markets formerly held on that day were ordered to be changed to some other day, and proclamations were made throughout the country to the effect that the queen commanded the people to abstain from all work on Sunday.

The attempt to change the Government had failed; but the strong desire on the part of the people for more liberal measures had been clearly shown, and the rulers of the country saw that they had been standing

upon a mine ready to explode at any moment, and that their continuance in power must depend upon their keeping in harmony with the advancing ideas of their people. Various changes were accordingly made, and one by one there came indications that a total change of policy was about to be inaugurated.

At the coronation, which took place on 3d September, the declaration in favour of Christianity was unmistakable. Ranavàlona I. had done her best to burn and destroy the Bible; Ranavàlona II. had a Bible placed at her side in sight of the thousands of her subjects gathered from all parts of Madagascar to be present at her coronation. The reign of Ranavàlona I. had been a reign of bloodshed and terror; at the coronation of Ranavàlona II. the words "peace on earth and goodwill to men" were inscribed in letters of gold on the canopy under which her throne was placed. These things augured well for the progress of Christianity.¹ Nor was confirmation long wanting, for within the palace enclosure on the summit of the city, in direct opposition to the old idol law prohibiting the use of stone in building, the outer portions of the old wooden palace were shortly begun to be rebuilt in stone, and side by side with it rose a stone house of prayer for the use of the royal household and court.

But it soon became evident to the rulers of this country that so long as the idols were allowed to exist the people at large would not credit the fact of the queen having entirely abjured all trust in them. It had been a bold step to run counter to the prejudices and interests of powerful parties in embracing Christianity; but to go farther and *destroy* the idols was not contemplated till the lapse of long years should have established the new *régime* on a strong basis. But events hastened this consummation. The idol-keepers had all been stripped of their honours and privileges, and required to perform Government service; and the keepers of the chief idol, Ikèlimalàza (the small but noted one), chafing under the newly-imposed yoke, appeared at the gate of the palace to urge their pretensions, under the plea of fulfilling old customs on the accession of their new sovereign. The permission to perform these rites would have implied an acknowledgment on the part of the queen that she owed a certain deference to this great idol. But, on its being reported to her who were awaiting an audience, and their object in seeking it, she at once sent out the message: "I will burn all the idols of my ancestors, but as to yours, they are your concern." The hint was taken by the officers of the court, and by the time the idol-keepers could reach home the object of their veneration was being reduced to ashes. This took place at Ambòhimà-nambòla on 8th September 1869; and on the morrow² officers were despatched to carry out the work of the destruction of the royal idols in other parts of the country, when the "heads of the people told the queen that as she was burning her idols, of course they should burn theirs, and basketsful of rubbish were destroyed; but though rubbish in our eyes, many of the people believed that it would be impossible to destroy some of their honoured penates, and they trembled as they stood round the fire in which they were blazing away. The utter destruction of the idols prevented the suspicion that the queen was preserving them for secret ends of her own; but the power to do it lay, not so much in the strength

¹ *London Missionary Society Review*, 1861-1870.

² "The Burning of the Idol Ramàhavàly," *Antanànarivo Annual*, No. 1.

of the Government as in the conviction of the masses in and around the capital that the idols were nothing and that the keepers were impostors; or, in the words of the queen, that 'they befooled the people and wasted the substance of her subjects.' This conviction had been silently growing for many years, but at last it acquired a strength which nothing could resist. At a little distance from the capital, however, the people were not so prepared, and fearful results to the harvest were prognosticated, now that the gods who had power to avert the hail and the floods had been shamefully treated. But the next harvest proved one of the best that had been reaped for many years, and thus the superstitions were removed, and the hearts of many Christians made very thankful. From some parts of the queen's dominions a cry went up to the Government, to which they could not but listen. You have destroyed our gods and we know not how to worship according to the new religion; send us teachers.' So many requests of this sort reached the prime minister that he called the missionaries together to consult with them."¹ And finally, after further consultation and arrangement, one hundred and twenty-six teachers were settled in different parts of the neighbouring country, whose support was undertaken by the churches in whose district they worked, with assistance from the palace church; and they were freed from Government service, so that their whole time might be devoted to teaching (*Review of the Work of the Friends' Foreign Mission Association, 1867-1880*).

Native
churches
and evan-
gelistic
work.²

The native churches in Madagascar, whilst one in faith and, with slight modifications, of the same order of worship, are of four classes, viz. the palace church, the city or town churches, the suburban churches, and the country churches. All these four classes of churches were in existence in 1870, but the number of the country churches has been considerably increased since then. Each class has its peculiarities, not of doctrine, but of character, position, and influence.

(1) Palace
church.

The palace church occupies a unique position as the church within the palace, and as being that of which the queen, the prime minister, and all the most wealthy and influential Christians in Antanànarivo are members. No missionary has any direct connection with this church. Congregations, 194.

(2) Town
churches.

Next to the palace church the city or town churches occupy a most influential position. There are nine of these in Antanànarivo, three in Fianàrantsòà, and three at Ambòhimànga. Most of these churches are large and important in themselves. They are the wealthiest and also the most advanced in Christian knowledge and experience, and are all centres of much power and influence. Each of the churches in Antanànarivo and Fianàrantsòà is the station or mother

¹ Unpublished MS. by J. S. Sewell.

² *The Madagascar Mission, Ten Years' Review, 1870-1880*, by the Rev. B. Briggs, p. 115.

church of a large district, and is expected to assist the missionary in his endeavours to provide for the weak country churches which are not yet able to support themselves. With each of these town churches is also associated a large number of native preachers, whose duty it is to visit the country churches within a reasonable distance. Most of the churches in Antanànarivo support their own pastors, assist in supporting their own schools, and give something towards the maintenance of evangelists in the country districts. They are also looked to for pecuniary help in the building of country chapels, and are often appealed to in cases of difficulty in any of the country churches.

The chief suburban churches are five in number, though there are several others which partake of a suburban character, but are more distant from the capital. These churches are large, some of them containing five or six hundred communicants, and the usual congregations are equal to those in some of the larger city churches. The character of these congregations, however, is very different from that of those in the city. They consist chiefly of poor people and slaves, who mostly inhabit the suburbs, and prefer to have a place of worship of their own rather than join with their masters and more wealthy neighbours in the city churches.

(3) Sub-urban churches.

It is in the country churches that the greatest numerical progress is to be found. The number of town and suburban churches is the same now (1881) as in 1870; but the country churches are much more numerous. Instead of the 261 native churches of 1870, we have now between 1100 and 1200 in connection with the Madagascar Mission. The number of church members has also increased from 20,951 to over 70,000, and the adherents from 231,759 to 244,197.

(4) Country churches.

Mr. J. S. Sewell states: "In the central part of the island, during the days of the persecution, there arose a church that is not exactly in accordance either with the Independent Church, or the Episcopalian, or the Methodist, or the Society of Friends. The nation has a church of its own. In many respects it is formed after the model of the Independent Church. Its pastors and officers are chosen by the people, and the ordinances are regarded in the light in which they are regarded amongst the Independents. But in the metropolitan character of the churches at the capital, and in the Episcopal character of the pastors who preside in them, and still more of the missionaries

The government of the churches.

who influence them, there is not a little of the Episcopal form of government: and I believe it to be a great advantage. We see in some instances thirty or forty preachers belonging to one church taking their turns in the services and going out to visit in the district belonging to the church—an arrangement similar to that which is made among the Methodists.” Of late years, however, says Mr. Briggs, there has been a gradual approach to the Presbyterian form of church government, and the form which prevails at the present time is a sort of compromise between Presbyterianism and Independency, with a little mixture of Episcopatism. The Presbyterian element is seen in the influence which district and representative meetings have on the churches generally. There are very few country churches which stand absolutely alone. In addition to the influence of the missionaries and of the town pastors and churches, the country churches are more or less united to each other. In some cases united church meetings are held for the admission of members. In Imèrina and Bètsiléo united monthly meetings are held, and in addition four-monthly or six-monthly meetings are held in each district in Imèrina, and are attended by representatives from all the churches in the district. Over and above these are the congregational unions.

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Society and
F.F.M.A.

For the convenience of European superintendence and general mission work, the Imèrina province was divided into nine missionary districts, each being attached to one of the churches in Antanànarivo as its mother church. This arrangement was first made in December 1868, and continued in operation until 1870, when two other districts (Ambòhimànga and Vònizòngo) were formed, each being placed under the superintendence of an English missionary. In 1872 the Isoàvina district was formed; and in 1874 a general redistribution of the districts took place, which resulted in the formation of five new country districts, to each of which an English missionary was appointed. Two of these have been reunited to the districts of which they originally formed a part and two Vònizòngo districts united, so that there are now fourteen separate districts in connection with the Imèrina mission (see map by Mr. W. Johnson).

(1) Ambà-
tonakànga.

Ambàtonakànga is the name of a suburb of Antanànarivo, situated some way down the northern slope of the hill on which the city is built. The first memorial church was erected here in 1867. The district attached to the church lies to

the north of Antanànarivo, inclining to the west. It is large, and extends to a distance of five or six days' journey from the capital. The southern part of it is thickly populated, and contains a number of large and important villages, with churches and schools much more advanced than those in many other parts of the country; but the northern and more distant part is more sparsely populated and much less advanced in civilisation. This portion of the district is also very marshy, and, in much of its extent, is covered with fever-breeding swamps, consequently it is frequently visited by malarial fever and other epidemics. In 1880 there were sixty-six congregations, and the population is estimated at 70,000.

Ampàribé is the name of a district of Antanànarivo on the north-west side of the town, a little lower and farther west than Ambàtonakànga. The large brick church was erected in 1870. The large suburban church at Isòtry is associated with Ampàribé. The district is to the north-west of the capital, and to the west of the Ambàtonakànga district. It was divided in 1874 and a new mission station was formed at Ambòhidratrimo (a large town about twelve miles north-west of Antanànarivo), but in 1878 the two districts were reunited. There are fifty-four congregations, and the population is estimated at 100,000.

(2) Ampàribé and Ambòhidratrimo.

Anàlakèly is the name of a district in the northern part of Antanànarivo, and near to the large weekly market place. Government works are carried on in this suburb. The present church was built in 1865. The district connected with the Anàlakèly church lies to the north of Antanànarivo, inclining to the east, and extending to a distance of several days' journey. The nearer portion of the district contains a number of large and important churches, and many flourishing schools, whilst the more remote parts are less advanced. The number of congregations is sixty-two, and the estimated population 85,000.

(3) Anàlakèly.

Ambòhipòtsy is situated at the extreme south of the hill on which the capital is built. The second memorial church was erected here in 1867. The district attached to the Ambòhipòtsy church lies direct south of the capital. It is very large and extends to a considerable distance. There is a dense population in the nearest portion of the district and a number of large and important churches are to be found within an hour's ride of the capital. The more distant part is not so thickly populated, but yet contains many important towns and

(4) Ambòhipòtsy.

villages. The church at *Fiadànana* is in association with *Ambòhipòtsy*, and also the large church at *Alasòra*. The number of congregations is seventy-four, and the estimated population 77,000.

(5) *Tsiafàhy*.

Tsiafàhy is a town about fifteen miles south of *Antanànarivo*, and was made a mission district in 1874. The town itself is not large, but it is surrounded by a number of towns and villages, and the district contains a considerable population. There has been a church at *Tsiafàhy* since 1869, and though the church members are only about ninety, there is a congregation of from seven to eight hundred. The situation is healthy. This district was formed chiefly from the south-eastern portion of the *Ambòhipòtsy* district; but it also took in several churches from the south-western portion of the *Ankàdibèvàva* district. The number of congregations is forty-seven, and the estimated population 47,000.

(6) *Ankàdibèvàva*
and *Ambàtomànga*.

Ankàdibèvàva is situated on the eastern side of the city close to the gate by which people coming from *Tamatave* usually enter the capital. The population on this side of the city is very large. The church was formed in 1863. The present church was opened in 1874. The district associated with *Ankàdibèvàva* lies to the south-east of the capital and east of those of *Ambòhipòtsy* and *Tsiafàhy*. In 1874 the district was divided and the eastern portion formed with *Ambàtomànga* as the chief mission station. The districts were again united, but the name of *Ambàtomànga* is still retained in connection with that of the mother church at *Ankàdibèvàva*. There are ninety-three congregations, and the estimated population is 95,000.

(7) *Ambòhitantèly*.

Ambòhitantèly is the name of a small district in the heart of the city, east of *Andohàlo*, and near to the residences of many of the chief officers. The church was formed in 1863 at *Antsàhabè*, but afterwards removed to *Ambòhitantèly*. The present church was opened in 1872. With the *Ambòhitantèly* church is now associated a large district lying to the south-west of *Antanànarivo*. The number of congregations is one hundred and twenty-five, and the estimated population 200,000.

(8) *Ampamarinana*.

Ampamarinana is the name of the rock on the west side of the capital in (1849) over which criminals were hurled. Among these were certain Christians, in memory of whom a church was erected and opened in 1874. The district associated with this church lies direct west of the capital, and is bounded by the river *Ikòpa* on the north, and the

"Friends" district on the south. Originally it included what is now the Ambòhibelòma district. Since 1874 the district has been limited to a distance of about twenty-five miles from Antanànarivo. The large suburban church at the south side of Imàhamàsina and the large and important church at Fènoarivo are both associated with Ampamarinana. The number of congregations is sixty-three, and the estimated population 280,000.

Ambòhibelòma is a large and important town situated on a high hill about thirty miles west of the capital. It is sometimes called by the natives "Little Antanànarivo," and "Antanànarivo in the west." This is partly because it is built on the top of a hill, but also shows the importance of the town in relation to the surrounding villages. The church was commenced in 1863, and separated from the Ampamarinana district in 1874. The number of congregations is seventy-four, and the estimated population 80,000. (9) Ambòhibelòma.

The Avàratr'Andohàlo church is situated at the north-east corner of the Andohàlo kabàry ground. The district associated with this church is east of the capital. Until 1872 it included the whole of what is now the Isoàvina district. The present church, though comparatively small, is composed of well-to-do people, who support a mission to Sihànaka, and have three mission stations in Ankày. The number of congregations is seventeen, and the estimated population 30,000. (10) Andohàlo.

Isoàvina is a moderately sized town about fifteen miles east of Antanànarivo, and it became a mission station in 1872, the district being formed from the eastern portion of the Andohàlo district. There are now thirty-eight congregations, and the estimated population is 36,000. (11) Isoàvina.

Fàravòhitra is the northern suburb of Antanànarivo at the extreme north of the hill on which the city stands. It is considered to be the healthiest suburb of the capital, and is that in which most of the Europeans reside. There are many large and respectable houses here. There is a conspicuous memorial church which was opened in 1870. The district associated with the Fàravòhitra church lies north-east of the capital. It is much smaller than many of the other districts, being very narrow, though it extends to a considerable distance and includes some interesting outstations on the borders of the forest. There are twenty-three congregations and an estimated population of 25,000. (12) Fàravòhitra.

(13) Ambò-
himànga.

Ambòhimànga is the ancient capital of Imèrina, and is situated about twelve miles north of Antanànarivo. There are three churches at Ambòhimànga which may be regarded as the mother churches of the district. In addition, there is a large church at Imèritsiafindra which is equal in importance to the town churches. In 1870 Ambòhimànga was constituted an independent mission station. There are twenty-six congregations, with an estimated population of 25,000.

(14) Vòni-
zòngo.

Vònizòngo is a large district in the north-west of Imèrina. Previous to 1870 Vònizòngo was regarded as a general mission district. In 1874 the district of Western Vònizòngo (Fiar-ènana) was formed, but in 1880 the two districts were reunited with the mission church at Fihaònana. There are ninety-eight congregations, with an estimated population of 125,000.

The accompanying map by Mr. Wm. Johnson of the Friends' Foreign Mission Association shows the relative positions and comparative sizes of the various districts. According to the estimate of the population the total in Imèrina was 1,105,000 in 1880. This is based on general observation and does not rest on any authorised statistics.

Education.
1869.
Training
institution.

In 1869 a theological institution for the training of native pastors and evangelists was commenced by the London Missionary Society at Antanànarivo. During the first six years of its existence this institute occupied a merely temporary structure at Andohàlo, to the east of the capital, until 1875, since which year the work of education and discipline was carried on in a building at Fàravòhitra, the most healthy and northern suburb of Antanànarivo. In 1876 this school was enlarged into a general college, having a secular as well as a theological department.

1875.

1876.

1881.
Theological
college.

Under the superintendence of Mr. W. Pool, L.M.S., a building was designed and erected at Fàravòhitra as the chief among the Society's educational establishments in the city as *the college*, and this edifice was successfully completed and opened on the 18th January 1881, after five years spent in raising it. The Rev. George Cousins was the senior tutor. He and the late Mr. Toy may be considered the founders of the college.

From the establishment of the theological institution in 1869 to 1881, 109 ministerial students had been trained and sent forth, of whom 27 were working in connection with the mission, while 10 others, after six years' duty as evangelists, had been called upon by the Government to occupy important

MAP OF MISSION DISTRICTS IMÉRINA, MADAGASCAR.



Drawn by W. Johnson. F.F.M.A., 1880.

Stanford's. Geog. Estab. London.

Name of District.	Estimated populatn. in 1880	Adherents	Name of District.	Estimated population.	Adherents.
I. Ambatonakanga	70,000	15,538	VIII. Ampamarinana	110,000	18,959
II. Amparibè	100,000	14,128	IX. Ambohibelo	80,000	12,015
III. Analakely	85,000	13,991	X. Andohalo	30,000	5,763
IV. Ambohipotsy	77,000	22,810	XI. Isoavina	36,000	5,822
V. Tsiafahy	47,000	9,982	XII. Faravohitra	25,000	10,046
VI. Ankadibèvava	95,000	20,156	XIII. Ambohimanga	25,000	6,839
VII. Ambohitantely	200,000	18,737	XIV. XV. Vonizongo (E. & W.)	125,000	14,922
Totals.....				1,105,000	189,708

positions in the state. Thirteen secular students who also closed their studies in 1881 were about to be employed also by the Government, so that the work of the training establishment had even then begun to bear good fruit. At the close of the college year in June 1884 there were 51 students; of these 9 ministerial and 6 secular scholars left, on completing their course of study, and obtained appointments as evangelists in various parts of the country.

	No. of Schools Examined.	No. of Scholars present at Examinations.	No. of Slates Counted.	No. of Bibles or Testaments Counted.	Passes in Reading.	Passes in Writing.	Passes in Arithmetic.	No. of Schools that passed an Examination in Scripture. ¹		
								Poor.	Fair.	Good.
1884	588	29,934	16,840	14,004	14,436	10,153	8,321	190	188	132
1885	618	29,853	16,342	13,675	15,751	10,238	8,358	179	267	73

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¹ A higher standard for "Good," in the Scripture Examination has been taken throughout 1885 than in 1884.
These statistics do not include the higher schools in Antananarivo and the schools in the Ambòhitantely district, which latter are examined by the F.F.M.A.

Summary of school examinations in the Ambòhitantely district :—

	1885.	1884.	Increase.	Decrease.
Number of Schools	123	125	...	2
„ on Registers	14,311	14,335	...	44
„ present at Examinations	7,014	7,400	...	386
„ of Slates counted at the same	3,722	3,509	213	...
„ of Bibles or New Testaments counted at the same	1,608	1,510	98	...
Passes in Reading, Standard IV.-VI.	2,867	2,957	...	90
„ Writing, „ II.-VI.	1,998	1,743	255	...
„ Arithmetic, „ II.-VI.	1,375	1,201	174	...

F.F.M.A.

Note.—The above do not include the numbers in the three town schools of Ambòhijatòvo (boys), Fàravòhitra (girls), and Ambòhitantely (small children).

Mr. Baron points out as emphatically as he can "the utter inadequacy of the present number of missionaries in Imèrina to overtake the work that is expected of them. The full complement of missionaries for the capital and the surrounding and distant districts, exclusive of the lady missionaries, is twenty-five; at present there are but twelve, six having retired altogether from the mission, and seven being now in England on furlough. A few data will make it evident to all that twelve missionaries can scarcely undertake more than a

London Missionary Society's Statistics of the Imèrina Mission, 1884-1885.

STATIONS.	When begun.	Congregations.	Native Pastors.	Evangelists.	Native Preachers.	Church Members.	Native Adherents.	Adults able to read.	Bibles and Testaments.	SCHOOLS.				Contributions for General Purposes.				
										Schools.	Scholars (Boys and Girls).	Children able to read.	Contributions for School Purposes.		£	s.	d.	
													£	s.				d.
Palace Church ¹ .	1868	194	194	12	1086	20,860	60,533	8,787	12,104	188	14,095	8,086				£	s.	d.
Ambàtonakànga .	1831	66	86	10	322	5,977	11,996	2,619	3,679	56	3,725	1,135	66	16	4	318	11	0
Amparibé .	1861	54	83	5	320	5,480	10,045	2,589	4,020	54	4,766	1,512	43	11	8	230	14	10
Isotry .	1867	18	15	2	70	976	2,642	391	817	17	1,427	452	12	12	5	48	14	9
Analakely .	1861	62	37	6	267	4,369	13,254	3,474	5,144	57	4,835	1,505	66	12	0	275	15	0
Ambòhipòtsy .	1863	74	80	9	467	8,231	27,000	3,800	3,520	69	6,662	1,648	?	?	?			
Ambòhibeloma .	1869	47	49	5	176	1,896	9,082	966	1,204	47	3,459	487	11	10	0	26	2	3
Tsiafahy .	1863	93	81	11	420	7,617	19,168	3,515	4,000	77	11,186	1,629	?	?	?			
Ankadibèvara .	1864	125	31	5	319	3,133	14,780	2,310	2,859	125	14,355	2,957	60	17	4	78	0	0
Ambòhitantely ² .	1864	63	48	8	335	5,879	16,776	2,071	3,516	65	4,674	2,201	35	14	8	508	14	7
Ampamarimana .	1864	74	39	5	187	1,614	8,150	609	1,728	65	3,769	763	15	17	0	16	2	11
Ambòhibeloma .	1863	74	39	5	187	1,614	8,150	609	1,728	65	3,769	763	15	17	0	?	?	?
Andohalo .	1864	17	22	2	129	3,427	5,730	1,049	923	14	905	297	?	?	?			
Isoavina .	1868	38	6	3	137	2,261	5,942	1,330	1,633	32	3,810	981	83	12	0	139	5	4
Faravohitra .	1868	33	26	4	180	3,077	8,781	1,909	2,175	32	2,516	1,304	16	11	0	75	17	6
Ambòhimànga .	1862	26	30	7	110	2,329	4,366	1,423	863	23	1,495	463	?	?	?			
Vonizongo .	1838	98	89	20	214	1,741	19,025	3,636	4,691	72	5,740	1,064	?	?	?			
Totals .	...	888	722	102	4814	58,007	176,737	31,691	40,772	803	73,324	18,546	364	14	5	1717	18	2

These statistics are the same as those given in last year's Report, and include those of the Imèrina Mission only, the statistics of the Iboina, Bétsimisaraka, Antsiranaka, and South-east Coast Missions being omitted on account of insufficiency of data.

¹ The figures opposite the Palace Church are included in those of the districts below.

² Under the care of the missionaries of the F.F.M.A.

In the "Contributions for General Purposes" the amounts raised for the Patriotic fund are in some instances included.

Statistics of the *Détailé Mission* for 1885.

STATIONS.	When begun.	Congregations.	Native Pastors.	Evangelists.	Native Preachers.	Church Members.	Native Adherents.	Adults able to read.	Bibles and Testaments.	SCHOOLS.				Contributions for School Purposes.		Contributions for General Purposes.		
										Schools.	Scholars (Boys and Girls).	Children able to read.	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Sàndra, N.W.	1869	20	6	3	37	258	1,650	155	742	20	2,145	1,193	0	6	0	27	0	0
Sàndra, S.E.	1863	20	12	2	30	432	2,000	232	637	20	1,941	1,186	3	0	0	65	4	0
Imanandriana	1869	15	2	1	...	No	returns	received.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ilāngina	1870	45	9	3	75	936	3,810	350	1,758	45	4,224	2,138	8	8	0	28	14	3
Iarindrano, N.	1864	33	3	6	70	322	3,000	254	986	33	2,500	1,168	10	0	0	50	16	0
Ambositra	?	40	?	?	79	331	8,486	122	1,140	40	8,358	2,196	1	18	9	22	3	0
Ambòhimandroso, E.	1879	21	2	2	61	295	3,600	237	779	21	1,515	996	16	19	1	33	8	0
Ambòhimandroso, W.	1879	28	5	2	60	200	...	...	670	28	1,500	No	returns	...	...	received.	...	...
Totals	...	222	39	19	412	2,774	22,546	1350	6,712	204	21,183	8,877	40	11	10	227	5	3
NEW AND DISTANT MISSIONS, 1880—																		
Sihānaka ¹ .	1875	15	...	6	10	?	2,160	200	200	31	2,900	1,207	...	...	0(?)	10	0	0
Iboina	1869	18	15	1	67	685	3,198	256	591	16	1,185	340	50	0	0(?)	60	0	0(?)
Tamatave	1861	27	2	1	57	496	2,130	275	432	6	927	127	25	4	0	144	3	4
South-east Provinces	1877	70	12	4	40	?	5,000	?	150	10	1,000	250	?	?	?	?	?	?
North-east Provinces	1877	10	?	1	?	?	2,000	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Totals	...	140	29	13	174	1,181	14,488	731	1,373	63	6,012	1,924	75	4	0	214	3	4
Grand Totals	...	1250	790	134	5400	61,962	213,771	33,772	48,857	1070	100,519	29,347						

¹ The Sihānaka schools taken from L.M.S. Report for 1884.—(J. R.)

tithe of the work that falls to the lot of the society. In Imèrina alone there are, requiring the attention of the missionaries, about 800 churches in connection with the L.M.S., and the same number of day-schools; there is a large college with numerous students; a normal school; a printing office employing 42 hands; the Bible revision; the editing of the various native publications; besides innumerable other forms of work. One missionary has charge of the college (the work of two men) and a large district, comprising 62 churches and 62 schools; another has charge of the normal school, is a member of the Bible Revision Committee, and has a district of 67 churches and as many schools; a third has under his care the printing office, the palace school, the secretaryship of the *Isan-enim-bòlana*, the treasurership of the L.M.S. Mission, and a district of 33 churches and 33 schools; while a fourth has a district of 244 churches! . . . The work, consequently, is suffering grievously, and will suffer more unless the Mission is speedily reinforced. The three districts of Ibòina, Antsihanaka, and the east coast are now entirely or almost entirely left to themselves, which means, if not ruin, very sad deterioration; and a great part of the work in Imèrina, which cries out loudly for some one to do it, has to be quietly put on one side."

Jesuit
mission.

The Jesuit Mission in Imèrina dates from the year 1862, and a Roman Catholic Mission was commenced at Tamatave about the same time. In 1870-71 a branch mission was established in Bétsiléô. The following statistical table affords an approximative estimate of this mission previous to the expulsion of the French from the capital in 1883.

Statistics of the Madagascar Mission, July 1881 to July 1882.

Baptisms, adults	1,611	Marriages	196
" children	2,882	Extreme unctions	52
Catholics	23,490	Stations	316
Catechumens, not yet baptized	57,415	Churches built	52
Confessions	53,406	" building	11
Ordinary communions	45,466	Chapels built	118
First communion	580	" building	43
Paschal communions	4,000	Institutions for men . . .	346
Confirmations	860	" for women	134
Education { Number of scholars, Boys			9,134
" " " Girls			9,964
Hospital { Leper's Hospital containing 100 sick			1
" Dispensary and pharmacy			2
Number of sick who come for daily treatment at Antananarivo . . .			150
Missionary priests	48	Sisters of St. Joseph de Cluny . . .	20
Brothers coadjutors	21	Novices	3
Brothers Christian schools . . .	8	Native postulants	3

(Signed) Mgr. CAZET, S.J.
Vicar Apostolic of Madagascar.

In the excellent map (given in vol. i., p. 244) of the country around Antanànarivo, the churches and stations of the Roman Catholic Mission are accurately marked by Père Roblet; and the extent and importance of the Mission can be thus appreciated.

A mission was established at Tamatave in August 1864, by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; and, in February 1874, on the withdrawal of the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society from the coast, the headquarters of this mission were established at the capital, under the Rev. R. Kestell-Cornish, who was consecrated bishop for Madagascar. No statistics are published by the S.P.G. Mission at Antànanarivo; but in the *Mission Field* of 2d April 1883 the following table is given of the Tamatave Mission 1882:—

	Average Sunday Congrega- tions.	Communi- cants.	Scholars.	Con- firmed.	Baptisms.
Tamatave, Rev. A. Smith.	220	51	175	17	37
Mahasoa	86	42	69	...	7
Ivondrona	55	15	48	...	...
Ankarefo	65	1	20	...	...
Ampanalàna	40	4	15	...	...
Ifontsy	25	1	25	...	1
Mahavelona	70	29	70	...	...
Total	561	143	422	17	45

The Norwegian Missionary Society was begun in 1867 by the arrival of Messrs. J. Engh, N. Nilsen, and Borgen, who, after spending a few months in the capital, in order to acquaint themselves with the language, settled at Bètàfo, a populous district in North Bètsiléo. In Antanànarivo a Lutheran representative church was established at Ambàtovinaky in 1875, in connection with which is a school for boys and girls. There are also in the capital a theological seminary, an asylum for boys and another for girls. In Vakinankàratra is a school-masters' seminary at Mäsindràina, and an asylum for girls has been opened at Fandràina. A printing establishment belonging to the Mission is working at Ambàtovinàky.

The following are the stations of Norwegian Mission:— Vakinankàratra; Ménabé—Ambòhimàsina, Soàvina; Iarivo—Bètàfo, Mäsindràina; Lèharàno—Sirabè, Ambòhimiarivo;

Other mis-
sions.

Norwegian
and Lu-
theran
Missionary
Societies.

Inland
stations.

Mànanàdòna; Ilàka; Fisàkana—Sandriana, Ambòhipò. Between the Mania river and the Matsiatra: Màmànàdriana—Fihasinana, Fènoarivo; Ambàtofinandràhana. South of the Matsiatra: Isàndra—Tsàraindrana, Isòatànana; Fianàrantsòà.

The total number of church members was about 5185 in 1885. At the same date the number of pupils attending the Norwegian Lutheran schools was 34,907, in 214 school buildings; and the average number of attendants at worship on Sundays was 35,400, in 217 buildings. There are 30 European agents, 519 native teachers and preachers, and 6749 baptized persons.

Coast mis-
sions.

Besides this inland mission, since 1874 Norwegian Missionaries have been established on the west coast at Tolia and at Mòrondàva. Two other stations—viz. Rànopàsy, south of Mòrondàva, and Màmja, farther inland—were tried but given up.

Schools.

Laws of the Code of 1881, connected with the schools of the six provinces of Imèrina:—

All schools must be registered in the books of the minister of education (1885, Andriamànanizaò, Rakòto and Radoàra), together with the name of the teacher and the agent of the Minister of Education. Schools not registered will not be recognised. The building of a school must be notified to the minister, and villages may combine to erect a building for educational purposes. Children attending a non-registered school will be considered as non-attendant and their parents fined one dollar. Parents and guardians are permitted to choose the school to which they send their children; but it will be well not to change from one school to another, for it prevents progress. Children of eight years of age and upwards, both girls and boys, must attend some school; sending children below that age to school is optional. The period for children attending school is from eight to sixteen years; but should a scholar attain the grade of proficiency earlier he is permitted to leave, and if after age he wishes to continue study he may do so. Parents will be fined one dollar for not sending their children to school or preventing their attendance. Parents desirous of moving their children to a higher school require permission from the minister, and parents who prefer a school at a distance from a village school must obtain vouchers of attendance. The teacher must register the children on entering school. Slaves who desire to enter schools may be received; but if taken away by their owners they cannot be retained.

The Government appoint capable and trustworthy examiners; and examinations are annually held at certain district centres. The first or lowest grade of proficiency includes reading, writing, and the first four simple rules of arithmetic. Scholars who pass in these subjects receive a written Government certificate. After examinations for higher grades, scholars will receive certificates accordingly. Missionaries and evangelists may undertake the examinations, but the certificate can only be issued by the Government inspectors. Annual rewards are given by the Government to teachers, according to the number of their scholars who pass the examinations. Duplicates of certificates when lost can be supplied on payment of a fee. The names of all scholars who pass their examinations are registered. On the death of a certificated scholar, the certificate is to be given up to the teacher and forwarded to the minister.

Periodical
examina-
tions.

Higher examinations are organised for teachers who are required to hold a Government certificate. Teachers are to use all their efforts towards furthering instruction; otherwise they will be replaced and fined five dollars. Teachers are permitted to follow any system they think best for furthering instruction. Reports are to be made of the number of days in each year that a school is open, as well also of the number of attendances and general advance. No teacher may leave or resign his duties without permission from the Government. If a school be without a teacher, or without a sufficient number of teachers, the inhabitants of the village or district must give notice thereof to the minister.

Teachers.

In every town where there is a school, an agent of the minister is appointed to overlook the school and teachers. Should a teacher take a pupil from another school before the requisite grade is attained, he will be fined three dollars and the pupil shall return to the former school.

Inspectors.

Whatever concerns the spread of education is the business of Government. Any foreigners who come to Madagascar to teach are at liberty to teach and to aid in what is good for education.

Foreigners.

Any school teacher found guilty of immoral conduct will be dismissed and fined five dollars. Any teacher who shall make his pupils work at anything whatsoever, except what concerns their education, will be fined five dollars for each offence.

Immoral-
ity.

Boarders.

Teachers may receive children to live with them as boarders, by agreement with their parents or guardians; but such children may leave if they desire when they have passed the grade of proficiency. The teacher can bring no claim for expenses of education against parents, relations, or child.

Reward to informers.

Every informer of contravention by persons who do not fulfil the above laws will receive one-third of the fine inflicted if the accusation be proved true.

1882.
Education
in the
Bétsiléo
province.

The Rev. Père Lacombe writes, 13th March 1882:—"Compulsory education has been definitely proclaimed in the Bétsiléo country. On the 24th February officials from Fianarantsoa were despatched throughout the province to promulgate the law and to personally superintend the registration of all the children of the district. We [the Jesuits] were invited, together with the English and Norwegians, to accompany the officers in their mission, so that, as they remarked, we might judge for ourselves of all that was done. The affair was carried out thus: the feudal lords (*mènakely*) were summoned to assemble at a certain place, perhaps as many as five together (and the chiefs who did not bring all the people under their authority were severely punished), and then the queen's messenger addressed the people somewhat as follows:—"The queen is desirous that ignorance should disappear from her realms. She has already proclaimed a law which has not been thoroughly put in force, but henceforth it will be strictly carried out. All your children must be registered in the schools; choose the teachers you prefer; you have our friends—the English, the French, and the Norwegians—who have crossed the sea to introduce learning, which has made foreign nations so celebrated. If you prefer the French, go with the French, the queen will be satisfied; if you prefer the English, go with the English, and the queen will be satisfied; if you prefer the Norwegians, go with the Norwegians—and the queen will be equally glad. But what she will *not* allow is, that your children should remain in ignorance. Such being the case, bring all your children to be registered, either with the French, the English, or the Norwegians. Keep back not a single one, lest you incur the anger of the queen. The standard of knowledge required before a child is free from compulsory attendance at school is: (1) reading; (2) arithmetic as far as the first four simple rules; (3) writing; (4) dictation; (5) mental arithmetic; (6) knowledge of the Scriptures; (7) to have a

copy of the New Testament or Bible. Those who satisfy the examiners in the above subjects shall be exempt on producing a certificate from the inspector.' The queen's message having been thus given, a *tòmponènakèly* rose and gave the *tòky* or promise of obedience, and the schoolmasters came forward to express their satisfaction. The registration was then duly proceeded with" (*Madagascar Times*, 13th May 1882).

The officials also appointed *màsoivòho*, visitors or inspectors, to each school, and at the same time a number of the senior scholars in the schools were selected to act as assistants or pupil-teachers (*Antanànarivo Annual*, 1882).

Màsoivòho
and pupil-
teachers.

Military Administration.

"Omnia secum

Armentarius Afer agit, tectumque, laremque

Armaque, Amyclæumque canem, Cressamque pharetram."

Until modern days the Malagasy tribes in going out to war were accustomed to go *en masse*, appointing a general rendez-vous. Nothing like general order prevailed in the raid or attack. Every one carried the best weapon with which he could furnish himself, took his slave or slaves to carry his provisions, did the best he could during the conflict, secured as much booty as fell within his grasp, or escaped as fast as he could if his party seemed likely to be defeated.

The army.
Levée en
masse.

In the year 1816, as before mentioned (chapter i.), Sir R. Farquhar sent a few disciplined English soldiers up to Antanànarivo, with a view of exhibiting to Radàma I. a specimen of European discipline, and recommended it to his adoption as one of the best means of giving him a decided superiority over all the other chieftains of the island. The suggestion approved itself to the mind of Radàma I., who gladly secured the services of Sergeant Brady and another soldier, who were left behind at Radàma's particular request. The latter rendered himself odious (it is said) by his extreme severity; but Mr. Brady secured the goodwill both of Radàma and the people. A select few of the *màroserànina* officers (see *ante*, p. 113) were the first men placed under the drill instructor, and they were soon qualified to become the chief officers of the army. One regiment only was formed at first, and that consisted entirely of the class of *vòromahèry* (*i.e.* of the inhabitants of the capital and vicinity). The superiority of these regularly instructed

1816.
First germs
of discipl-
ine.

troops over the undisciplined mob soon convinced Radàma that with an augmented number of trained troops his armies would be invincible by his savage neighbours.

1817.
Annual
subsidy.

In the treaty of October 1817 the governor of Mauritius stipulated to pay yearly to the sovereign of Madagascar, besides the sum of 2000 dollars in cash, 100 barrels of powder of 100 lbs. each, 100 English muskets with accoutrements complete, 10,000 flints, 400 red jackets, 400 shirts, 400 pairs of trousers, 400 pairs of shoes, 400 soldiers' caps, 400 stocks, 12 sergeants' regulation swords with belts, etc. With this annual addition to his *matériel* Radàma proceeded to organise the formation of disciplined regiments on a more extensive scale.

The years 1820 and 1821 proved alarmingly destructive to the Hóva forces. Incredible numbers appear to have fallen in the campaigns against the Sàkalàva of Ménabé; and, moreover, it was found that the Sàkalàva tribes were tolerably well skilled in the use of the musket, as they had good opportunities of obtaining arms from the traders on their coasts.

By 1822 Radàma seems to have organised his army, which consisted of four divisions, according to the four districts of Imèrina, viz. (1) Avàradràno, (2) Vàkinisisaòna, (3) Màrovàtana, and (4) Ambòdiràno. In the first division, Avàradràno, was the *vòromahèry* regiment. At this time the inhabitants of Ankòva were divided into two classes, viz. *sòrodàny* or soldiers, and *bòrizàno* or civilians. The first term was dropped later on and the class have lately been designated *miàramàla* or military.

*Tsiàron-
dàhy.*

The first Radàma instituted a bodyguard to accompany him whenever he proceeded outside the precincts of the palace, to furnish escorts, etc. When at home his ordinary escort consisted of from forty to sixty of these household guards, which were called *tsiàrondàhy*, who were armed with muskets and spears, the officers using swords. In addition to this bodyguard about his person, Radàma I. also organised a brigade of household troops or guards, most of whom were dressed in British uniforms and armed with Tower muskets. It is said that there were 3000 of these *tsimandò*, as they were named (lit. "never forsaking"). These *tsimandò* are a class of officers in constant attendance upon the queen, and from whom the queen's messengers are chosen (*Richardson*). (The *tsiàron-dàhy* were selected from a particular clan of freeman who had been liberated or redeemed slaves in the service of the crown.)

Tsimandò.

An extensive system of internal police was instituted by Radàma in 1826, combining the civil and military character. The services of these military police were, however, civil, and they seem to have been somewhat akin to those now performed by the so-called Sakaizam-bòhitra before mentioned. Police.

The rank and titles of all officials in Madagascar were based on military precedence, and are still conferred by the number of honours, *vòninàhitra* (lit. "flowers of grass"), counting from one upwards. The first honour is the lowest, and corresponds with that of the private soldier. As originally established by Radàma, the highest possible rank was the thirteenth honour, equivalent to the rank of field-marshal. At present the ranks reach to fifteen honours, as follows:— Rank.

1. *Vòninàhitra vòalòhany* (private). 2. *Vòninàhitra fàharòà* (corporal). 3. *Vòninàhitra fàhatèlo* (sergeant). 4. *Vòninàhitra fahèfatra* (sergeant-major). 5. *Vòninàhitra fàhadimby* (lieutenant). 6. *Vòninàhitra fahènina* (captain). 7. *Vòninàhitra fàhafito* (major). 8. *Vòninàhitra fàhavàlo* (lieut.-colonel). 9. *Vòninàhitra fàhasivy* (colonel). 10. *Vòninàhitra fàhafòlo* (colonel commandant). 11. *Vòninàhitra fàharàikàmbinifòlo* (brigadier-general). 12. *Vòninàhitra fàharòàmbinifòlo* (major-general). 13. *Vòninàhitra fàhatèlòàmbinifòlo* (lieut.-general). 14. *Vòninàhitra fàhefatràmbinifòlo* (general). 15. *Vòninàhitra fàhadimiàmbinifòlo* (field-marshal). The same numbers and rank are used in the civil departments.

The two capital crimes in the Madagascar military code were (1) desertion of a military post, and (2) retreating in battle without orders after having commenced the attack. Burning was the punishment for desertion and cowardice in the field. Capital crimes.

In the autumn of 1821 Radàma I. was so far encouraged by the improved discipline of his troops that he contemplated a further prosecution of the war with the Sàkalàva. For this purpose a kabàry was held in Andohàlo, at which 40,000 or 50,000 persons were present. It was then resolved that every man capable of carrying arms should go to war or pay a forfeit of ten dollars. In June 1822 the expedition was organised, including 1000 men disciplined and armed in the European fashion, and an army set out numbering with slaves and bearers some 70,000 men. On the 23d June about 500 heads of the people, from different districts of Imèrina, assembled in the courtyard of the palace, bearing their shields and spears, assuring their monarch of their fidelity in the 1821.
Sàkalàva
war.

1882.

approaching war, and *betting wagers from five dollars to a thousand—the coward to pay the brave*. The king stood at the door of his palace, holding his spear and shield, exciting the ardour of his people by his actions and addresses, *prompting them to bet high*, and promising to confer his greatest honours on the brave, and to reward them with nine dollars for every head of the enemy (see chapter i.)

Great
kabàry.

On returning from the campaign in December 1822 a general kabàry was summoned to determine what honours and rewards should be conferred on those who had signalised themselves in the late war. The regiment disciplined on the English system obtained the highest honours, as having displayed the greatest courage, and proved the most efficient and successful. Radàma addressed the assembly and assured the people that henceforth soldiers only should go out against the enemy, but that for this purpose it was necessary that the army should be augmented, and that those who stopped at home should pay a tax to support the army in the field. Radàma then called for volunteers, upon which a great number stood up, and these were formed into companies by the officers of the *vòromahèry* regiment. It was reported that 13,000 men had volunteered.

1823.
Voluntary
enlistment.

On the 25th March these volunteers were reviewed near Ambòhimànga; and after some evolutions, the army was drawn up in a hollow square to listen to a long and eloquent speech delivered to them by Radàma. The king wound up his address by saying, “I now leave you to consider and determine what shall be the punishment inflicted upon cowards and deserters; if every officer and every soldier will do his duty, there is no difficulty to be apprehended—there is no danger to be feared.” The generals of *vòromahèry* and the *tsiàrondàhy* then arose in succession and made the most solemn declarations of fidelity to their sovereign. The troops in one unanimous voice loudly supported them, assuring the king of their devotedness and attachment. “With regard,” said they, “to the negligent in the discharge of duty—to those who act a cowardly part—those who run away in an engagement, let the king do as he pleases with them—give them the tangèna—shoot them—spear them—behead them—starve them, and give their bodies to be devoured by dogs; or let there be a pile of faggots prepared and let them be burned, and then let the winds scatter their ashes to the ends of the earth.”

Radàma thanked his troops for their devotion. "But with regard to cowards and deserters," said he, "let there be no defined punishment. Those who are brave and faithful shall be distinguished by my commendation and raised to honour." The whole body of officers and men, however, with a determined voice fixed upon *burning* as the military punishment for desertion and cowardice; this circumstance at the same time being agreed upon, that the crime of an individual should neither affect his family nor his property. The king added his sanction, and it became an article of war in the army. Radàma used afterwards to say to his soldiers, "It is not myself that punishes you, but your own law." The king, however, was still at liberty to interfere in behalf of the criminal, and might order him, after having been tried and condemned by the court martial, to be shot before he was burned, though the instances were rare in which this mark of royal clemency was shown.

Other crimes in the army were punished by flogging, loading with irons, placing in confinement, or making the culprit run up a hill for a length of time, holding a musket upright in the hand. Degradation to a lower rank was also one of Radàma's punishments. At the repulse of a portion of Radàma's troops in the attack upon the island of Anòsisàka in the lake Alaòtra (1823), the officer commanding those who fled was tried by court-martial and condemned to death by burning. General Brady, actuated by motives of humanity, ventured to oppose the execution of the sentence, and proposed that the criminal should be shot. For which interference he incurred the displeasure of the king, and was dismissed from service, and held in disgrace for the space of a year. The sentence of burning was executed, and the relations of the sufferer had permission to bury his ashes in the family vault.

Articles of
war.

When Radàma's army first entered the province of Ibòina, he issued an order that the most trifling trespass or theft should subject the offender to the pain of death; and for some weeks no complaint of this kind had been made, when, on the 4th July, three men were charged with having stolen, in the town (Mojangà), articles to the value of about a quarter of a dollar. On their trial, before the general officers, one man was charged with being the leader of the party, and, having confessed his guilt, he received sentence of death, and was shot on the beach at a little distance from the town.

1824.
Discipline
enforced.

In the district of Vònizòngo about one-fourth of the

people professed to be able to trace their descent from the nobility, and as it had long been considered that a man of noble blood would dishonour his rank were he to labour, Radàma adopted the plan of drawing more soldiers from this district than from any other, observing that such policy would tend to fill his ranks at the time supplies of men were wanted, and finally induce the titled poor to resort to that industry which would afford them comfort and respectability.

1826.
Malagasy
words of
command.

In June 1826 the king gave orders that the words of command used in the army should be changed from the English language into the native vernacular, so from this time forth Malagasy only was used.

1827.
Punish-
ment or
death in-
flicted.

On the return of the troops from the disgraceful campaign in Vangaindràno, several of them were charged with cowardice. One of the officers so accused requested to be put through the ordeal of the tangèna, which was permitted, and the test decided in his favour. Nine, however, were condemned capitally, and suffered death by burning. Ralàhifòtsy, the commander of the Hóva troops in Bètanimèna, together with a subordinate, Rafàralàhindèra, was found guilty of fraud and misappropriation, and shot and speared respectively. From the death of Radàma, and during the reigns of Ranavàlona I. and Radàma II., little or no change was effected in the organisation of the army.

1828-63.

1865-66.
Increase of
the army.

"During the years 1865 and 1866," writes Mr. Sibree, "there was much excitement amongst the people, owing to the threatening attitude of the French, and the apprehension that extreme proceedings would be resorted to in order to enforce the hated Lambert treaty. The Malagasy Government adopted vigorous measures to increase the number and efficiency of the native army, and during the months of June and July 1866 there was constant drilling and marching, so that all other work was nearly at a standstill. For the space of three weeks the troops were assembled every day, Sundays not excepted, and the prime minister and chief officers were at Imàhamàsina every day inspecting the men. A great number of those who had been relieved from military duty on account of age or long service were again called out, and large numbers of the *bòrizàno* or civilians were enrolled. These old soldiers were called *mènaràzana*, literally 'red-gums'¹—an odd designation, probably referring to the toothless condition of

1866.
July.

¹ This is incorrect. *Vàzana* = "the double teeth" (Cf. Richardson, p. 747, left hand column). The above definition would then read, literally, "having red

old men. It was very difficult to get any exemption from this conscription, and so strict were the orders that even sick and infirm men were brought upon the ground that they might be actually seen to be unfit for service, and it was reported that many died upon the parade ground while awaiting inspection. About the same time also a picked body of troops, to serve as a guard for the queen, was organised. This new regiment was composed of the finest and most intelligent young men of the central province; they were armed with rifles, and all had the honorary rank of major, or the seventh honour. Their uniform differed from that of the line, being composed of a fine linen shirt, with the *lamba* tightly girded round the waist when on duty, and a straw hat. They were entitled *marànitra*, i.e. the sharp ones."

Queen's
body-
guard.

"The Malagasy troops," wrote Mr. Sibree in 1870, "are more like a militia force or the '*landwehr*' of the Prussians than a regular army. They do not receive any pay, unless an occasional gift of a *lamba* and about a week's rice during the year can be called such. Probably more than half, or perhaps nearly two-thirds, of the whole effective male population are enrolled either as officers or privates. In theory this Government service does not appear so unjust as it is in reality, for it is rendered instead of money taxes, which are very small in amount. But in actual effect it presses very unequally upon the people, for although the drills at ordinary times do not occur more frequently than a day or two in every fortnight, much time is taken up in going to and returning from the exercises, in the case of those who live at a distance; and frequently the officers will not allow the men to return to their homes without a bribe of money—so that the common soldiers can often barely subsist, having hardly any time to cultivate their own rice fields."¹

1869-70.
National
militia.

During the reign of Ranavàlona II. great efforts were used to place the army on a thoroughly efficient footing, both numerically and as regards training and weapons. In 1872 the Hóva Government procured the services of an English drill-sergeant² from Mauritius to instruct the soldiers; and shortly afterwards the French consul, not to be outdone, offered them a French officer for the same purpose. For several years

1872.
Instruc-
tion of
young offi-
cers.

double teeth," an odd designation, probably referring to their discoloured molars.—(J. R.).

¹ *Madagascar and its People*, pp. 284, 285.

² Sergeant Lovett.

these instructors and their successors continued the work of training the young men of the upper classes as officers, and these again have instructed the whole army. The two systems of drill thus taught have since been amalgamated into one¹ (see chapter i. p. 125).

1876.

Reorganisation.

"It was the intention of the Government to entirely reorganise the army, but this involved other preliminary changes of a sweeping character. Hitherto the whole male adult population belonged to two classes; they were either soldiers or *bòrizàno*.² If the former, they were called up periodically for drill; if the latter, they were required to perform service for the Government in a civil capacity to an unlimited extent. Officers in the army, that is to say all men of position, were allowed by law to select a number of persons of lower rank to act as aides-de-camp to attend them. But great irregularities had crept into the system; many of the higher officers had appropriated to themselves these *dekà*³ in large numbers, and

1877.

June.

¹ "Presque au moment où le premier ministre émancipait les Mozambiques, et en faisait plutôt des esclaves de la reine que des sujets vraiment libres, il se lançait dans un remaniement complet de l'armée, autant pour complaire à ses conseillers Anglais, que pour affermir son pouvoir personnel contre les menées de l'ambitieux Rainimàharavo son cousin, et l'empêcher de tenter contre lui une révolution. Durant douze jours consécutifs, lisons-nous dans une autre lettre, ont eu lieu d'immenses réunions de soldats, et chaque jour le premier ministre s'y est rendu, haranguant les troupes, et élaborant ce qu'il a conçu. Ce qui étonne les Malgaches, c'est qu'il n'a pris conseil d'aucun d'entre eux et que des grands conseillers de l'État ne savent pas aujourd'hui ce qui se fera demain. Pendant huit jours entiers, les soldats ont défilé, escouade par escouade, devant les yeux de Rainilaiàrivòny et de deux chirurgiens anglais. Ceux-ci désignaient au '*fur et à mesure*' les soldats impropres au service, c'est-à-dire : les vieux, les borgnes, les nains, les édentés, les ulcérés, etc. On a ainsi donné leur congé à environ 1200 soldats. Comment les a-t-on remplacés? Dans un kabàry spécial, ordre a été donné de lire le nombre d'aides-de-camp que chaque officier avait à son service. Le ministre secrétaire d'état, Rainimàharavo, en possédait à lui seul, pour sa personne sacrée, 1218; et avec les aides-de-camp et ses aides-de-camp, le nombre de ces illustres poltrons, plus ou moins exempts du service militaire, s'élevait à 3000! Presque autant de milliers pour le ministre venant après lui et ainsi de suite. . . . Que restait-il pour la reine? . . . Rien presque rien. Le premier ministre a compris qu'il devait abaisser ces grands personnages. Il a laissé à Rainimàharavo 30 aides-de-camp, au lieu de 3000. Le ministre venant après lui en a gardé 25; les autres *honneurs* du 14e degré 20. Tous ces anciens aides-de-camp sont devenus soldats. De plus le premier ministre a vérifié les degrés d'honneur ou grades honorifiques. Beaucoup se sont trouvés de mauvais aloi, et tel général de division est redevenu simple soldat. Enfin, on va faire une grande levée pour former des bataillons à l'Européenne. Le sergent anglais, Lovett, et le sergent français, Noyal, préparent, chacun à leur manière, les sous-officiers de la future armée" (*Madagascar, ses Habitants et ses Missionnaires*, par Le Père de la Vaissière, p. 294).

² Corruption of *bourgeois*.

³ Corruption of *aide-de-camp*.

employed them in trade and other personal services; many young men too, fearful of being taken to serve as soldiers, had enrolled themselves as *dekà* to their own relations, and so escaped. It was clear that this system must be reformed before any thorough reorganisation of the army could take place. At the same time, it would need all the tact and firmness of which the prime minister was master to accomplish it successfully. The whole plan was gradually worked out step by step, beginning with the promulgation of an edict to the army, informing them of the intention to rearrange them, and directing that all those who had *dekà* should send in lists of them to the Government, whether many or few. Also all pastors and teachers were directed to send in returns of their scholars, distinguishing between those who were diligent and those who were idle and neglected to learn. This took place in June 1876.

Edict reducing the *dekà*.

“After the lapse of a month, during which all these returns had been received, a second *kabàry* was made by the prime minister in person, and to the whole people. After giving an account of the origin of the army and the institution of the *dekà*, the address condemned in very strong terms the recent action of many of the officers in changing the ‘customs of the ancestors’ and impairing the Government service by withdrawing young men from the army and attaching them to themselves; and concluded by prescribing the number of *dekà* each grade of officers should be allowed to keep. Afterwards, during some weeks the lists were carefully revised, and all who, under the new regulations, were not so retained were drafted into the army.

“Two years were allowed to elapse, when a grand military review was held at Imàhamàsina plain, just below the town, preparatory to what had all along been most dreaded by the people—the establishment of conscription. There had been none such since the days of Ranavalona I., and the arbitrary manner in which that had been carried out, together with the oppressive character of the old military service, rendered the thought of its recurrence very terrible. The missionaries, too, were not without fear as to its effect on their works. Many of the people had long been inclined to regard the schools as nurseries for the army, and the missionaries as working with the Government to that end; and should the scholars, as such, be taken to be soldiers educational work throughout the

1878.
Grand
review

country would receive a severe blow from which it would take years to recover. No wonder then that at such a crisis the policy of the Government was watched very closely. But the result proved, as so much that had gone before had also done, that more humane and enlightened sentiments prevailed at headquarters than in the old days; and when the prime minister brought to the people the 'Message of the Queen,' it was received with evident relief and satisfaction."

1879.
New regu-
lations.

On the 25th March 1879 a great kabàry was assembled, and the popular anxiety in regard to the apprehended conscription was set at rest. The following are the principal features of the new system as compared with the old:—(1) All classes are required to serve in the ranks, none being exempt except (*a*) the sick and incapable; (*b*) pastors of churches duly appointed and recognised; and (*c*) such as the queen shall be pleased to free. (2) Instead of service for life, the time of service is fixed at five years, while those who are diligent and acquire the necessary qualifications before the expiration of that time will be treated with special favour; old soldiers then in the ranks to retire after three years. (3) The enrolment of recruits is not at irregular intervals, but takes place annually. (4) The soldiers are no longer called up to the capital to drill, but drilled in their own districts. (5) Soldiers are now only sent to distant garrisons for periods of twelve months, and the posts are regularly relieved every year. A number of minor regulations are given, with a view to prevent oppression, bribery, deception, and desertion, etc.; whilst fines varying from ten to a hundred dollars are imposed on any found guilty of such contraventions.¹

1880.
Review of
new levies.

Immediately after the publication of this kabàry large numbers of young men were enrolled and at once placed under instruction; and on the 8th January 1880 a review of these new recruits was held at Imàhamàsina in the presence of the queen, and the results were highly satisfactory to the commander-in-chief.

Jan. 1880.
Gun-tax.

The next step in carrying out the scheme of military reorganisation was the levying of a gun-tax. This had been

¹ By the code of laws published in March 1881 it was ordained that "Any person levying civilians for military service without Government authority will be fined ten oxen and ten dollars (both the man enlisting and the person handing over the recruits); and in default of payment will be imprisoned at the rate of one day for every 6d. unpaid."

foreseen for some time, as the Government stock of muskets was very poor and restricted. This tax (mentioned in vol. i. p. 130) was levied on the 30th January 1880, and four months were allowed for the payment of it. The levying of this tax was as follows :—For three slaves, one dollar (*i.e.* 1s. 4d. each); for six cattle, 1s. (2d. each); persons having neither slaves nor cattle to pay 2d. each; the poor only requiring to have their names registered. Any one not paying the tax on slaves or cattle is liable to have them confiscated.

It was also enacted that any one who, through love of his country, should wish to present a freewill offering in addition to paying his ordinary tax, should be at liberty to contribute according to his own will, and in return should receive a paper containing a notification of the offering received in the name of the queen, which could be handed down to his descendants as a memento of the good he had done to the kingdom. By this means a large sum of money was obtained for arms and the army.¹

Patriotic
fund.

Admiral Gore-Jones, who visited Antanànarivo in July 1881, mentions, in his report to the Admiralty, that he considered the prime minister one of the ablest men he had ever met. He, Rànilaiàrivòny, had formed, armed, and drilled an army of 40,000 men.

Admiral
Gore-
Jones's re-
port.

In his evidence, given before M. de Lanessan's committee (30th May 1884), M. Grandidier stated that the Hóva army possessed, when he was in Madagascar, from 8000 to 9000 flint muskets; but that their Government had since purchased 600 rifled carbines, 500 Chassepots, and, in 1882, 5000 Sniders or Remingtons, in all about 15,000 muskets, of which only 6000 were of long range. Besides several pieces of ordnance, lying on the ground and practically useless, the Hóvas possessed eight or nine light pieces on field carriages, to which recent additions had been made, and there was one mitrailleuse; but he added that the Hóva gunners were not expert and made but poor practice. With regard to the numbers in the ranks, the same celebrated traveller stated: "I do not believe that the Hóva Government could muster more than 45,000 soldiers (including all those in the various

M. Grandi-
dier on
armament
of Hóva
army in
1882.

¹ In April 1882 a noble, a captain in the Hóva army, was accused of extorting sums of money from his soldiers, who addressed a petition to the commander-in-chief. The officer and soldiers were summoned to appear, and judgment was given for the soldiers; the captain lost his grade and was sent to prison.

garrisons throughout the island), of whom only 15,000 are armed with muskets, the remainder having lances. In 1882 not less than 90,000 spears were forged in Imèrina. But," he added, "these soldiers are not quartered in barracks, nor are they drilled very regularly, merely for some months, more or less. They may rather be looked upon as national guards, called together from time to time, and mobilised in case of war. We have nothing much to fear from them in open line of battle; but a guerilla war would be advantageous to them. They have no commissariat, receive no clothing, nor get any pay, but have to find themselves at their own expense. When they come on parade they don uniform, but they cannot all be dressed in uniform at the same time. The forts between the west coast and the capital (not including the more important garrisons of Mojàngà and Anòrontsànga) may perhaps contain from one hundred to two hundred huts."

M. Dela-
grange.

Captain Delagrange, late commandant of Ste. Marie, estimated the army of Antanànarivo at 15,000 men. With regard to the garrisons, he stated: "In my time there were in the district of Vòhimàro to the north from 1200 to 1500 men; whilst at Point à Larrée were 400 or 500 men, who received no pay and fed themselves. Again, at Fènoarivo was a similar post. At Tamatave the number amounted to 1500 or 2000 men; at Fort Dauphin there were about 1000; and altogether along the east coast the maximum amounted to 10,000 men" (Lanessan's *Report*).

Admiral
Galiber.

Admiral Galiber, when examined by M. Perin, declared that the mere sight of a few Hóvas armed with spears sufficed to put the Sàkalàva to flight. "Seulement, si on plaçait 30 Hóvas sur un éminence, 300 Sàkalàves, tels qu'ils sont aujourd'hui, n'arriveraient jamais à eux." Admiral Galiber, on being asked by M. de Lanessan as to the number of troops necessary to advance on Antanànarivo, replied: "On this point my estimate agrees with that projected in 1847 by the admiral (Contre-amiral Cécile) under whose orders I was then serving. From 10,000 to 12,000 men are requisite, in order to reckon with any certainty on the result. Not many casualties would occur from gunshots. The dangerous arm of the Hóvas is the sagaye (spear). When the men, after fatiguing marches from morass to morass are bogged in the mud, the Hóvas slay them with the sagaye. It is not their firearms which are to be feared. I must add, however, that the Brummagem muskets and

ammunition which are sold to them are of wretched quality, as also are the so-called rifles. Our real enemy is the marsh. It was that which occasioned the disaster at Foule Point."

It has been mentioned that on the 25th March 1879 the 1882. Government promised that old soldiers then in the ranks should be entitled to retire after three years with the colours. When this time expired in March 1882, this liberty to leave the army was granted, and on the 20th March all the old soldiers who claimed this exemption were paraded at Màmahàsina for inspection by the commander-in-chief, who passed along the lines and announced to the men that they would be permitted to retire. This fulfilment of a measure, without precedent in Imèrina, when hostilities were deemed imminent, was productive of a good effect on the populace. At this time the Government was occupied with the enrolment of newly-enlisted recruits; and a committee was appointed to nominate officers and organise the staff of the separate regiments; while 5000 improved rifles were on their way from America, of which 2500 had already reached Tamatave (see chapter xvi.) The organisation was quietly conducted, and on the 30th May the *vòromahèry* regiment, equivalent to the guards, was reviewed in the palace yard by Rainilaiàrivòny.

A white and red flag, called fanèvamèna or sàinamèna (sàina, "an ensign" or flag), is hoisted at the royal palace as a signal for calling in the reserves to Antanànarivo in time of need. Fanèva-mèna.

The discipline, organisation, and armament of the Malagasy army have been greatly improved since the commencement of the late hostilities under the able direction of Adjutant-General Digby Willoughby (late of Willoughby's Horse, an irregular corps raised and commanded by this officer during the Zulu war), who undertook the personal management of the Hóva troops in January 1884. In fact the patriotic defence of the island has gone a great way towards perfecting the strict discipline, drill, capacity of the officers, self-reliance, confidence, and *camaraderie* of the men and non-commissioned officers. But few cases of desertion occurred during the war, and an example which was made by shooting two deserters at Antanànarivo on the 7th August 1884 had its due effect. At a military kabàry, held in the capital on the 19th May 1885, the ancient oath was voluntarily renewed by the representatives of the entire army, that any soldier convicted of cowardice on the field of battle should be burnt alive. 1883-84. Improved discipline. 1884. Deserters shot. 1885. Military kabàry.

1885.
Camp of
instruction
at Ilàfy.

An entrenched encampment was formed three miles north of the capital, near Ilàfy, by General Willoughby, under whose direction were Colonel Shervington, Raimihàrovòny, chief of the staff, Prince Ramàhatra, Quarter-master General Ratsimatàhodriaka, and others, including a commissary-general, a provost-marshal, and field adjutant. The tents were arranged a good distance apart, five men to a tent, and there were three guard-houses on the three sides, with two or three guns in position at each point. The parade-ground in the centre of the camp was of large extent, on which 30,000 troops could be paraded. Everything was clean and orderly—the latrines in certain defined places, and all nuisances were strictly punished. The wells for drinking and the lavatories and wash-houses were kept apart, and the sanitary arrangements admirable. A visitor describes the smartness and physique of the men whom he saw at drill as good, and Colonel Shervington, an experienced officer, declared he could make a crack regiment from the good material within a year. Most of the officers had been trained by Sergeants Lovett and Wiblin some years previously. Immense stores of rice had been collected by the commissariat, and regular rations were served to the men, who seemed happy and contented. The staff-officers were learning heliography under Colonel Shervington. At 9 p.m., gun-fire, all fires and lights were put out, and during a night alarm the whole camp was on the alert and the trenches manned in a few minutes. Regular working hours and meals, good food and the care of the sick, had combined to make camp life popular with the men.

1886.
Kabàry of
23d March.

A great kabàry was held on the 23d March 1886 to call out a new levy of troops to replace those who had completed their five years' service from 25th March 1881 (see *ante*), and who on this day received their discharge. The newly-enlisted troops are only engaged to serve four years, and large numbers, writes Mr. Sibree, have already been enrolled. This measure has given great satisfaction to the people, who have proved satisfactorily that conscription is not an absolute necessity among a brave and free people, whilst voluntary enlistment for short periods has answered well during the trying period of a three years' war.

CHAPTER XIII.

TRADE AND REVENUE.

“*Nec jungere tauros
Aut componere opes norant, aut parcere parto.*”
(*Æneidos*, lib. viii. 316.)

TRADE.—Absence of reliable statistics—M. Tacchi on the export and import trade of the island—Vice-Consul Pickersgill's report on the trade—Extract from the *Ten Years' Review* of the Madagascar Mission. REVENUE.—Booty—*Häsina*—Taxes—Duties and customs—Fines and confiscations.

Appendix.—Tables of import and export trade.

Trade.

NATIVE laws and customs have hitherto militated somewhat against the progress of international trade with Madagascar, and the people have for long looked upon Europeans with distrust and jealousy. The difficulties of transport through the forest, the want of roads, and the unhealthiness of the coast, have combined to prevent any great influx of foreign manufactures. The prospect was lately favourable to foreign enterprise, but the existing hostilities, and the uncertainty of the tenure of property, together with the general sense of insecurity, have postponed indefinitely the former bright outlook.

Progress
of trade
hitherto
impeded.

There is every reason to believe that, the difficulties with the French having been satisfactorily settled, the queen and Government of Madagascar will open out the island to foreigners, that leases will be granted, roads constructed, and trade developed. Meantime, with regard to past trade hitherto carried on between Europeans and the natives, it has been stated by the London Chamber of Commerce (see *Chamber of Commerce Journal*, 1st December 1882) that the British imports and exports have reached a total of about £350,000 a year; the American trade up to the end of 1882, according to the same authority, was somewhat of the same amount, and

Reopening
of trade.

the French and German was calculated at from about £70,000 to £100,000 each per annum.

British
imports.

The tables of British imports and exports in the appendix to this chapter are taken from the "Annual Statements of the Trade of the United Kingdom" from 1863 to 1885; the latest figures being courteously supplied by Mr. Seldon, Principal of the Statistical Office in H.M. Customs. It should be borne in mind, however, that there is an important trade carried on between Zanzibar on the one hand and the British colony of Mauritius on the other, of which the Board of Trade are naturally not cognisant; besides which large amounts of war *matériel*, quantities of ammunition, ordnance, and stores have been introduced into the country by Dr. Prince and other American and British agents, whose value would greatly increase the estimates, which can only be looked upon as approximative to the legal British trade.

1882.
Dec. 21.

Export
Trade.

Letter from M. Tacchi, interpreter to the Malagasy Embassy to Europe, on exports and imports of Madagascar:—

Invest-
ments in
oxen.

"I will first refer to the export trade from Madagascar. The first and, at present, the most important wealth of the island of Madagascar lies in its oxen. A Malagasy possesses acres of land, or rather, he holds them under a feudal title (for all the land really belongs to the queen), but this is of no importance to him, compared with the number of oxen he possesses. Some of the Malagasy possess as many as 10,000 oxen, and the poorest labourer is pretty sure to have five or six; in fact they form the wealth of the island, and every Malagasy is taught from childhood to invest his money in oxen. When a Malagasy is condemned to pay a fine, it is generally levied in cattle. When Admiral Gore-Jones paid his visit to the Queen of Madagascar last year, the first welcome he received was in the form of a fine fat ox sent by the queen. In fact, cattle may be called the ancient current money of the island. From these facts it is not difficult to see the importance of British commercial interests in Madagascar. The British colony of Mauritius depends for its beef on Madagascar alone, and for the last eighty years the bullock trade with Madagascar has been a most important one. The French colony of Bourbon (Réunion) also procures its cattle from Madagascar. A bullock at the port of Tamatave (east coast) ready to be shipped to Mauritius is worth about £2:12s. sterling. The Madagascar Government levy a duty

on all oxen exported, but when the duty is paid an ox rarely costs more than £3 after it is on board a ship in the harbour. The French, probably unable to compete with the English in this trade, have for a long time gone to the West Coast (the part now claimed as a protectorate) for their bullocks, where they have avoided paying duties. In reference to the growth of this bullock trade, it is not easy to say to what extent it could increase; it seems evident that with only two small islands like Mauritius and Bourbon to be supplied from an immense island like Madagascar, any great competition would soon overthrow all the laws of supply and demand.

“I will next refer to a very important trade with Madagascar, viz. in dry salted hides. This is, perhaps, the most important branch of trade so far as foreigners are concerned, as it is constant and steady. The best dry salted hides are bought from the natives at 24s. per 100 lbs., and the city of Antanànarivo alone exports about 8000 hides per month. The Americans and Germans have a large share of this trade, more especially the Americans, because, with their cotton fabrics they can always procure plenty of cash and buy them up; whereas, jobbing merchants are obliged to offer goods in exchange, and the natives do not like this mode of trading, as they invariably lose on it. Knowing the island well, I can safely say that the export of dry salted hides is open to plenty of competition, and capitalists may well invest their money in it. I know many parts of the country where the natives have not yet learnt to preserve the hide of the bullock, and where they invariably cut the animal up with the hide. I have often seen a hide sold for a shilling, and the native thought he had made a splendid bargain. There is one part of the island which is known as the Bétasiléo country, *i.e.* the south central part of the island, where the population is very dense, and where consequently hundreds of bullocks are killed daily, but no one is there to buy up the hides. It is only very recently that the natives have learnt to preserve the hides, and they carry them five days’ journey on their backs to Antanànarivo, to sell them for 2d. per lb.

Dry salted
hides.

“In the centre of the island the Cape sheep are plentiful; a sheep at Antanànarivo is worth from 1s. 8d. to 2s. 6d., and there is a small trade in buying up sheepskins.

“I might remark here that it is entirely unknown to the Malagasy that the skin of the crocodile is of value. In some

Crocodile
skins.

parts of the island where crocodiles are almost as numerous as mosquitoes, if some one were to offer a price for the hide, it would soon tend to destroy the veneration which the coast tribes have for that animal, and which prevents them killing it.

India-
rubber.

“The next important article of export from Madagascar is caoutchouc or india-rubber. The caoutchouc is procured both from a tree and from a vine, but all that I have seen on the east coast of Madagascar is taken from a vine, and if the india-rubber tree is found in Madagascar, it is only on the west coast. It is not very many years since the natives were first taught that the india-rubber vine was such a valuable plant. It is true the children would collect the juice of the vine, and with the juice of a lemon coagulate it, but about fifteen years ago foreigners first taught them the value of it, and it is now an important occupation of those natives who are of a rough and rambling character to go out into the woods to collect it. A party of five or six men is formed, each having an axe and a bottle of sulphuric acid, and as much rice as he can carry. They are also provided with a few cooking pots, and of late years they generally take with them a gun, by which means they can procure for themselves food. These men strike into the forest until they find traces of the vine, then they camp and set to work to cut the vines down. These vines are perhaps six inches in diameter at their roots, and taper off as they climb round the trees of the forest, forming one entangled mass. The Malagasy climb the trees and cut every branch that can be found, nor do they spare even the roots of the plant. These vines are cut into pieces two feet long, and placed on end in a trough of bamboo, out of which the milky like juice is conducted to an iron pot. A few drops of sulphuric acid immediately convert the juice into a curd, which becomes the india-rubber of commerce. It will be noticed that the Madagascar india-rubber of commerce is in balls just as it is made in these two and four gallon iron cooking pots. The difference in the quality of india-rubber depends upon the soil, and also upon the period of ripeness at which the vine is cut. Ripe old vines that are found in the virgin forests of the north-east of Madagascar produce the india-rubber known as the ‘best pink.’ India-rubber is bought from the natives now at as much as 10d. and 1s. per lb., though five years ago they sold it at 6d. It undergoes a

shrinkage of 20 to 30 per cent in weight, however, before it arrives in London.

“Another valuable export from Madagascar is gum animi, the gum of the copal-tree. There are two chief qualities found in the north-east of the island, the white and the red, the former being by far the better of the two. It is not the deposit from year to year which we see in our markets, but the ancient deposits which have fallen from the trees years and years ago, and which the natives dig for. When they discover a forest of copaliers, they do not look up at the trees for the gum, but they immediately dig for it, and I have seen pieces of gum of eight or ten lbs. weight found underneath deposits of earth of several inches in thickness. Gum is bought from the natives at 5d. per lb. Gum animi.

“Wax from Madagascar is beginning to be an important article of export, and I have quite recently heard that the quality is very good. It is a noticeable fact that the honey of Madagascar is of a greenish tint, and thus different from that of most other countries; there is also a poisonous honey in the island, but the wax, as far as I am aware, is the same as anywhere else. It fetches about 5d. a lb. in Madagascar. Wax.

“It is not probable that any Madagascar rice ever comes to England, but it is none the less an important item of British commerce, as a great deal is yearly shipped to the British colony of Mauritius.

“Coffee and sugar growing are to be the great industries of the future, and they have already made a considerable start. With reference to the coffee, I do not suppose that Englishmen even know that Madagascar coffee is in the English market, and the reason is, that it is of such a superior quality that I should not be surprised if it is being sold under a famous name. There is every reason to believe that the Madagascar coffee will compare in quality with the best coffees of the world. Many planters have made great mistakes in planting coffee on the sea-shore, but if the lands fifty or sixty miles from the east coast were chosen, which lands are about 1000 feet above sea level, then, I can say, our planters will have the finest coffee that can be produced. In regard to sugar—this is an industry which must be carried on by very large capitalists. I am not able to give any reliable details for the information of those who might think of such investments. I can say, however, that two or three sugar-mills are Coffee.

now at work at Madagascar, and moreover, that the soil of the island is all that can be desired for the cultivation of the sugar-cane.

"The rearing of the silkworm is an occupation particularly suitable to the women and children of Madagascar. That already much is done in this is evident from the beautiful silk *lambas*, the native costume of the Malagasy, which are all spun by hand from Madagascar silk; but thus far no one has commenced buying up silk cocoons for export, a branch of commerce which would immediately increase tenfold the amount produced.

Rofia fibre.

"I will refer lastly to an article of commerce largely shipped from Madagascar, viz. *rofia* fibre, or the inner skin of the leaf of the *rofia* palm. This fibre is stripped off from the under side of the leaves of the palm in the same manner as one can strip off the inner fibre of a pea-pod, in fact it is very similar in appearance, only that, of course, it is two or three feet in length. It is dried in the sun, and woven by the natives into what is known in England as grass-cloth; it also serves the natives for all purposes for which twine or string is required. Seeing so many bales of this fibre shipped to England, I made a point of inquiring whether it might not be used for working up into some fabrics, but I find that its sole use is for florists to tie up flowers. A London merchant informed me last week that the market is at present overstocked with this commodity.

Orchids.

"To say a word on the flora of Madagascar, I may remark that some of the principal florists in London are annually exporting from Madagascar the choicest specimens of *orchids* which grace English conservatories.

"I might mention that Madagascar produces maize corn, that even wheat is grown by the natives in the interior, that tortoise shell is largely collected on the coast, that, in fact, there are scores of industries for the enterprising foreigner, but as they are at present in a state of embryo, I will pass over to the imports of Madagascar.

Import
Trade.

"From the fact that the first necessities of man are food and clothing, it follows that the principal imports to a nation rising into civilisation are calicoes and cooking pots. In the matter of cotton goods, the English take the lead in *prints*, but the American sheetings form the staple article. You referred last month to the fact that the English cotton goods being

dressed prevented their competition with the American. I can say that it is not exactly that. The American cotton fabric is a *warmer* and more woolly fabric, if I may use the word woolly in speaking of cotton goods. Now the part where the greater proportion of the people of Madagascar live is several thousand feet above the level of the sea, although it is in the tropics, which explains the reason for the nights being very cold, and the middle of the day excessively hot. There is no doubt that where men are obliged to dress in a cheap white fabric the American cotton goods are superior. They are warmer than the English cottons when the weather is cool, and they answer all the purposes of English cotton goods when the weather is hot. For women's apparel in Madagascar the English goods carry the market, although French fabrics compete with them.

"It is impossible for me to enumerate every article of import into Madagascar. It is sufficient to say that almost every mentionable and saleable article is finding its way into Madagascar. There is one remark I must make, and that is, that most of the goods that are introduced into Madagascar are the rubbish of the market. There are only two houses who are introducing English goods of good quality, and it is often remarked that the natives do not appreciate a good article, but will prefer some cheap rubbish to the genuine thing. This may be very true, but still, if any other foreign commercial nation takes the lead before England, it is because they import a better article.

Cheap
rubbish.

"In conclusion I will refer to the money of Madagascar. The silver five-franc piece of any nation is the only coin used, and for the fraction it is cut up into pieces of all sizes representing every value from a farthing to a florin. In order to give change it is necessary to use a pair of scales, and all the money is weighed. This gives a good deal of trouble to our merchants, who hope that Madagascar will soon have a coinage of her own, or make use of the gold coin of other nations.—
Yours very truly,

A. TACCHI."

Vice-Consul Pickersgill, in his report for 1884, writes:—"Trade in Madagascar eludes statistics. Success therein seems to depend on avoiding as far as possible every appearance of it. Now and then upon the coast when a vessel arrives with a cargo of some much-needed foreign product, the agents of the firm to which the goods are consigned may be seen doing busi-

Vice-Consul Pickersgill's report, 1884. Want of statistics.

ness undisguisedly with a crowd of native wholesale buyers around them, each man anxious to be the first to strike a favourable bargain and hurry his stock up to the roadside markets of Imèrina; but here in the capital the European trader receives his merchandise from abroad, and collects the native produce in return, without anybody, except himself, knowing correctly how much passes through his hands either way. He studiously endeavours to prevent the circulation of such knowledge, especially amongst his native customers.

Fluctua-
tion of
prices.

"The alternatives of scarcity and abundant stock can generally be ascertained by observing the fluctuation of prices in the great weekly market of Antanànarivo, the Hóva being a keen dealer, and ever ready to take advantage of the accidents of supply and demand, but beyond prices information is very indefinite. Such records as are kept by the Government are of little use in the computation of quantities. Duty is regularly taken at the ports, but by officials whose salaries consist chiefly of perquisites and pickings, and naturally enough their accounts are not remarkable for clearness.

Effect of
hostilities.

"Before the late difficulty with France broke into actual hostilities it was feared that an attack upon the island would at once destroy all foreign trade. There were not many persons who gave the native Government credit for strength enough to provide at one and the same time an armed resistance to its enemies and a peaceable protection for its friends. Such protection, however, has not been wanting, and although during the first six months of blockaded ports and indiscriminate bombardings there was something like a total collapse of business, the year which has just ended has been not altogether an unprofitable one to the few whose acquaintance with the country and its inhabitants enabled them to foresee how little the roar of cannon upon certain parts of the coast would affect the daily wants of the populous interior. The island is far too large for complete blockade, and the attempts which have been made to coerce the Malagasy to submission by closing three or four well-known points of entrance have only resulted in the opening of other channels of communication.

Decadence
of trade.

"According to the estimates of persons engaged in Madagascar trade the total amount of business done in the country during the year 1884 has been about one-third of what was done during the year immediately preceding the outbreak of war. Of that amount the greater part has been accomplished

through British enterprise. Contrary to expectation, the American firms were for some time apparently afraid to run the slightest new risk, notwithstanding their being much better equipped for hazardous trade than any of their rivals, whether English or German. An interesting illustrative case is recorded of a British house clearing, it is said, not less than £3000 on a quantity of cotton goods which had already been landed and stored in an American warehouse at one of the ports occupied by the French. They were reshipped, distributed at various places still unblockaded, and put into the then thirsty inland markets just at the lucky moment. On these goods the Malagasy Government received double duty, the original landing having been made before the French obtained possession of the port at which it took place. Since then many importations have similarly paid duty twice—once to the invaders at Tamatave, and then again to the invaders on being landed elsewhere.

“In addition to the obstacles encountered in getting foreign goods into the country there has been even greater difficulty in getting native products out. Pleading the necessity of employing every means within its power to harass an enemy of overwhelming superior strength, the Malagasy Government declared itself perfectly justified in prohibiting all exportations, and for some time carried the declaration into effect. Further deliberations, however, led to the restriction being confined to articles of food only; and a revision of policy, pressed for by Her Majesty’s Consul and myself, brought about the removal of sugar and coffee from the prohibited list.

Restriction
on exportations.

“Thus trade in this country has been working in shackles, and only the strong and well-acclimatised firms have been able to bear up under the strain.

“Cattle abound in this country. No estimate has yet been attempted of the numbers, but they must be very great indeed. Travellers who have seen no more of Madagascar than is to be observed on a journey from the east coast to the capital are sometimes led to imagine that the island is but poorly furnished with live stock. It is in the grazing lands of the north and west that vast herds may be seen roaming at large. For a man to own 2000 or 3000 head is no uncommon thing. The numbers slaughtered here in Antananarivo during the annual festival of the bath are sufficient testimony to the extent of the people’s possessions. Capital invested in a selected herd is said to double itself in three

Cattle.

years, when the owner has trustworthy servants who can be put in charge. In thinly-inhabited districts bullocks are frequently killed for the sake of the hides and fat, a large animal in such places being worth from 10s. to 14s. only. The Antanànarivo butchers pay from 24s. to 36s. for the same kind. Exportation was entirely forbidden during the war, but even before that weary game began, it was greatly hampered by an unwise law made many years ago, which prohibits the sale of cattle for shipment at less than 60s. a head. Various devices for evading this regulation were resorted to by the firms engaged in the trade. One, largely practised by a continental company, was to run a steamer to some unrecognised port on the west coast and barter with the Sàkalava for guns and powder. This was regarded by the Malagasy people as eminently a European method of provoking them to live up to their treaties with civilised powers. Another dodge was to station a highly-paid native *employé* at one of the regular ports, and provide him with a sufficient quantity of ready cash and a foreign passport. In the market he was an ordinary Malagasy purchaser increasing his stock; when the company's vessel arrived he became a stranger not amenable to native law. Troublesome inquiries by the local representatives of the Government were then staved off by means of bribes. Cattle were thus procured and shipped at an average cost of 28s. each, the duty of 6s. a head included. At Mauritius and Réunion the usual selling price was about £7:4s. As there is no such thing known in Madagascar as contagious disease in animals, this country would be not only an abundant but also a safe source of supply for the frozen meat trade.

Price of
cattle.

Estimated
trade of the
capital.

“With due regard to such observations on the impossibility of procuring exact information as have already been made, the trade of Antanànarivo and the province of Imèrina for the year 1884 may be noted as follows:—

IMPORTS.

Articles.	Bales.	Value.
Cotton sheetings . . .	2800	£64,400
White shirtings . . .	1500	30,000
Prints, etc.	...	20,000
Various	...	8,000
		£122,400

EXPORTS.

Articles.	Quantity.	Value.
Hides <i>No.</i>	230,000	£172,300
Coffee <i>Lbs.</i>	60,000	480
Wax „	80,000	1,280
Various „	...	1,000
		£175,060

“The cotton sheetings are for the most part of American manufacture. English imitations are sometimes imported, but their inferiority is easily detected, and they do not find a ready market. It is a great mistake to think of the Malagasy of Imèrina as burning in tropical heat with only a few shreds of muslin upon them for the sake of decency. They look for warmth and durability in their garments, and up to a certain limit will always pay a good price for such articles as possess these qualities. When the cold east wind of the dry season is blowing many of them find even stout American sheetings too thin for comfort, and there is then a certain demand for woollen goods. Flannels, blankets, and tweeds, however, should be imported very cautiously, as there is the greatest difficulty in preserving such things from the ravages of insects.

Cotton sheetings.

“Printed calicoes sell in all parts of Madagascar, but it is not easy to hit the native taste in patterns, which is very reluctant to be guided by the fashions of Europe. Moreover, the kind of print which is acceptable in the eyes of one tribe is often the very opposite elsewhere.

Calicoes.

“Amongst other articles more or less in constant demand in Antananarivo and the neighbourhood are iron cooking-pots, iron kettles, saucepans, and frying-pans, sheet tin and soldering materials, and glass and putty. Tinware is largely used, but it is not profitable to introduce the articles ready made.

“Of carpenters’ tools the only kinds which the native smiths do not forge to the satisfaction of those who use them are saws and chisels, the cutters of planes, gouges, augers, braces, and bits.

“Second-hand clothing frequently sells well, especially if the quality is good, and the signs of previous wear not too evident.

Clothing.

“Boots and shoes are manufactured in the country. Im-

portations, however, find a market when they are of a superior make and are offered at reasonable prices.

“Umbrellas and sunshades also meet with ready sale.

Crockery. “Crockery is in daily use by almost everybody. The richer people will sometimes buy full services of china, but high-priced goods should be introduced in very small quantities.

Drugs. “Drugs often fetch very good prices. Those most frequently required by the natives are, quinine, Epsom salts, iodide of potassium, bichloride of mercury, santonine, cod-liver oil, carbonate of soda, tartaric acid, seidlitz powders, etc.

Stationery. “Stationery is needed by constantly increasing numbers. The market is chiefly supplied by the missionary printing offices, who have the privilege of importing such materials of instruction free of duty. The slates required to meet the wants of upwards of a quarter of a million children registered as scholars in the various schools, and the Bibles, New Testaments, and hymn and prayer books, etc., which are purchased by them and the adult adherents of over 1500 churches and congregations scattered throughout the island, form no inconsiderable item of general trade. It is not customary to mention such things in a commercial report, but every new demand for paper and printing and bookbinding materials must necessarily benefit the firms which produce them.

Porterage. “It should always be remembered that every article of merchandise offered for sale in the interior of Madagascar has to be carried hither from the coast on human shoulders.

“Packages which cannot be broken and rearranged at the port of landing should therefore be made up in certain weights. One man will carry two packages of from 40 to 45 lbs. each, but the same weight in a single bale will require two men, and the expense of transit will be doubled. Large packages and heavy packing materials often increase the cost of imported goods enormously. It is impossible to pay too much attention to this matter.

Wages. “The wages received by the porters vary according to the distance travelled, and sometimes according to the weight carried. For a journey from one of the nearer eastern ports, Tamatave, Vatomandry, or Mahanoro, to the capital, with an ordinary load, they receive 10s. per man.

“It is usual to divide a number of them into gangs of 10, 15, or 20 men, and appoint to each gang a trustworthy overseer, who carries the way-bill and a portion of the wages set

apart for the purchase of food on the road. The pay of this extra man adds from 8d. to 1s. to the carriage of every load.¹

“On the imports and exports of Antanànarivo during the year 1884, which together amount to about £300,000, the cost of transmission to and from the coast is estimated at not less than £11,000.

Cost of transmission.

“The coinage used in Madagascar is the French five-franc piece. No other form of money will enable the European trader to do business directly with the natives.

“It is reckoned in all small transactions as equivalent to four English shillings, or one American dollar. Against bills on London it is worth from 3 to 5 per cent.

Rate of exchange.

“As this coin is not procurable, except in small quantities and at high rates, anywhere in the neighbourhood, the trader who comes to Madagascar unprovided with a working supply finds himself placed at a grievous disadvantage.”

Tamatave is the principal seat of the export trade of Madagascar. The trade in bullocks has always been considerable since it was reopened in 1854. In recent years it is in hides, beeswax, india-rubber, gums copal and animi, tallow and oil seeds, that the great increase has taken place; whilst the production of sugar and coffee must shortly develop a yet larger trade; and indigo, spices, and tobacco, are beginning to be cultivated for export. Many of the above articles of export are brought from the interior, and the wages paid to the bearers have in consequence greatly risen during the last four years. Large numbers of natives are employed in the forests collecting rubber and gum for the English and American markets. Until now the export trade has clung firmly to Tamatave on the east coast, but doubtless the old line and trade route *viâ* Mojangà will be reopened in consequence of the French holding Tamatave in their hands; whilst the line of communication which has been established by the Donald Currie steamers will give the southern ports a great advantage.

Tamatave export trade.

The native produce is paid for in Manchester goods; cotton lãmbas woven in Lancashire looms now supersede the native homespun, whilst crockery, pottery, iron vessels, knives and tools from Birmingham and Sheffield find a ready market.

¹ “Un porteur chargé d'un poids de 100 à 106 livres, emploie douze jours de Tananarive à Tamatave, et il reçoit de 12 à 14 fr., ou bien par peau de bœuf 1 fr. 50 environ; les gages au mois sont de 10 fr. et 60 livres de riz. Le riz sur la côte, coûte à peu près 5 fr. par quintal, mais seulement 1 fr. 75 dans l'intérieur du pays” (M. Raoul Postel, p. 74).

A part was paid for in rum,¹ but under the supplement to the treaty lately ratified, this rum trade will, it is to be hoped, diminish greatly. For another portion there is a demand of French and Belgian five-franc pieces, which form the current "dollar" of the country (see chapter on Currency).

Mauritius
trade.

The following table shows the imports and exports in *English vessels only*, between Tamatave and Mauritius, since the country has been reopened to European trade :—

Year.	Exports.	Imports.	Total.
1862	£70,707	£57,714	£128,421
1865	66,873	40,082	106,955
1870	57,922	63,047	120,969
1872	154,659	145,258	299,917
1873	139,670	143,489	283,159
1874	127,703	142,664	270,367
1875	113,961	113,598	227,559
1876	84,928	85,689	170,617
1877	54,882	59,680	114,562
1878	78,455	67,606	146,061
1879	109,492	71,029	180,521
1880	106,302	80,571	186,873
1881	121,344	104,280	225,624
1882	143,440	136,198	279,638

Cause of
diminution.

The great diminution in the eastern trade in the figures opposite the years 1877-78 was due to a frightful epidemic of smallpox which desolated the coast provinces, and is said to have swept off 40 per cent of the population. Of the above figures, in the exports, cattle form the largest item, amounting from three-fourths in early years, to one third more recently, of the total value; next to this comes india-rubber, which in 1872 was exported to the value of £65,000. These figures, however, only represent a portion of the whole trade, as they do not include American, French, and German commerce, nor do they show the trade from other eastern parts, or the growing trade on the west side of the island.

¹ When Radama II. came to the throne in 1861 it will be remembered that he abolished all the custom-house duties on imports, and consequently Mauritius rum was poured into the countries on the seaboard in vast quantities. Under Queen Rasohérina in 1863 the former duty of ten per cent was re-imposed, but under such a light duty the trade flourished. The Hóva Government of Madagascar disapprove the importation of spirituous liquors, and insist now on heavy restrictions (*vide* Agreement of 1883). One thing the Hóvas have done for many years. It has been the custom to levy the duties in kind. Every tenth barrel of rum was handed over to the custom-house, but the authorities would not handle the liquor or even commute it for money payment, but broaching the rum allowed it to run on the sand, which speedily sucked it in. See Appendix B, end of volume.

The whole foreign trade of Madagascar, import and export, does not fall far short of a million pounds sterling annually. As affecting an important branch of commerce, it may be mentioned that nearly all the cotton cloth used by the intelligent natives is of American manufacture, free from dressing, the material for which, if required, can be obtained in the island. If English manufacturers did not dress their cloth as they do there would be a greater demand for it in the island of Madagascar. When it is remembered that it is less than thirty years since almost all foreign commerce was excluded, it will be seen that trade has developed somewhat rapidly since the reopening of the country in 1861-62 by Radàma II. Madagascar is usually reached from England by the steamers of the Messageries Maritimes Company, which make four weekly voyages between Marseilles, Mauritius, and Réunion in about twenty-six days. Donald Currie's "Castle" line of steamers also connects England with the east ports of Madagascar, *viâ* Durban and the Cape, in about thirty days.

Total
amount of
foreign
trade.

M. d'Escamps, in his *Géographie de l'Île de Madagascar* (p. 486), draws attention to the daily increasing predominance of the American trade with Madagascar. "The consul of the United States," he writes, "does not interfere either for the conversion or moralisation of the natives, he solely preoccupies himself in the protection of his national commercial rights." "It is from Tamatave," continues the same author, "that Réunion and Mauritius draw their chief resources, notably cattle, rice, and other products of lesser importance. Tamatave exports yearly, from August to November, from 10,000 to 12,000 oxen, which cost, when put on board, 15 dollars (*i.e.* 75 francs). The Government levies 3 dollars (15 francs) on every ox embarked, and from Mauritius and Réunion annually an amount varying from one million to one million and a half (francs) in silver and merchandise is expended on the east coast." This is equivalent to 200,000 dollars or £40,000. "The English hitherto have traded their manufactures in exchange for Malagasy products; but the American goods have overrun the native market, and they are sold cheaper than the English wares from Mauritius, besides which they are preferred by the natives. In 1868 two American ships carried off nearly 100,000 dollars in five-franc pieces from Tamatave in exchange for cottons, bread-stuffs, furniture, preserves, and notions, all at a cheap rate,

Business at
Tamatave.

but the gain by the exchange on the pieces of five francs was great."

French
version
of trade
statistics.

M. d'Escamps, and later M. Raoul Postel, give the following table, showing the comparative tonnage of arrivals and departures of shipping at Tamatave from 31st May 1881 to 30th June 1882, not including men-of-war:—

Flag.	Steamers.	Sailing Vessels.	Tonnage.	
			Arrivals.	Departures.
French	31	40	20,090	18,090
English	15	88	7,684	7,334
German	...	12	3,056	3,056
American	...	5	2,779	2,779
Norwegian	...	1	301	310
Hóva	...	4	3,000	2,250
	46	150		
Total	196		36,910	33,819

Curious
predomi-
nance of
French
flag (?).

"This shows," says M. d'Escamps, "a commercial interchange of 70,729 tons of goods in the port of Tamatave alone. It is remarkable that the French flag covers more than 500 per cent of this tonnage, and that the English commerce is represented by scarcely 20 per cent" (?). "Amongst these vessels," adds M. Postel,¹ "eighty-six are coasting craft, belonging to French, English, and créoles. Those which the Hóvas have chartered belong either to English or Americans." According to the same authority the importations at Mojangà are equal to those at Tamatave, and it is estimated that the commerce in the other ports of Madagascar employs besides some 200 vessels of 60,000 tons. Until 1884 the traffic between the Mascarene islands and Madagascar was principally carried on by sailing vessels—bullockers—whilst an attempt, made in 1864, to introduce steam communication by Mr. Hadley was successfully boycotted by a ring of butchers in Mauritius. More recently the French house, Roux de Fraissinet et Cie, employed two steamers, and now an English firm and a German company each despatch their goods direct by steamer.

Effect of
Christian-
ity upon
the trade.

The Rev. James Sibree, writing on the results of the last few years' labour on the part of the missionary societies in Madagascar, gives the following suggestive statement, affirming that there are numerous undeniable facts which sufficiently

¹ *Madagascar*, by M. Raoul Postel, Paris, 1866, p. 71.

testify that the gospel has proved a mighty power in Madagascar. He writes as follows:—"To begin with the matter of clothing, a subject always closely connected with morality. In their heathen state a dirty hemp or rofia làmba suffices for the great mass of the Malagasy; but as soon as a Christian congregation is gathered, a grand change comes over the outward aspect of the people. Every woman must have her neat jacket and skirt of print or other stuff, and the men their shirts and pantaloons, as well as the flowing outer dress or làmba (common to both sexes) of European calico. Wherever Christianity comes there immediately springs up a demand for foreign manufactured goods, and the trader follows in the wake of the missionary. It can be shown, from consular returns, that so much has Christianity opened up trade in Polynesia, that every Protestant missionary is worth £10,000 per annum to European and American commerce. So much cannot yet be claimed for Christian missions in Madagascar, but perhaps it would not be too much to say that each missionary represents a value of from £2000 to £3000 per annum of foreign imports. In 1863 there was not one English commercial house at the great city of Antanànarivo, but now several firms carry on a profitable business, besides which a great amount of goods is brought up by the native traders. So true it always is that Christianity is the best civiliser, and the harbinger of all honest trade."¹

Monetary
value of
mission
work.

Mr. Briggs in the *Ten Years' Review* (p. 57) of the Madagascar mission states:—"It has already been stated that the number of European and créole traders in Madagascar has greatly increased during the last ten years. This of itself is an indication that the trade also has increased, especially as most of those visiting the island for purposes of trade seem tempted to remain. Most of these traders reside at Tamatave, the chief port on the east coast, and the residence of H.B.M.'s consul, though several of them are settled in the chief towns along the coast north and south of Tamatave; and within the last few years a considerable number of them have settled in Antanànarivo, where in 1870 there was not a single foreign

1880.
Increase
of trade.

¹ Mr. Wardlaw Thompson stated in May 1885:—"The Madagascar mission has cost £244,000 to this society [the L.M.S.] since we started work there in 1862, and is costing us £16,000 a year now. What an enormous sum to spend in evangelising a small island! And we must remember that there are other societies at work, and that if you take what they have spent, probably not less than half a million has been spent on Madagascar. A prodigious sum, is it not?"

trader. There are two respectable English firms established at Tamatave (the oldest of these, viz. that of Messrs. Procter Brothers, was established in 1862), and also two American firms, all having representatives in the capital, and apparently doing an extensive business. Most of the créoles are engaged in retail business, and have their stores supplied by the larger firms. For several years past one, and sometimes two, vessels have been sent out annually from England chartered for Madagascar, and one or two also from America. Goods have also been received by other vessels *via* Mauritius and Zanzibar. It is patent to every one that both the export and the import trade of Madagascar has very largely increased since 1870. The principal exports from Madagascar at the present time are bullocks, hides, gum-copal, india-rubber, coffee, rice, sugar, and rice-bags, and a few other articles in small quantities. The trade in hides has very much increased of late years. In 1870 this trade was very limited, but it has now become very extensive. The present exports, however, are scarcely any index of the resources of the country. With the application of European skill and capital, the export trade might be increased to almost any extent. Some of the productions of Madagascar might be very speedily increased for export, and that too with comparatively little trouble, such as cotton, silk, indigo, tobacco, sugar, and spices. The first great want, however, is good roads and easy communication between the inland provinces and the coast. The import trade comprises a great variety of articles, but mostly in small quantities, such as medicines, materials for building, iron pots for cooking, woollen blankets, European clothing, ladies' and gentlemen's hats, boots and shoes, etc. etc. There is scarcely any article of European manufacture which does not find its way to Madagascar at one time or another. The staple of the import trade, however, during the last few years, and up to the present time, in addition to Mauritius rum, consists of American calico and cheap prints. These are imported in large quantities, and are to be found in every market throughout the country. They are also sold at remarkably cheap rates. A piece of American calico, consisting of forty yards, can be bought in Antanànarivo for about five dollars, and is retailed in the markets at from sixpence to eightpence per yard. Prints vary in price from sixpence to a shilling per yard, according to quality. Oxford shirting can also be bought at from sixpence to eightpence per yard.

The extensive importation of American calico and various kinds of prints at such cheap rates has produced quite a revolution in the dress of the Malagasy. Thousands of the people, who formerly covered themselves with mats or coarse rofia cloth, can now be seen respectably clad in a clean white lamba made of American calico, with perhaps a neat print dress underneath. The following paragraph gives additional information respecting trade in Bétsiléô, and the productions of that province:—

“During the year 1870, and for several of the following years, a considerable trade in hides was carried on in Bétsiléô. This led to the settlement of a few créole traders in Fianarantsôa, in the year 1872. The trade became dull in 1874, and the traders left for the coast, so that at present all the business is in the hands of the natives. For the past two years no hides have been sent to the coast, but some of the natives have now prepared a few in the hope of a revival of the trade. With a little enterprise a good trade in tobacco and coffee might be established, the latter selling here at three halfpence per pound. The principal produce of this province for export is native silk and cotton. The former is produced chiefly in the large plain called *Tsiènimparihy*, the whole of which is planted with the *ambàtry*, one of the leguminosæ, on which the caterpillar feeds. Of late years there has been a great increase in this trade, and large patches of the *ambàtry* may be found all over the country from Imàhazòny to Ambòhinamboàrina. The cocoons sell in the market at 2600 for a dollar. These are bought by Hóva traders who visit the south in January and February in order to save the markets. The cocoons are packed in large circular baskets, each containing from twelve to fifteen dollars worth. As an estimate of the trade going on in this commodity we may mention that in the early part of the year, in a journey of one day to the south, sixty-two men laden with silk were met, each man having two baskets. These men could not have less than £310 worth of raw silk. Cotton comes chiefly from the west, and in no great quantities. Beeswax and some india-rubber are at times in market, but these are sent to the coast direct, or find their way to Imèrina. The principal foreign goods in the market are American cotton, cheap prints, beads, and small trinkets, and Mauritius rum. There never will be much trade till there are better roads.”

Trade in
Bétsiléô.

Revenue.

Revenue.

The revenues of the Hóva sovereigns were not great in comparison with the amount of property contained in the island. In former days the property of the sovereign consisted chiefly of slaves and cattle, both of which were numerous. These were, however, considered as the property of the Government, and belonging to the office, not the person, of the monarch; they consequently descended to his successor. His nominal property as sovereign included the whole island, since all the land with the services of the inhabitants was at his command. The actual revenues arose from several sources, all of them extremely limited, and far below what would have been absolutely requisite had the Government been required to pay for the services rendered to it. Instead of this the Government has hitherto claimed the services of the subjects for the army and various other public duties, and accepted of service also in lieu of payments either in money or produce less necessary than under a better system. It was under this system that the old and rigorous *fanompòana* or Government service existed and yet exists in a much more modified form to the present time.¹ The Rev. B. Briggs, L.M.S., in the *Ten Years' Review*, writes: "We are happy, however, to have noticed during the last few years considerable amelioration in the practical working of this system (*i.e.* the *fanompòana*). The system itself still exists (1880) without any radical change, but practically its harshness has been greatly modified. A sense of justice and right is growing among the people; public opinion is more freely expressed than formerly; those in higher positions do

Fanompòana.

¹ "Between the slaves and the absolutely free," wrote Ellis in 1838, "there exists what may be termed an intermediate class, who, though not exposed to all the bitterness of slavery, nor liable to be sold or given in exchange from one owner to another, yet taste few of the sweets of liberty. Among these may be reckoned those who labour for the Government, especially those employed in felling timber or burning charcoal. In one of the great forests near the capital the woodcutters, called 'the twelve hundred,' although these are supposed to be two thousand in number, are employed through life in felling and preparing for building or other purposes timber for the Government. They build their huts and rear their families in the recesses of the forest, cultivating suitable portions of the soil for their scanty subsistence. The male children of these people are regarded as wood-cutters from their birth, and labour at their avocation through life without any wages or remuneration from the Government; and were any of them to abandon their occupation and leave the forest, they would be pursued by soldiers, treated as criminals or deserters if overtaken, and shot or otherwise put to death. This hardship is not confined to the wood-cutters, but extended to all the natives

not feel at liberty to exercise arbitrary authority on those below them as they once did; there is more independence among the people generally, and greater courage in opposing what appears to be unreasonable; the wealthier families have recently begun to pay for extra service required from their subordinates (not, perhaps, to the full value, but a moderate consideration), and masters are sometimes under the necessity of paying their slaves for carrying them about in their palanquins, and for other additional labour demanded from them. Among the causes which have brought about these desirable changes may be mentioned the new regulations with regard to the army and *dekà*; the example of the queen in paying for the erection of the palace church and other buildings; the example of the prime minister (*Rainilaiàrivòny*), and also his repeated addresses against bribery and oppression; the erection of the memorial churches and other mission buildings, for which the labourers have been duly paid; the extensive building operations that have been carried on in the capital and other places during the last ten years; and, above all, the fuller appreciation of the truths of Christianity and the advancement of education throughout the country."

Amongst the various sources of revenue may be enumerated booty, *hàsina*, taxes, duties and customs, fines and confiscations.

By "booty" was of course understood a share of the spoil Booty. taken in war—slaves, cattle, etc. One-third of the whole amount of cattle was allotted to the sovereign, and four dollars on every slave taken captive. The rest was distributed among the officers of the army; and as the sovereign provided arms

regularly employed by the Government. These amount to a considerable number, as there are besides the fellers of timber and burners of charcoal, smiths, or general workers in iron about four hundred in number, gunsmiths and spear-makers, carpenters, gunpowder manufacturers, including those who prepare nitre and sulphur, tanners and curriers, soap-boilers, tailors and sempstresses. The numbers engaged respectively in these various avocations vary, but all are required to labour at them during life for the sovereign without any payment for their labour; they are, it is true, exempted from the taxes levied on the freemen, but they are obliged to provide for the support of themselves and families, which they generally effect by the cultivation of a small portion of rice-ground; but should the labours of their avocations not allow time for this the Government makes no provision for their support, and this must be supplied, as is the case with those in the army, by their relations or the families to which they severally belong. No individual appointed by the sovereign to any of the above occupations could leave the same for any other, or remove to another part of the island, excepting by the consent of the Government, without being subject to the penalty of death" (vol. i. p. 196).

and ammunition for the troops, his claim to a larger share of the booty obtained was considered fair and equitable (see chapter i. p. 21). It will be remembered that one of the first acts of Radàma II. was to return the booty captured from the Sàkalava, together with the captives. Of the cattle the sovereign was in the habit of distributing considerable numbers gratuitously at different times, and of selling others to the traders on the coast.

Hàsina. *Hàsina* or donations are presented as acknowledgments of the sovereignty of the monarch, and are made on innumerable occasions. Strangers from all parts of the country and all foreigners arriving at the capital present the *hàsina* to the sovereign. In all great kabàries the *hàsina* is presented by the several districts and different parties, clans, sections, trades, and guilds; by the judges, the army, the police, heads of villages, and by the scholars and others in their associated capacity. On the queen's returning from a distant excursion or campaign and an event of public importance *hàsina* is presented. On visiting a village, on visits of ceremony, inauguration of a new public building, at the celebration of the annual feast of *fandràna*,—at all such like formal appearances of the sovereign in public *hàsina* is presented. The sums given on these occasions are usually small, but like Peter's pence the aggregate forms a large amount. The usual token of allegiance is a dollar. *Hàsina* is a term which implies "sacred," and is also given to a species of *Pandanus* which was connected with the old idol-worship. A tenth part of all the produce of the country belongs to the sovereign, and is called *fàhafòlo*, or a tenth.

Tithe
(*fàhafòlo*).

Poll-tax.

An annual poll-tax also exists, though not universally enforced, amounting to one *sikàjy* (one-eighth of a dollar, about sixpence) for each slave possessed by a free subject. Of goods introduced into the capital and sold in any way except in the public markets one-fifth of the profits is claimed by the sovereign; and on every child born to a slave one-fifth of its value must be paid by the owner to the Government. There exists also an *isantràno*, or tax of one *sikàjy* on each house.

House tax
(*isantràno*)

First fruits
(*vaalò-hany*).

Free-will offerings of the first-fruits, *vaalòhany*, of the harvest are also made to the sovereign. A certain proportion of rice must also be paid in by the *bòrizàno* (civilians) for the service of the army.

Isampan-gàdy.

An *isampangàdy* (i.e. each spade) is an amount paid from the yearly produce of an estate as a kind of rental. On the

estates called *mènakely* (*i.e.* certain portions of land assigned to members of the royal family, to the judges, and others) the *isampangady* is paid to the holders of the estate; in all other cases it goes to the sovereign.

Duties and customs are imposed on vessels entering the harbours and ports of the island, and on all articles exported and imported. A tenth of all imports has generally been taken in *kind* instead of in money. It will be remembered that when Radàma II. became king he abolished all import duty on foreign goods, which unwise act was productive of fearful demoralisation consequent upon the wholesale importation of rum by the merchants of Mauritius and Réunion. Again, on the accession of Queen Rasohèrina the duties were re-imposed.¹ As with cloth and Manchester goods, so with the rum barrels, the duty is paid in kind. Every tenth barrel is handed over to the custom-house, but the authorities will not commute them for money payment, and pour out the rum on to the sands. Customs.

A portion of all fines imposed by the judges becomes the property of the crown. Of persons sold into slavery for the payment of debts one-third of the amount of the purchase is due to the Government. Formerly the property of all who died in undergoing the ordeal by *tangèna* was confiscated, and a portion of this fell by right to the crown. The property of persons convicted of defrauding the sovereign, of high treason, or rebellion, is confiscated and appropriated in the same manner. The crown also claims the property of those who die intestate, whose wishes have not been expressed in the presence of competent witnesses, or who die without personal or adopted heirs. Fines.

M. d'Escamps, writing in 1846, notices severely the Hóva Government of that day under the first Ranavàlona:—

“Mais ce gouvernement n'a que les formes extérieures de celui des États civilisés, il en a tous les défauts sans aucun des avantages, c'est de la fiscalité de bas étage sous un semblant

¹ “Depuis le rétablissement des douanes, les droits d'entrée et de sortie sont les principales ressources financières du Gouvernement. Ces droits sont de 10 % sur les marchandises ordinaires et de 33 % sur les liquides. A la fin de l'année les sommes perçues sont divisées en deux parties, l'une expédiée à la capitale, l'autre partagée entre les officiers et soldats Hóvas de tous grades qui, à tour de rôle, ont surveillé les embarquements et les débarquements. Il est certain que les soldats simples douaniers ne touchent qu'une très faible part; aussi suffit-il le plus souvent, de leur donner une somme un peu supérieure à celle qu'ils recevraient en partage pour leur faire fermer les yeux; de grandes quantités de marchandises entrent ainsi par contrebande en payant un droit très faible” (*Documents*, p. 307).

d'ordre, à la faveur de laquelle l'esprit sordide et rapace des Hóvas, chefs et subordonnés, se donne carrière sans aucune pudeur. Chaque jour Ranavàlona et ses ministres confisquaient quelques propriétés à leur profit, chaque jour l'impôt pèse plus durement sur les Malegaches et le système des confiscations s'étend de plus en plus. Chaque chef de village est chargé de recueillir l'impôt et répond du paiement; il remet la recette à des officiers Hóvas qui passent de temps en temps dans les villages. S'il y a retard de paiement, le chef est vendu. Toute famille payait annuellement à la reine un ballot de riz en paille; c'est le *vàry-zèhy* (riz de la main). *Zé* veut dire longueur de la main. C'était la grandeur cube du ballot d'impôt par famille. Aujourd'hui on ne paie plus par famille mais par case et on exige des ballots de 15 à 20 pouces. Depuis 1837 un nouvel impôt a été établi; tous les ans, en décembre, chaque tête libre paie en argent le poids d'un grain de riz. Les femmes des Européans, autrefois exemptes, sont aujourd'hui —(1845)—soumises à l'impôt. En 1835 on essaya d'imposer les esclaves. On demanda un *kiròbo*, environ le quart d'une piastre d'Espagne. Les malheureux Malegaches, avertis d'avoir à payer à certaines jours, faisaient d'inutiles efforts pour trouver de l'argent, si rare dans le pays. Quelques-uns donnèrent jusqu'à trois bœufs pour avoir un *kiròbo*. L'agitation fut si grande, que les chefs Hóvas des provinces craignirent un soulèvement; ils annoncèrent qu'ils allaient écrire à la reine et l'affaire n'alla pas plus loin. Tout Malegache riche est dépouillé par le *tsitralainga* (qui ne ment pas); c'est une sagaye en argent. Un Hóva arrive avec ses soldats, il entre dans la case, pique en terra la sagaye d'argent. Le maître du logis fait le salut de la reine en donnant un *kiròbo* au *tsitralainga*, représentant de Ranavàlo. Alors commence le *kabar*. On accuse le chef de famille d'incivisme, de manque de dévouement à la reine, sur la déposition du premier venu qui témoigne par peur. On *amarre* l'accusé et on l'envoie juger au chef-lieu. S'il perd on lui prend toute sa fortune; s'il gagne, on ne lui en retient que la moitié. Les propriétés des Hóvas sont un peu mieux respectées. Cependant à Imerne, chacun cache sa richesse, de peur d'en être dépouillé par des exactions" (pp. 459, 460).

M. de Coignet in his report (1863) states:—

Provincial
taxes.

"The taxes in the provinces are only levied upon the natives. The Hóvas pay a merely nominal sum for the fields which they cultivate. These taxes are of two kinds, and are

collected by the commandant and his subordinates. The first is a sort of capitation tax, paid by each head of a family according to the number of its members. The proportion which each individual should subscribe is fixed each year and notified to the governor by orders from the capital. The collection is organised in the villages under the superintendence and responsibility of the native chiefs who have to make good for the number of those under their administration by the sums which they pay in to the Government. Besides, they are required to be answerable for all information required on the subject. The other tax consists of contributions in kind; of these the principal are:—

“1. The *vàrijèhy*, so called, because each person married,¹ in fact a householder, pays to the Government a certain quantity of rice, equal to that contained in a sack measuring a palm in every way. Contributions in kind.

“2. For each field cultivated a tax has to be paid, named *fòronvòtsotsa*: This consists of a bowl of rice in a straw bag weighing about 90 lbs.

“3. The contribution named *tàko-dòha*, consisting of a straw basket of white rice, containing a measure of a palm each way, which is the property of the commandant.

“4. Each head of a village is obliged to furnish a certain number of bags of rice, some fifty or sixty, containing five or six hundred grammes: this rice is given to passing travellers.

“6. According to custom, the Malagasy have also to contribute fowls which are offered by the headman to visitors of distinction who halt or pass the night at the village. These presents are gratuitous, and are given in the name of the sovereign. European travellers, generally, when leaving a village, present a small present in silver in return for the hospitality they have experienced.

“7. Each village is obliged to prepare the ground and sow with rice a certain portion of ground called the field of the king or queen. The produce of this rice-field is sold and the amount realised is forwarded to the capital with the other taxes.

“8. Besides, every able-bodied man is liable to be called upon to perform such work as may be designated by the com-

¹ Every Malagasy is a minor if he is not married; at the decease of the father that portion of property belonging to the bachelors is placed under a guardian, and is not given to the legitimate proprietor until he is married (*Documents*, p. 305).

mandant. The works most generally required are, the construction and repair of the forts; the transportation of burdens to any distance however remote it may be; the service of ferrying passengers across the mouths of rivers which are unfordable, or across streams at certain points of the roads. As these last two services constantly necessitate the presence of a certain number of men, those who are charged with them are exempted from other *corvées*.

Enforced
service.

"Such are the principal public services legally required of the Malagasy; but, besides the former, every Hóva officer and often the soldiers arrogate to themselves the right to make use of the natives for any service. If an officer dies on the coast, his body, after a certain period, is exhumed and transported by *corvée* to his friends at the capital. Should an *employé* of the Government be recalled to the capital, the governor of the province tells off a certain number of natives to carry his baggage; and, nevertheless, these *corvée* labourers throughout their enforced absence are obliged to feed and lodge themselves.

"In September 1863, when the frigate 'Hermione' was anchored off Tamatave, the report spread that she was about to shell the fort. The Hóvas requisitioned all the natives of the town and even took them out of the shops of the traders in order to send their baggage and effects towards the interior.

Sources of
revenue.

"From the time of Radàma II. the revenues of the Hóva Government were produced by the taxes in money mentioned above, by the sale of cattle which were royal property, and by the natural products, such as copal, wax, etc., collected by forced labour. The amounts derived from these two last sources are laid by as funds in reserve, to be employed in case of absolute necessity, for example, in time of war, famine, etc. When it is desired to increase this fund the governor effects sales, and all the officials are present at the payment of the cash. The balance is known to all, and the governor is responsible, nor can he dispose of any portion of this sum beyond that forwarded to the capital without the assent of his subordinates" (*Documents*, p. 306).

The revenues are still further augmented by sums which the conquering race extorts from the natives (*M. Coignet*). The covering letter accompanying the funds despatched to the capital contains an account of the sums received, and the governor is sure to receive praise in proportion to the sum

transmitted. The letter is carried by two officers, whilst the silver is carried by relays of men furnished from village to village for the service. In short, taking all local considerations into account and the submission of the population, the revenues, however precarious, are not the less real in the end; and it is a positive fact that the Hóva officials, thanks to the corvée system and the taxes both in money and kind, manage to send off to the capital about the month of April every year considerable sums of money for the Government. There are no records from which the compiler has been able to obtain any estimate of the sums thus transmitted to the Government of the present or late sovereigns.

Since the above was written M. Raoul Postel's book has appeared (April 1886), in which mention is made of the arbitrary duties imposed on certain articles of merchandise. M. Postel writes (p. 66):—"Il faut dire pourtant que les Hóvas interprètent les traités d'une manière arbitraire et au mieux de leurs intérêts. Même sur la cote Ouest, le commerce d'exportation et d'importation est assez restreint sous plusieurs rapports. Les Hóvas y ont interdit, en effet, soit par des considérations politiques, soit pour d'autres motifs, l'exportation des vaches, du riz, du bois, etc.; ils ne permettent pas non plus d'y décharger des armes et des munitions. De plus, ils prélèvent un impôt de 10% sur des marchandises, soit au départ, soit à l'arrivée; et encore le prélèvent-ils arbitrairement et en rusés matois, non selon les prescriptions et tant par pièce, *in natura* par conséquent, mais bien en le calculant, lorsque les produits sont à bas prix d'après une taxe élevée en argent comptant. Dans le courant de 1885 (1883 ?), les impôts prélevés à Tamatave de cette façon étaient les suivants: 15 fr. pour un bœuf, 2 fr. 50 pour un porc, 0 fr. 80 par douzaine de poulets, 1 fr. 25 par douzaine des canards, 2 fr. 50 par douzaine d'oies, 1 fr. 60 par 100 kil. de riz, 16 fr. 25 par 100 kil. de caoutchouc, 16 fr. 25 par 100 kil. de café, 5 fr. par 100 kil. de résine, 20 fr. par 100 kil. de cire, 3 fr. 30 par sac de légumes, 2 fr. 50 par cent de sacs vides, 0 fr. 50 par 80 kil. de viande salée. Ces tarifs sont excessifs. Ajoutons, toutefois, que les employés se laissent corrompre avec la plus grande facilité et que, malgré la défense touchant l'importation, on peut acheter des fusils et des munitions dans presque chaque magasin de Tamatave."

Arbitrary
duties.

APPENDIX. IMPORT AND EXPORT TRADE WITH MADAGASCAR. IMPORTS THEREFROM.

Principal and other Articles.	Quantities.						Computed Real Value.					
	1863.	1864.	1865.	1866.	1867.	1868.	1863.	1864.	1865.	1866.	1867.	1868.
Cotton, raw	...	...	...	36	...	297	...	...	...	£200	...	£1,143
Hides, not tanned	...	...	...	26	...	229	...	...	...	47	...	561
Mats and Matting	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	720	...	7
Rice, not in the husk	...	...	...	257	...	11,319	...	...	...	170	...	6,508
Qrs.	...	...	...	154	...	...	...	...	...	308	...	...
Wood and timber : staves	...	...	...	65	...	...	...	...	...	546	...	...
All other articles	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,285	...	514
Total	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	£3,276	...	£8,733

EXPORTS THERETO.

Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom.

	Quantities.						Declared Real Value.					
	1863.	1864.	1865.	1866.	1867.	1868.	1863.	1864.	1865.	1866.	1867.	1868.
Coals, cinders, and culm	250	...	...	...	...	...	£250	...	...	...	...	...
Copper, wrought and unwrought	426	287	...	...	...	...	2,150	£1,840	...	...	...	...
Cottons, entered by the yard	294,273	781,763	...	9000	...	...	7,580	23,215	...	£487	...	...
All other articles	...	...	...	...	...	...	3,105	5,829	...	1,125	£585	...
Total	...	...	...	...	...	...	£13,085	£30,884	...	£1,612	£585	...

Foreign and Colonial Produce and Manufactures.

	Quantities.						Declared Real Value.					
	1863.	1864.	1865.	1866.	1867.	1868.	1863.	1864.	1865.	1866.	1867.	1868.
Arms : cannon, mounted, etc.	...	...	...	...	...	...	£250	...	...	...	...	...
Cochineal	10	74	...	...	...	...	161	£1,304	...	...	...	...
Cotton, manufactured : piece goods	3566	...	...	...	...	...	2,902	...	...	£16	...	...
All other articles	...	...	...	...	...	...	302	783	...	...	...	...
Total	...	...	...	...	...	...	3,615	2,087	...	16	...	...
Total of British and Foreign Produce	...	...	...	...	...	...	£16,700	£32,971	...	£1,628	£585	...

IMPORTS THEREFROM.

Principal and other Articles.	Quantities.						Value.					
	1869.	1870.	1871.	1872.	1873.	1874.	1869.	1870.	1871.	1872.	1873.	1874.
Cacoutchouc	...	...	682	...	110	374	...	...	£6,520	...	£1,128	£3,425
Gutta-percha	...	...	482	...	1	...	...	...	4,700	...	12	...
Hides, not tanned	...	...	...	...	...	722	...	...	...	...	...	2,096
Rice, not in the husk	...	4,151	...	...	...	...	...	£2,299	...	...	...	...
" rough, or in the husk	...	2,263	...	...	...	...	...	3,569	...	...	...	1,125
Wood : hardwoods, unenumerated	...	...	...	...	...	93	...	...	...	...	897	4,410
All other articles	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	436	217	...	...	...
Total	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	£6,304	£11,437	...	£2,037	£11,056

EXPORTS THERETO.

Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom.

	1869.	1870.	1871.	1872.	1873.	1874.	1869.	1870.	1871.	1872.	1873.	1874.
Apparel and haberdashery	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	£767	£1,149	£375
Cottons, entered by the yard	...	183,801	...	77,200	769,100	327,100	...	£2,664	...	1,627	13,489	5,082
Earthen and china ware	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,409
Linen manufactures	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	998	273	...
Metals : iron, unwrought and wrought	...	...	...	...	...	10	...	...	...	...	...	249
Paper, of all sorts	...	...	...	...	...	23	...	...	...	...	98	...
All other articles	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	659	...	3,516	10,963	2,104
Total	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	£3,323	...	£6,908	£25,874	£9,317

Foreign and Colonial Produce and Manufactures.

	1869.	1870.	1871.	1872.	1873.	1874.	1869.	1870.	1871.	1872.	1873.	1874.
Total value	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	£5	...	£144	£312	£151
Total of British and Foreign Produce	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	£3,328	...	£7,052	£26,186	£9,468

IMPORT AND EXPORT TRADE WITH MADAGASCAR—continued. IMPORTS THEREFROM.

Principal and other Articles.	Quantities.						Value.					
	1875.	1876.	1877.	1878.	1879.	1880.	1875.	1876.	1877.	1878.	1879.	1880.
<i>Caoutchouc.</i> <i>Cuts.</i>	2,002	32	83	...	110	501	£16,410	£248	£955	...	£1,639	£6,149
Hides, not tanned "	6,696	1,114	252	2,264	3,088	...	19,651	2,825	595	£4,300	7,233	...
Rice "	12,407	2,440	...	...	...	...	5,576	850	...	...	...	...
Wax "	...	...	...	...	1	285	...	...	...	...	6	1,360
Wood, furniture and hardwoods, unenumerated "	325	...	...	...	71	2	1,974	...	...	...	705	20
All other articles <i>Tons</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	5,359	1,640	390	...	737	28
Total <i>Value</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	£48,970	£5,563	£1,940	£4,300	£10,320	£7,557

EXPORTS THERETO.

Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom.

<i>Apparel and haberdashery Value</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	£104	£1,704	£888	£619	£468	£932
Coals, cinders and fuel <i>Tons</i>	...	...	...	...	...	2,866	...	...	...	...	...	1,570
Cottons, entered by the yard . . <i>Yards</i>	114,000	803,100	1,262,200	1,050,800	678,500	2,477,400	1,573	10,183	16,045	15,054	7,833	34,044
<i>at value</i> <i>Value</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	78	495	548	196	724	1,732
Earthen and china ware "	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	875	521	1,597	740	1,447
Linen manufactures "	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	151	164	35	...	...
Metals : iron, unwrought and wrought <i>Tons</i>	15	42	34	28	20	100	291	1,364	751	486	433	1,682
Paper, of all sorts <i>Cwts.</i>	126	204	46	129	262	249	517	546	95	308	485	765
All other articles <i>Value</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,290	6,930	4,619	3,316	4,744	7,438
Total	...	...	...	...	...	...	£4,853	£22,248	£23,631	£21,611	£15,427	£49,610

Foreign and Colonial Produce and Manufactures.

Total value	...	...	...	...	...	...	£373	£1,060	£1,176	£714	£747	£1,456
Total of British and Foreign Produce	...	...	...	...	...	...	£5,226	£23,308	£24,807	£22,325	£16,174	£51,066

1 Years of epidemic on east coast (see p. 186).

Principal and other Articles.		Quantities.					Value.				
		1881.	1882.	1883.	1884.	1885.	1881.	1882.	1883.	1884.	1885.
Caoutchouc	<i>Ctts.</i>	2,908	1,570	3,982	1,100	41	£36,040	£17,463	£65,286	£12,295	£361
Hemp : other vegetable substances un- enumerated	}	1,326	4,326	3,831	...	1,665	2,067	6,062	4,477	...	5,915
Hides, raw		<i>Tons.</i>	417	4,770	2,850	...	750	1,202	13,564	8,773	...	1,768
Horns, tips, and hoofs	}	...	...	...	...	9	...	...	...	...	229
Skins, goats, undressed		<i>No.</i>	...	...	...	...	32,012	...	...	...	...
Rice	<i>Ctts.</i>	240	150	56	...	...	70	60	22	...	...
Sugar : unrefined	}	925	1,789	4,200	...	...	980	1,815	5,030	...	...
Wax		<i>Tons.</i>	60	375	288	405	...	276	1,604	1,446	2,024
Wood, furniture and hardwoods, un- enumerated	}	40	...	...	...	...	200	...	...	...	...
All other articles		<i>Value</i>	...	...	...	...	...	4,742	3,331	2,831	910	313
Total		...	...	...	...	...	£45,577	£43,899	£87,865	£15,229	£10,366

EXPORTS THERETO.

Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom.

Apparel and haberdashery	Value	...	2,682	...	2,788	...	...	...	1974	...	£1,243	£284	£887	...	£190
Coals, cinders, and fuel	Tons	2,610,800	2,346,800	2,691,800	...	...	...	...	...	439,700	1,556	1,589	...	£1,162	4,887
Cottons, entered by the yard	Yards	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	32,778	26,157	30,822	...	178
" at value	Value	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,698	275	481	...	24
Earthen and china ware	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	369	471	514	...	215
Metals : iron, wrought and unwrought	Tons	149	161	73	...	...	...	...	...	16	2,097	2,348	1,111	...	...
Paper, of all sorts	Cwts.	40	340	126	...	...	...	...	15	...	134	892	426	45	...
All other articles	Value	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6,419	4,904	4,239	205	1,235
Total		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	£46,294	£36,920	£38,480	1,412	£6,729

Foreign and Colonial Produce and Manufactures.															
Total value		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	£1,710	£1,589	£650	£55	£123
Total of British and Foreign Produce		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	£48,004	£38,509	£39,130	£1,467	£6,852

Foreign and Colonial Produce and Manufactures.

Total value	.	.	.	...	...	...	£1,710	£1,589	£650	£55	£123
Total of British and Foreign Produce	.	.	.	...	...	...	£48,004	£38,509	£39,130	£1,467	£6,852

CHAPTER XIV.

CURRENCY AND WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

*"Quid non mortalia pectora cogis,
Auri sacra fames!"*

(*Æneidos*, lib. iii. 56.)

Monetary system—Want of coinage—The standard dollar—Cut money—Premium—Mr. Dahle on native terms—M. Tacchi on the divisions of the dollar—Laws concerning money—Usury—Base coin—Marked dollars—Relative value of money—Price of labour—Weights and Measures—The Zomà market.

Appendix.—Money table—Market prices.

Currency.

Monetary
system.

THE monetary system of the Hóvas is still in a primitive condition, for as yet there is no national coinage, and the circulating medium employed is the dollar and its subdivisions. In the concession granted to M. Lambert by the ill-advised Radàma II., on the 3d November 1861 (and ratified on the 12th September 1862, after the signing of the French Treaty), the king granted to the Compagnie de Madagascar the exclusive privilege of coining money for circulation in the country, and stamping upon it the likeness of the king. When Mr. Ellis urged upon Radàma II. that "there were very few sovereigns or governments that would allow the coinage of their country, impressed with the image of the sovereign, to be in any other hands than their own, the king said he intended to establish a mint and provide the money for the country himself, and he thought the people would prefer the money he might coin to that which M. Lambert might supply" (*Madagascar Revisited*, p. 160). Mr. Ellis took a profile of Radàma II., from which a die was intended to be made for a national coinage, but the sudden termination of the king's life put an end to the project.

No coin-
age.

The stand-
ard dollar.

Trade is carried on in most of the provinces principally by the exchange of commodities in barter; but at the capital and principal towns, and especially at the ports, the silver dollar is

the recognised medium, and the standard coin is the Spanish "pillar-dollar" (so called from being stamped with two pillars, and once a world-wide universal currency). Till recently this pillar-dollar had the highest value, but now the Mexican dollar as well as the American, and the French five-franc piece as the South American peso and the Dutch rix-dollar, are used; but the French five-franc piece is the one most convenient to use, and is universally accepted. The five-franc piece is named *farantsa* in contradistinction to *àriàry*, the cut dollar—*àriàry mandànja* signifying a dollar in cut money. For sums below a dollar the primitive and inconvenient method is resorted to in the interior of weighing the silver in every case. The dollars are cut up into small pieces, and four iron weights are used, by means of neat little scales of native workmanship, which every one carries about with him. The weights represent the half, the quarter, the eighth, and the twelfth of a dollar. Below that amount, divisions are effected by combinations of the four weights, and also by means of grains of rice, even down so low as one single grain—*vàriraivènty*, one plump grain, valued at the 720th part of a dollar. The following is a table of the money thus used:—

Divisions
and sub-
divisions of
the dollar.

(1) Àriàry	= 1 dollar.	These four are estimated by the single weights, above named, each of which is marked with the Government stamp.
(2) Lòso	= $\frac{1}{2}$ "	
(3) Kiròbo	= $\frac{1}{4}$ ", 1s.	
(4) Sikàjy	= $\frac{1}{8}$ ", 6d.	
(5) Ròavòamèna	= $\frac{1}{12}$ ", 4d.	

The smaller amounts have their specific denominations as follows:—

Voàmèna	= $\frac{1}{24}$ dollar, made by putting No. 4 weight against No. 3.
Làsirày	= $\frac{1}{16}$ " = $\frac{1}{2}$ sikàjy.
Làsiròà	= $\frac{5}{48}$ " ($\frac{1}{10}$) = 1 làsirày and 1 vòamèna.
Làsitàlo	= $\frac{1}{7}$ " = 1 làsirày and 1 ròavòamèna.
Vènty	= $\frac{1}{6}$ " = 1 sikàjy and 1 vòamèna.
Raimbilànja	= $\frac{5}{24}$ " = 1 sikàjy and 1 ròavòamèna.
Sàsanàngy	= $\frac{1}{3}$ " = 1 kiròbo and 1 ròavòamèna.

Small sums are the

Ilàvòamèna	= $\frac{1}{2}$ vòamèna.
Èranambàtry	= $\frac{1}{3}$ "
Làtsa-pahénina	= 1 " - $\frac{1}{6}$.

Small sums
of cut sil-
ver.

And then as ten rice grains, *vàrifòloventy*, are counted to one èranambàtry, sums under one èranambàtry are counted one grain, two grains, etc., up to nine. That is—

720 grains	=	1	dollar, àriàry.
360	"	= $\frac{1}{2}$	" lòso.
180	"	= $\frac{1}{4}$	" kiròbo.
90	"	= $\frac{1}{8}$	" sikàjy.
60	"	= $\frac{1}{12}$	" ròavòamèna.
45	"	= $\frac{1}{16}$	" làsirày.
30	"	= $\frac{1}{24}$	" vòamèna.
10	"	= $\frac{1}{72}$	" èranambàtry.

It is almost needless to remark that banks and banking operations are unknown, and cheques not used; but bills drawn on Government or well-known men of property can be negotiated. As there are no banks, money is generally hidden in a hole within the house; it is lent at high rates of usury, seldom at less than 50 per cent per annum.

Money-
changers.

The money-changers form a distinct class of traders; they carry on their business in the markets, not by lending money at interest, but exchanging it. If the money-changer gives a whole round dollar for the weight of it in cut money, or pieces of a dollar, the receiver of the whole dollar must give *sàndam-paràntsa*, i.e. from one twenty-fourth to one-eighth of a dollar extra, according to the rate of exchange on that day. When the money-changer buys in whole dollars, he also gives in pieces of money whatever the rate of exchange may be beyond the weight of the dollar. The rate of exchange varies almost daily, and a whole dollar is sometimes worth, in cut money, one-sixth more than its own weight. It is always highest when the army takes the field, as many who possess cut money wish to exchange it for whole dollars, and at this time the money-changers reap a plentiful harvest. The Malagasy generally carry the money they have about their persons, tied up in one corner of their *làmba*. The cutting off this corner is deemed one of the capital offences, and is very severely punished by six months in chains (see Law No. 23, p. 136). Money is nearly the only article weighed in the markets.

Sàndana
agio.

Mr. Baker writes (*Madagascar Past and Present*, p. 69): "The departure of the missionaries, and the growing dislike of the queen's (Ranavàlona I.) party towards all intercourse with Europeans, together, as a consequence of that policy, with the depressed condition of commerce on the coast, produced a striking fluctuation in the *sàndana agio* (or premium on the dollar) in the interior. The origin of the *sàndana agio* was this. The Malagasy, possessing no other monetary medium of circulation than that derived from the Spanish dollar, and none

whatever of their own, were perplexed to discover a means of trafficking in sums smaller in value than that coin. They betook themselves, in their difficulty, to the expedient of cutting the dollar into pieces, and thenceforth issued the latter by weight. At first a small *agio* was given by the possessor of the whole dollar to obtain its weight in cut money; but as the cut money would not pass in the maritime provinces, it tended continually to concentrate in the capital, and to exceed the demand that was made for it. In proportion as the trade languished on the coast, or fewer dollars were imported, the mutilated representatives of the entire coin became more generally current, and, at the same time, of less value than the uncut dollar. It resulted from all this that five cut dollars soon began to be looked upon as equivalent to four whole ones; and the queen, beginning to ascribe the growing pressure of this evil to the enormous rise in the percentage upon sound money, instead of to its true cause—the stagnation of her maritime commerce—legislated in this spirit for the emergency, by fixing the *agio* in favour of the whole dollar at $\frac{1}{16}$.”

Mr. Dahle on page 212 of the reprint of the *Antananarivo Annual*, has thrown valuable and learned light on the derivation of the native words for money. These are truly interesting to the philological student, but are hardly what the merchant or traveller looks for.

Mr. Dahle on derivation of native terms.

Mr. Richardson's *Malagasy for Beginners* devotes chapters lxxxv. and lxxxvi. to words used in buying and selling as well as to the names for various pieces of money.

Mr. Richardson's grammar.

M. A. Tacchi writes in the *Madagascar Times*:—"In Madagascar commercial houses still employ indiscriminately different forms of money notation in their account-books. One firm sends in its bill in £ s. d., another in dollars and cents, and a third in A. s. e., which is the Malagasy notation to be explained below. Others, again, are accustomed to francs and centimes, or rupees and cents, but as these latter chiefly refer to business with Réunion and Mauritius, and are also even measures of the dollar, they need not be mentioned again here. We have therefore attempted with the aid of Mr. Dahle's and Mr. Richardson's works to publish a complete table of calculations for at once transferring the £ s. d. or dollars and cents into the Malagasy form; and we also have added in Malagasy words the name of each sum. Every separate Malagasy nomenclature has its value in £ s. d. and in fractions of the

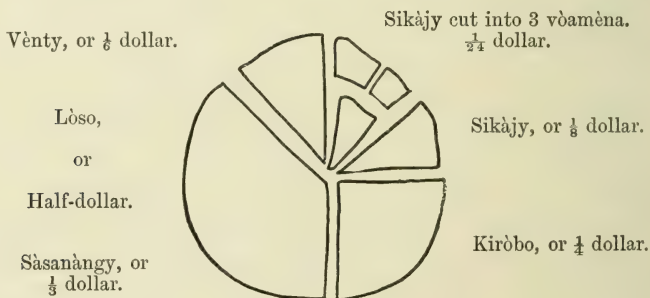
M. Tacchi on Malagasy money

dollar expressed, and every value from a halfpenny or a cent to a dollar or four shillings is given both in Malagasy figures and words. With the aid of this table any possible sum in one form can be immediately written down in the other without fear of mistake or the labour of calculation. [See Appendix (I.) to this chapter.]

“ We have heard it remarked frequently that the early missionaries committed a great blunder in not adopting a decimal system throughout. We have given the subject sufficient study to be convinced that they hardly had the choice, and the manner in which they have systematised the scale as it now exists reflects the greatest credit on their observation and care. As Mr. Dahle shows, it was not Europeans who introduced the silver dollar into Madagascar at all, but the Arabs, and with it they brought the Arab names, some of which were already Spanish names naturalised ; thus :—

1 dollar (àriàry)	. . .	Spanish, <i>real</i> — <i>ar-rial</i> .
$\frac{1}{2}$ „ (lòso)	. . .	Arabic, <i>nusf</i> , a half.
$\frac{1}{4}$ „ (kiròbo)	. . .	Arabic, <i>roba</i> , a quarter.
$\frac{1}{8}$ „ (sikàjy)	. . .	Spanish, <i>scods</i> .

“ The following diagram of the exact size of a dollar shows how the chisel was, and is still, applied in cutting up the coins. Thus long before Europeans came here the dollar was virtually cut into eight parts, and the first compilers of a Malagasy arithmetic accepted the already adopted system of eight *sikàjy* to a dollar, and adapted the arithmetical notation to it, nothing less than *sikàjy* or sixpence can be traced to Arab influence, and here ends the first stage of the history of Malagasy money.



Mizàna, or
scales.

“ The next stage is purely of Malagasy adoption, except the scales, which, as the word *mizàna* implies, were first intro-

duced by the Arabs. The diagram above shows how the sixpence or one-eighth begins to be divided, and from that subdivided and resubdivided. The complexity arising from this will be more easily mastered by the learner if we give its history illustrating the ingenuity of the primitive Malagasy.

“Each of those three pieces into which the sikàjy in the diagram is divided is known as a *vòamèna*, or of course 2d. Now *vòamèna* means a red seed, or in other words a haricot bean. Every *vòamèna* or bean is again cut into three *èranambàtry*, which word is another form of the ambrevade or small pea which is familiar on the tables of every one in Madagascar and Mauritius. This pea, again, is divided into ten parts measured by grains of rice,—one being called *vàriravènty*, i.e. one unit of rice, and so on up to nine.¹ Hence the schoolboy’s money-table for Madagascar, popularly speaking, reads thus:—

10 rice (<i>vàry</i>)	make	1	pea (<i>èranambàtry</i>).
3 peas	„	1	bean (<i>vòamèna</i>).
3 beans	„	1	sixpence (<i>sikàjy</i>).
8 sixpences	„	1	dollar (<i>àriàry</i>).

The compilers of the native notation, in order to simplify matters, reduced the peas and beans all to peas or *èranambàtry*, nine of which, therefore, go to sixpence, and the ten rice-grains conveniently fall into decimal points; so that A. s. e. stands for dollar, sixpence, *èranambàtry*. Thus A.1 2s. 3e. stands for 1 *àriàry* 2 *sikàjy* and 3 *èranambàtry*, i.e. 1 dollar and 29 cents, or 5s. 2d.

“The native names of all the different values can only be learned by use and habit, but as we have appended the name to every value from a cent to a dollar, the task will be facilitated. [See Appendix I.] They appear intricate at first, but then so do a great many other things in Madagascar. Why for 1s. 6d. an Englishman will say eighteenpence and for 50 cents a Mauritian will say 100 sous explains why the Malagasy made such a complicated affair of theirs. For instance, you cannot in Malagasy say *èninambàtry*, but you must say *ròavòamèna* for 6e. or 4d.; although when you wish to express “one and fourpence” (1s. 4d.) it is equally wrong to say *kiròbo sy ròavòamèna*, because *sàsanàngy* must be used. These terms, such as *vènty*, *vàmbilànja*, and *sàsanàngy*, now used for

Native
names of
different
values.

¹ (1) *Vàriravènty*; (2) *vàriròavènty*; (3) *vàritèlovènty*; (4) *vàrièfabènty*; (5) *vàridimivènty*; (6) *vàriènimibènty*; (7) *vàrifitovènty*; (8) *vàrivàlovènty*; (9) *vàrisivivènty*.

certain aggregate values, trace their origin possibly to some abnormal manner of cutting up the money. In cutting a silver dollar a very small deviation of the chisel meant 2d. or 4d. too much on one side, and these accidental pieces were given other names.

Scales.

“For the weighing of this money small brass or iron scales have long been manufactured by the Hóvas, and sold at from 4d. to one shilling the pair. They are neatly made and accurate. The weights up to very recently consisted of five only, viz. two half-dollars (*lòso*), each of which is equal to half the weight of an old Spanish dollar, one (*kiròbo*) corresponding to a quarter dollar, the third (*sikávy*) sixpence, or one-eighth dollar, and the last a *ròavòamèna* or 4d. weight. The intermediate values were attained by adding or subtracting the above weights, aided by two small white beans still familiar to every one, but which have recently been abolished in the public markets. In 1885 Government weights were issued representing $\frac{1}{3}$ d. (*varidimiventy*), $\frac{1}{2}$ d. (*varifitoventy*), $\frac{2}{3}$ d. (*eranambatry*), and 1d. (*ilavòamèna*). Thus a man must be equipped with a pair of scales and nine weights (*vàto*) before approaching a Malagasy store. The little bits of money that are used to make up the required sum are styled *famènon-dànja*, and the right weight of money is called *fèno lànja*.

Government weights (*vàto*).

“There is still one question which every reader will be sure to ask before he gets through, and that is why the native Government do not establish a coinage of their own. We cannot but express the hope that they will do so before long. However, even when coins are issued and the weights and scales abolished, the notation and nomenclature which have been established for at least fifty years in the schools and markets of several million people are not likely to undergo much change.”

Laws of 1881 concerning money.

By the code of 1881 it was enacted (Laws 160-162) that “Mexican and Spanish dollars, five-franc pieces of Subalpine Gaul and Louis XIII., and any other dollars that are smooth by usage, or that have the inscription on the exergue engraved instead of being in relief, have the same value as the ordinary dollar, provided they are genuine; and they cannot be received at a different exchange value under a penalty of a fine of one ox and one dollar. Money lent on interest shall not pay more than one *ilavòamèna* (1d.) in the dollar, or one *raimbilànja* (10d.) for ten dollars, or two per cent per month, and the conditions

Usury.

must be registered in the Government books, and one-twelfth of the interest shall be paid to the Government. Any person lending out on interest at a higher rate than above specified will forfeit the capital, and the borrower will be fined five oxen and five dollars; or, in default of payment, will be imprisoned at the rate of one day for every half-dollar (*lòso*) unpaid. Any person knowingly having base coin in his possession, or intentionally seeking to pass such false coin, will be fined ten oxen and ten dollars, and will be further condemned to two years in chains; or, in default of payment of the fine, will suffer four years in chains. All counterfeit money must be sent to the Government authority for the purpose of being defaced and destroyed.

Base coin.

When Radàma I. was buried 10,300 Spanish dollars were buried with his body. It is probable, says Ellis, that the Government took advantage of the popular sentiments of the nation in favour of the inviolate sacredness of the tomb, thus to deposit so large a portion of its treasure in a place in which it would be safe amidst any civil commotion that might ensue, and to which, in any emergency, it might have the readiest access. The dollars buried in the tomb of Andrianimpòinimèrina had a peculiar mark. On one occasion during the early part of the reign of Radàma I. a dollar was brought to the mother of Radàma, then living in the palace. On looking at it she remarked, "I have seen this before," and then declared it to be one of those which had been buried with the corpse of her husband. Investigation proving this to be the fact—that the tomb had been entered, and some of the dollars stolen—the man who was detected was put to death by a slow process of the most cruel torture that native ingenuity could devise (see note by Mr. Parrett at end of chapter, p. 217).

Marked
dollars
buried with
Radàma I.

The relative value of money and labour has been considerably altered since the death of Ranavàlona I.; and even then it had risen considerably since the first visits of the missionaries in the days of Radàma I. In 1838 the value of labour was extremely low:—"Many work merely for their rice and a small quantity of *laòka*—any kind of meal given as a relish for it. If paid in money, about 2d. per diem is the amount commonly given in addition to the labourers' food. Smiths and carpenters obtain double the sum. When work is done by hire, it is most frequently by contract. A master will often hire out his slave at the rate of five dollars, rather more

Relative
value of
money.Price of
labour.

than twenty-one shillings, per annum, with provisions and clothing" (Ellis's *History*, vol. i. pp. 337, 338). Since then the large amounts spent in the capital in the building of the memorial churches, the residences, schoolhouses, and other buildings belonging to the Protestant and Roman Catholic missions, have raised wages and the price of many articles of food. Prices vary in different parts of the island.

Weights and Measures.

As before noticed, money (*i.e.* silver) is almost the only commodity which is sold by weight in the public markets. For measuring their rice the natives make use of a hollowed block of wood, which they call a *vàta*, containing what is called *vàry iràny*, about three bushels. According to Crémazy three of these *vàta* are equivalent to 100 lbs. of rice. The following are the divisions:—On the coast the Sàkalàva measure the maize and dhol, oil seeds, etc., in an empty vermouth case, which has been adopted as a rough-and-ready measure, containing 12 litres = 2 gallons 2 quarts 1 pint. At Tolia, and other ports on the south-west coast also, orch-eille (*orchilla*) is sold by the weight.

Cloth is measured by stretching out the two hands to the extent of a fathom, rather less than two yards, which measure is termed a *rèfy*. But they also have a rod equal to a *rèfy*, which is divided into quarters, and even into measurements as small as a finger's breadth. As may be supposed, the above-measured *rèfy* is somewhat arbitrarily determined by the Government, and may vary between 5 feet 8 inches and 6 feet. In 1865 Queen Rasohèrina instituted a new *rèfy* or standard of measurement for the building of the new palace. This was taken at 5 feet 3 inches, and all the chief dimensions of the new palace are multiples of this measure (*Sibree*).

The Malagasy equivalent to the French litre measure is the *laposèty*, the origin of which name is to be found in the curious pronunciation *laposèty* for the French liqueur, absinthe, which was formerly in great request amongst the natives. Absinthe being supplied in litre bottles, the name has become applicable to the measure. Milk is sold by the *laposèty*, and, curiously enough, unground coffee berries, and the measure is as nearly as possible our English quart: as 1 quart = 1.1359 litre. (See Richardson's *Dictionary* and Jorgensen's Paper.)

Laws of 1881 regarding weights and measures (74-79). "If any person use measures of capacity (for rice) other than the *mènalefona*, which is the measure given by the Government, and, especially, if any person make use of different measures, one for selling and one for buying, the measures will be destroyed and the person convicted will be fined five oxen and five dollars, or, in default of payment, will be condemned to one year in chains. Any person manufacturing false scales or weights, which are not the same as those issued by the Government, will be fined five oxen and £1; or, in default of payment, will be condemned to one year in chains. Any person using or found in possession of false weights or scales will be fined five oxen and five dollars, or suffer one year in chains. Any person giving short weight will be fined five oxen or suffer one year in chains."

False
scales and
weights.

The measure of length issued by the Government contains 7 feet, and all persons who have occasion to use a measure of length for selling or otherwise should apply to the Government authorities for the standard length.

Measure of
length.

The principal market at Antanànarivo is held on Friday or *Zomà*, as it is called in the native language, and this name is applied also to the place where the people assemble. In addition to this market there are others in the capital on different days; and as there are no shops in Antanànarivo the supply of all the necessities of life and the commoner manufactured articles are obtained in some half-dozen small bazaars held in the open air in various parts of the city daily.

The great
Zomà mar-
ket.

Besides these there are large markets, more like fairs, at which several thousand people assemble, which are held in different places on various days of the week, both at the capital and at the smaller towns within a circle of from fifteen to twenty miles of the capital. To these markets all the productions of the country, animal and vegetable, and the various native manufactures and foreign importations are brought for sale. Here also slaves *were* publicly bought until 1865 (when the Anglo-Malagasy treaty was signed), and public kabàry or messages from the sovereign are announced. The situations selected for their markets are usually ample spaces of level ground, at no great distance from some principal village, and it is called by the day of the week on which the market is held there. Hence the familiar expression "You can buy your timber at *Àlakamisy*"—that is, at

Principal
markets
near the
capital.

the market held on Thursday, and the Hóva people say they are going to *Alátsinañny*, *Talàta*, *Ālarobia*, etc.—meaning, to the markets held on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, etc. They are always attended by a vast concourse of people from the adjoining districts like the great annual fairs in England; and by this means a large amount of intercommunication is kept up amongst the people.

Ālahady (Sunday) is now observed as a day of rest throughout the country.

Ālatsinañny (Monday) market, $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles south-west of Nòsizàto, is held at the cross roads north of Imèrimandròso.

Talàta (Tuesday)—(a) 7 miles north-east of Ambòhitrabiby, 12 miles east of Ambòhimànga; (b) $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles north-west of Ambàniàla, $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles west of Antanànarivo.

Ālaròbia (Wednesday), 15 miles south of the capital, near Amboanjòbè.

Ālakamàsy (Thursday), $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles north-west of Ambòhidratrimo.

Zomà (Friday), at the capital.

Sabòtsy (Saturday)—(a) $14\frac{1}{2}$ miles north-east of capital and east of Namèhana; (b) 18 miles west of the capital, near the Andròmba river; (c) $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles south of Antànjobàto, south of capital, north of Fènoarivo.

The *Zomà*
market.

No shops, booths, stalls, or sheds were formerly used in these markets, but they are gradually being introduced in the *Zomà* at Antanànarivo. The articles are usually spread upon the ground on mats. No regular order of squares or rows is observed, and the purchasers have to thread their way through a labyrinth of commodities and sellers. The only order is that persons who have similar articles for sale usually sit near one another. Dr. Mullens (May 1873) gives the following graphic description of the market at Antanànarivo:—

Dr. Mullens's description.

“The great market of Antanànarivo was a place full of interest to us strangers. It is called the *Zomà*, or Friday, because it is held upon that day. It stands on the north-west of the city, on the hill which forms the outer side of the Analàkely valley. It is lozenge-shaped, and its sides are about sixty yards long. It may once have proved spacious, but the requirements of the place have outgrown the accommodation, and it is now far too small for its work. It is believed that 30,000 people come into it from the country every Friday. The south side of the market extends to the public road, and there have been erected a line of booths, covering wooden platforms, which in Madagascar form the nearest approach to shops. Everywhere else there is a great absence of convenient

arrangements for the display and sale of goods. A few squares of raised clay, a few wooden frames, a few large umbrellas—these are the only fittings. In most cases the traders just lay their goods on the ground on mats or a white cloth. There are no fixed roads through and across the market-place, and it is as difficult to move through the dense crowd as through a herd of cows.

“The articles sold form an excellent index of the degree of civilisation which has been reached by the people. There is a loose classification of them to be found in various divisions of the market. Firewood is brought in large quantities from the forest; but it is not large wood, it is mostly brush. Huge piles of *hërana* are also close by, a broad-leaved papyrus, most useful for thatching. Beams, boards, poles, and door-posts are brought in in considerable quantities; they are prepared in the forest solely by the hatchet; a noble tree makes but one board, which sells for half a crown, and the waste in preparing it is enormous. The principal meat sold is beef, of which there is abundance throughout the island. Good mutton also may be had, of the fat-tailed sheep, and plenty of pork, which I do not recommend. The sheep are tied together by their legs. Turkeys, ducks, geese, and fowls appear in large quantities. Rice abounds, of several kinds, and is sold both cleaned and in the husk. Potatoes are provided more for the English families than for the natives generally, and, with green peas, are usually brought to their houses. Yams and sweet potatoes are abundant, and also Indian corn. Green vegetables are not common; some twelve or fifteen kinds are known and eaten by the people, but they do not form so decided an element in their food as in England. Rice is all-in-all to the Malagasy. There is a good supply of fruit in the market; the bananas, large and small, are good; pineapples are abundant, good and bad; also green lemons, large red tomatoes, mulberries, wild peaches, and a little round fruit—the Cape gooseberry. There is plenty of honey; also of tobacco of native growth. The tobacco is sold in leaf, stalk, and powder, with little snuff-mulls made from bamboo; and the people do not smoke nor smell, but suck and eat it!

Market
produce.

“All varieties of the common native *lamba* appear on the stalls, whether made from cotton or from the palm fibre, with English chintzes, printed cottons, calicoes, and longcloth; and in wearing imported dresses the natives seem to consider as an

Articles
for sale.

ornament the name of the English manufacturer or merchant stamped on the cloth in large blue letters. Lâmbas with striped borders are favourites with the natives; but there is a fashion in these things, and the fashion changes in Antanânarivo as well as in Paris. Fine straw hats are common; they are worn by the Hóvas with a broad black velvet band, and make a handsome head-dress. Flimsy umbrellas with double covers, through which the sun shines powerfully, are numerous and cheap. Good mats also may be purchased, as well as coarse and common mats. Silk lâmbas are not exposed for sale in the markets, for solid reasons; but baskets of cocoons, both yellow and white, may always be seen; they are small in size. Hanks and skeins of the silk are common, white, yellow, and brown.

Foreign
and native
wares.

“There is a good supply of iron-work in the market, but it is rough and coarse. Heavy spades, nails of various sizes, hinges, locks, pincers and tweezers, hatchets, choppers, hammers, and trowels, are sold in abundance, all of native work. Many articles of a superior kind—saws, hatchets, hinges, padlocks, and the like—are English. Of native crockery and glass, there is nothing, it is all English; and the English houses that import it seem to think that flaming patterns suit the native taste. A great deal of crockery is gradually being introduced among the people, who find dishes, bowls, plates, and cups exceedingly useful. A bottle is much prized in Madagascar, as in India. The native pottery is very poor; it is ill burnt, and very brittle. Still water-pitchers, jars, plates, and saucers (both red and black) are brought to the market in large quantities. The potter’s wheel is not known in Madagascar as it is in India, where excellent tiles are made on it, as well as vessels of many kinds. There is good tin-ware in the market; cups, waterscoops, and blue boxes with round and flat lids. Neat wooden boxes also are sold, but they are heavy. There was one stall in the market for lozenges and tea; and a Christian schoolmaster had one for the sale of slates, books, pencils, steel pens, note-books, and paper. Lastly, there were always for sale a few slaves.

Goods to
order.

“Many things that may now be purchased in the city are not brought to the market at all. Good boots and shoes are increasing in numbers, and the natives work them neatly, but the sole-leather is poor and ill tanned. House furniture, in English patterns, can be made to order; sideboards, wardrobes, tables,

and chairs can be purchased at moderate rates. The native carpenters also produce all the fittings of schools and churches, window-frames and Venetian shutters, and doors and flooring for houses.

"To me the prices of all these things were an object of constant amusement, they were so low. A lady would tell her cook to bring home from the market sixpennyworth of sirloin, and receive some five pounds of beef as the result. I once sent into the capital a bushel and a half of potatoes for which I paid a shilling. Common pineapples came into the market five hundred for a dollar, that is ten for a penny; beautiful pineapples were a penny each; a large dishful of good mangoes cost twopence. Wages are of course low in a country like this; they are lower even than in India; but food is also much cheaper. In one district we found that sixty pounds weight of maize was sold for threepence; rice was equally cheap and plentiful. With improvements, expenses are increasing, and prices are slowly rising. Security, honesty, diligence, probity, demand higher wages; and they furnish in abundance those increased resources by which such wages are paid" (*Twelve Months in Madagascar*, pp. 137-140).

Low
prices.

Note.—"It has been a common practice for generations to bury money and other valuables in tombs. I have seen thousands of dollars in some of the large tombs, many of which had been so long underground that they were quite black. It was also a common custom to bury treasure (money, etc.) for safe keeping. One of my friends at one time had as much as 30,000 dollars (£6000) buried for years in security. Occasionally the money was disinterred, spread on a mat in the sun, the black dollars polished up, and then once more consigned to the secret hiding-place. When Rasohèrina died (1868) more than 14,000 dollars were melted down and made into a rude box, into which her remains were placed. This was deposited in a large stone vault, and a large amount of valuable property was placed with it. The vault was then filled up with dollars and covered with a stone slab.

"During the recent war recourse was had by the Government to the stores of dollars buried by previous sovereigns. On one occasion more than 50,000 dollars (Mexican) were taken from the spot where they had been buried by Ranavàlona I., in part payment for a large consignment of rifles and ammunition.

"Until quite recently the Government treasury was a very simple but very secure one. Large earthen water jars were procured, placed in a recess hollowed out in the ground, filled with dollars (they generally held 10,000), and then covered with a stone slab and cemented down. The place of concealment was known only to two or three trusty servants, and it is often stated that some of the places where such deposits were made 50 or 60 years ago are now unknown, all those who possessed the knowledge of their whereabouts having died without communicating the secret. This plan has, however, now fallen into desuetude, the Government and chief officers being fully alive to the greater security and convenience afforded by iron safes, which of late years have come into use" (*J. Parrett*).

APPENDIX.

I.—MALAGASY MONEY TABLE.¹

IT GIVES THE NATIVE NAMES OF MONEY VALUES AND SHOWS THE METHOD OF WRITING THEM ACCORDING TO MALAGASY NOTATION. BY IT ANY SUM FROM A CENT TO A DOLLAR, OR FROM A HALFPENNY TO FOUR SHILLINGS, CAN BE IMMEDIATELY WRITTEN DOWN IN THE MALAGASY FORM.

English.		American.		Malagasy.			Malagasy Name.
s.	d.	Dls.	cts.	A.	s.	e. ²	
0	$\frac{1}{3}$	0	$0\frac{2}{3}$	0	0	5	Vàridimivènty.
0	$\frac{2}{3}$	0	01	0	0	3·7	Vàrifitovènty.
0	$\frac{3}{3}$	0	$01\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	1	ÉRANAMBÀTRY.
0	1	0	02	0	0	1·5	Ilavòamèna.
0	$1\frac{1}{3}$	0	$02\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	2	Ròanambàtry.
0	$1\frac{2}{3}$	0	03	0	0	2·3	Vòamèna làtsaka fitovènty.
0	$1\frac{3}{3}$	0	$03\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	2·5	Làtsapahèhina.
0	2	0	04	0	0	3	Vòamèna.
0	$2\frac{1}{3}$	0	05	0	0	3·7	Fitovènty sy vòamèna.
0	$2\frac{2}{3}$	0	$05\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	4	Efatrambàtry.
0	3	0	06	0	0	4·5	Làsiray.
0	$3\frac{1}{3}$	0	$06\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	5	Diminambàtry.
0	$3\frac{2}{3}$	0	07	0	0	5·3	Ròavòamèna làtsaka vàrifitovènty.
0	4	0	08	0	0	6	Ròavòamèna.
0	$4\frac{1}{3}$	0	09	0	0	6·7	Ròavòamèna sy vàrifitovènty.
0	5	0	10	0	0	7·5	Làsiròa.
0	$5\frac{1}{3}$	0	11	0	0	8·3	Sikàjy làtsaka vàrifitovènty.
0	6	0	$12\frac{1}{2}$	0	1	0	SIKÀJY.
0	$6\frac{1}{2}$	0	13	0	1	0·7	Sikàjy sy vàrifitovènty.
0	7	0	14	0	1	1·5	Làsitélo.
0	$7\frac{1}{3}$	0	15	0	1	2·3	Vènty làtsaka vàrifitovènty.
0	8	0	16	0	1	3	Vènty.
0	$8\frac{1}{2}$	0	17	0	1	3·7	Vènty sy vàrifitovènty.
0	9	0	18	0	1	4·5	Làsivènty.
0	$9\frac{1}{2}$	0	19	0	1	5·3	Raimbilànja làtsaka vàrifitovènty.
0	10	0	20	0	1	6	Raimbilànja.
0	$10\frac{1}{2}$	0	21	0	1	6·7	Raimbilànja sy vàrifitovènty.
0	11	0	22	0	1	7·5	Kiròbo làtsaka ilàny.
0	$11\frac{1}{2}$	0	23	0	1	8·3	Kiròbo làtsaka vàrifitovènty.

¹ *Madagascar Times*, 1886.² A. = Ariary, s. = Sikàjy, e. = Éranambàtry.

³ To be mathematically correct compared with the English this 7 wherever it occurs ought to be 7·5, and the 3 wherever it occurs also should be 2·5. To go into two decimal points, however, would have been an absurdity if not an impossibility in practice. By leaving out the 0·5 in one and making 2·5 into 3 in the other a balance is struck. Either inaccuracy would have to occur 366 times to make a shilling difference in an account.

English.		American.	Malagasy.		Malagasy Name.
s.	d.	Dls. cts.	A.	s. e.	
1	0	¹ { 0 24 0 25 }	0	2 0	Kiròbo.
1	0½	0 26	0	2 7	Kiròbo sy varifitoventy.
1	1	0 27	0	2 15	Kiròbo sy ilavòamèna.
1	1½	0 28	0	2 23	Kiròbo sy vòamèna latsaka varifitoventy.
1	2	0 29	0	2 3	Kiròbo sy vòamèna.
1	2½	0 30	0	2 37	Kiròbo sy fitoventy sy vòamèna.
1	3	0 31	0	2 45	Kiròbo sy lāsiraŷ.
1	3½	0 32	0	2 53	Sasanangy latsaka varifitoventy.
1	4	0 33½	0	2 6	Sasanangy.
1	4½	0 34	0	2 67	Sasanangy sy varifitoventy.
1	5	0 35	0	2 75	Lāsiròa sy kiròbo.
1	5½	0 36	0	2 83	Sikàjy tèlo latsaka varifitoventy.
1	6	0 37½	0	3 0	Sikàjy tèlo.
1	6½	0 38	0	3 7	Sikàjy tèlo sy varifitoventy.
1	7	0 39	0	3 15	Sikàjy tèlo sy ilavòamèna.
1	7½	0 40	0	3 23	Venty sy kiròbo latsaka varifitoventy.
1	8	0 41	0	3 3	Venty sy kiròbo.
1	8½	0 42	0	3 37	Venty sy kiròbo sy varifitoventy.
1	9	0 43	0	3 45	Lāsiventy sy kiròbo.
1	9½	0 44	0	3 53	Lòso latsaka fitoventy sy vòamèna.
1	10	0 45	0	3 6	Lòso latsa-bòamèna.
1	10½	0 46	0	3 67	Lòso latsa-bòamèna latsaka varifitoventy.
1	11	0 47	0	3 75	Lòso latsaka ilavòamèna.
1	11½	0 48	0	3 83	Lòso latsaka varifitoventy.
2	0	{ 0 49 0 50 }	0	4 0	Lòso.
2	0½	0 51	0	4 7	Lòso sy varifitoventy.
2	1	0 52	0	4 15	Lòso sy ilavòamèna.
2	1½	0 53	0	4 23	Lòso sy vòamèna latsaka varifitoventy.
2	2	0 54	0	4 3	Lòso sy vòamèna.
2	2½	0 55	0	4 37	Lòso sy fitoventy sy vòamèna.
2	3	0 56	0	4 45	Lòso sy lāsiraŷ.
2	3½	0 57	0	4 53	Ròavòamèna sy lòso latsaka varifitoventy.
2	4	0 58	0	4 6	Ròavòamèna sy lòso.
2	4½	0 59	0	4 67	Ròavòamèna sy lòso sy varifitoventy.
2	5	0 60	0	4 75	Lāsiròa sy lòso.
2	5½	0 61	0	4 83	Sikàjy dimy latsaka varifitoventy.
2	6	0 62½	0	5 0	Sikàjy dimy.
2	6½	0 63	0	5 7	Sikàjy dimy sy varifitoventy.
2	7	0 64	0	5 15	Sikàjy dimy sy ilavòamèna.
2	7½	0 65	0	5 23	Venty sy lòso latsaka varifitoventy.
2	8	0 66⅔	0	5 3	Venty sy lòso.
2	8½	0 67	0	5 37	Venty sy lòso sy varifitoventy.
2	9	0 68	0	5 45	Lāsiventy sy lòso.
2	9½	0 69	0	5 53	Kiròbo tèlo latsaka fitoventy sy vòamèna.
2	10	0 70	0	5 6	Kiròbo tèlo latsa-bòamèna.
2	10½	0 71	0	5 67	Kiròbo tèlo latsa-bòamèna mahery varifitoventy.
2	11	0 72	0	5 75	Kiròbo tèlo latsaka ilavòamèna.
2	11½	0 73	0	5 83	Kiròbo tèlo latsaka varifitoventy.
3	0	{ 0 74 0 75 }	0	6 0	Kiròbo tèlo.
3	0½	0 76	0	6 7	Kiròbo tèlo sy varifitoventy
3	1	0 77	0	6 15	Kiròbo tèlo sy ilavòamèna.

¹ As both the English and Malagasy scales follow a multiple of twelve, or 96 halfpence to a dollar, the division of the 100 cents must always be very slightly inaccurate. Thus if the cents corresponding in the above table to any two or three values amounting to a value of two shillings in English be added they often amount to 49 cents only instead of 50. In practice this is immaterial.

English.	American.	Malagasy.	Malagasy Name.
s. d.	Dls. cts.	A. s. e.	
3 1½	0 78	0 6 2·3	Kiròbo tèlo sy latsaka fitoventy.
3 2	0 79	0 6 3	Kiròbo tèlo sy vòamèna.
3 2½	0 80	0 6 3·7	Kiròbo tèlo sy fitoventy sy vòamèna.
3 3	0 81	0 6 4·5	Kiròbo tèlo sy làsiray.
3 3½	0 82	0 6 5·3	Àriary latsa-benty mahery varifitoventy.
3 4	0 83	0 6 6	Àriary latsa-benty.
3 4½	0 84	0 6 6·7	Àriary latsa-benty latsaka varifitoventy.
3 5	0 85	0 6 7·5	Àriary latsaka lasitelo.
3 5½	0 86	0 6 8·3	Àriary latsa-tsikajy mahery varifitoventy.
3 6	0 87½	0 7 0	Àriary latsa-tsikajy.
3 6½	0 88	0 7 ·7	Àriary latsa-tsikajy latsaka varifitoventy.
3 7	0 89	0 7 1·5	Àriary latsaka lasiròà.
3 7½	0 90	0 7 2·3	Àriary latsa-dròavòamèna mahery varifitoventy.
3 8	0 91	0 7 3	Àriary latsa-dròavòamèna.
3 8½	0 92	0 7 3·7	Àriary latsa-dròavòamèna latsaka varifitoventy.
3 9	0 93	0 7 4·5	Àriary latsaka làsiray.
3 9½	0 94	0 7 5·3	Àriary latsaka fitoventy sy vòamèna.
3 10	0 95	0 7 6	Àriary latsa-bòamèna.
3 10½	0 96	0 7 6·7	Àriary latsa-bòamèna mahery varifitoventy.
3 11	0 97	0 7 7·5	Àriary latsaka ilavòamèna.
3 11½	0 98	0 7 8·3	Àriary latsaka varifitoventy.
4 0	{ 0 99 } { 1 00 }	1 0 0	ÀRIARY.
5 0	1 25	1 2 0	Kiròbo sy àriary.
6 0	1 50	1 4 0	Lòso sy àriary.
7 0	1 75	1 6 0	{ Àriary ròà latsa-kiròbo. { Latsa-kiròbo tsy ènin-dròà.
8 0	2 00	2 0 0	Àriary ròà.
10 0	2 50	2 4 0	Vòla-fòlo.

II.—PRICES OF NECESSARIES.

*Prices in 1838 (Ellis).**Prices in Zomà in 1862.*

Rice, white, best picked, per bushel . . .	1s.	1s.
Rice, common, red . . .	9d.	8d.
Ducks, 18 or 20 . . .	1 dollar.	1 dollar.
Fowls, do.	1 „	1 „
Turkeys, 4 or 5 . . .	1 „	1 „ ; 6 geese for 1 dollar.
Bullock, each . . .	3-8 „	3-8 „
Cow with calf . . .	3-4 „	4 „
Sheep, each . . .	1s. to 2s.	1s. to 3s. 6d.
Pigs „ . . .	1s. to 2s.	1s. to 2s.
Pineapples, 20-30 . . .	2d. to 3d.	6 for 1d.
Grapes, per peck . . .	2d. to 3d.	2d.
Bananas, „ . . .	2d. to 3d.	Water-lily buds, 2d. ; Bananas, 2d.

Prices in 1862.

Horses, £10.	Cray-fish.
Slaves, £5 to £50.	Ground nuts pistaches.
Bamboo, bundles of 25, 25 cents.	Copal and animi gums.
Papyrus thatch, 6 lbs., 18 to 20 cents.	Sugar.
Silk in cocoons, 1 dollar in weight, 10 dollars.	Cotton.
Bundle of spun silk, 1·25 dollar.	Manioc.
Coarse silk, of outside cocoons, per sack, 5 dollars.	Sweet potatoes.
Locusts.	European potatoes.
	Water-jars (<i>Simys</i>).
	Tobacco, snuff.

Prices in 1865.¹

Oxen for exportation at Tamatave	15-18 dollars.	Rice, bushel	4s. to 5s.
Beef	2d. per lb.	Milk, pint	2d.
Mutton	1½d. „	Butter, fresh	2s. per lb.
Lamb	1s. each.	The following are plentiful according to season :—Manioc, garlic, onions, sweet potatoes, French beans, maize, pumpkins, cabbages, green peas, coffee (native), sugar (native), bananas, pine-apples, oranges, limes, lemons, grapes, mangoes, pomegranates, peaches, loquat, and pistachio nuts.	
Sheep	4s. „		
Turkeys	1s. 6d. „		
Geese	1s. each.		
Fowls and ducks	6d. „		
Eggs, per dozen	2d. to 3d.		
Irish potatoes, peck	1s. to 1s. 6d.		

Price List, Market of Antananarivo, 15th May 1882.²

		fr.	c.			fr.	c.
Rice	Les 100 kilos.	5	0	Soap	Le kilogramme	0	25
Maize	„	5	0	Oxen, prime	L'un	20	0
Coffee	„	70	0	Beef, quarter of, 51 kilogrammes		6	0
Wax	„	110	0	„ fillet	2	0	45
Loaf sugar	„	45	0	Sheep	L'un	1	25
Tin plate	„	20	0	Neats' foot oil	Le litre	0	55
Ox hides tanned	„	60	0	Castor-oil	„	1	20
Skins	L'une	7	50	Planks	Le metre	1	42
Fowls	„	0	23	Lard	Les 100 kilos.	40	0
Capons	„	0	63	Tallow	„	30	0
Ducks	„	0	40	Hemp	Le metre	0	60
Geese	„	0	80	Tiles, flat	Le mille	10	0
Fat Turkeys	„	2	50	Tiles, shaped	„	20	0
Indian cloth	Le yard	0	45	Potatoes	Les 100 kilos.	3	0
Cloth sheeting	Le metre	25	0	Legal interest		26	per cent.

Antananarivo Market, June 1886.

<i>Sheetings.</i>	Yds.	A.	s.	e.	<i>Shirtings.</i>	Yds.	A.	s.	e.
Tranovato	40	3	6	3	Vodihety	40	2	6	6
Betaratasy	50	4	5	7	Lohòmby	„	2	6	6
Lohòmby	40	4	0	8	Akoholàhy	„	2	6	3
Bemarika	„	3	7	1					
Tsangan'dona	„	4	0	6	<i>English Cottons.</i>				
Tafondro	50	5	0	4	Satroka	40	4	6	6
Mojangà	„	5	2	6	Tafondro	„	2	6	0
Bemoty	„	5	0	4	Menaraka	24	1	6	0
Tsipika	„	4	5	6	Sogafòtsy	40	3	7	0

Prices, East Coast, June 1886.

	Dls.	cts.		Dls.	cts.
Rum, per cask	14	25	to	14	50
Petroleum, per case of 2 tins	2	20			
Beer, per bottle	0	50			
Salt, per 100 lbs.	1	00	„	1	12
Rice, paddy unshelled, per 100 lbs.	1	25	„	1	50
Rice, cleaned, per 100 lbs.	2	00	„	2	50
Beeswax, per 100 lbs.	16	50	„	17	00
India-rubber, per 100 lbs.	25	00	„	35	00
Vacoa bags, per 100	1	25	„	1	50
Rofia fibre, bales of 200 lbs.	7	00			
Rabannes, bales of 200 lbs.	3	50			
Hides, salted, per 100	10	00	„	10	50

¹ See *Madagascar Revisited*, p. 489.² D'Escamps, p. 537

CHAPTER XV.

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND CARTOGRAPHY.

*"Hic ego namque tuas sortes, arcanaque fata
Dicta meæ genti, ponam, lectosque sacrobo,
Alma, viros."*

(*Eneidos*, lib. vi. 72.)

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—Titles of works, and authors, publishers, and places of publication, in chronological order—Abstract of MSS., books, etc. CARTOGRAPHY.—List of maps, charts, and plans. *Appendix* to Bibliography.

Bibliography.

Mr. James
Jackson.

MR. JAMES JACKSON, the well-known archiviste-bibliothécaire of the Société de Géographie at Paris, prefaces his "Liste provisoire de Bibliographies Géographiques Spéciales" by the following apposite quotation from Dr. Eugène Grellois: ". . . À celui qui croit posséder une vérité nouvelle, la bibliographie peut apprendre qu'il s'engage dans un sentier déjà battu et qu'à peine trouvera-t-il à glaner après la moisson de ses devanciers; elle évite ainsi de funestes mécomptes à l'écrivain qui sait puiser aux sources de l'érudition." The compiler of the following bibliography had scarcely finished, as he supposed, his rather troublesome task, when he found that another worker in the same field had been beforehand and forestalled his undertaking in a far more complete and masterly publication, printed at Antananarivo in 1885. Mr. Sibree's full permission has been freely and generously granted to the compiler to make use of his work with great advantage to the reader, who cannot do better than consult Mr. Sibree's mine of information. In consequence of the prior publication by Mr. Sibree, including the articles in magazines and the papers communicated to the learned societies, it has been thought best not to attempt the inclusion of such notices in the following list.

Mr.
Sibree's
biblio-
graphy.

Date.	Title of Work and Name of Author.	Publisher, Place of Publication, and Remarks.
1298-1307	MARCO POLO.	MSS. Portions of the original MSS. are preserved in the Royal Library at Stockholm. The best English version is Colonel Yule's translation (see under date 1871).
1561	Tratado dos Descobrimentos Antigos e modernos composto pel o famoso. ANTONIO GALVÃO.	4to, Lisbon.
1563	Portolano des Challapoda (<i>Calapoda</i>) aus dem Jahre 1563, enthaltend die Gestade Afrika's und die "Isola de San Lorenzo" (Madagascar) mit interessanter Topographie.	In der Marciana zu Venedig—(<i>Paulitschke</i>).
1576	Commentarios do grande Afonso Dalboquerque.	Folio, Lisbon. Enthalten die frühesten auf die Entdeckungsgeschichte von Madagascar bezüglichen Daten und Schilderungen der Insel dann wichtige Daten über geographische Verhältnisse der Ostküste des Afrikanischen Continents—(<i>Paulitschke</i>).
1578-1587	Relatione del Reame di Congo.	4to. A rare work accompanied by two maps, of which one is delineated in Mr. Major's work on <i>Prince Henry of Portugal</i> .
1589-1591	Treatise on the Congo. By EDOUARDO LOPEZ. Edited by Phillipo Pigafetta at Rome.	Antonio Migliore, Bishop of San Marco, Commentator of San Spirito, Venezia—(Richard Henry Major, <i>Life of Prince Henry of Portugal</i>).
1597	Translation of above by Abraham Hartwell.	Lambeth Palace.
1595-1597	The Four Hollanders' Ships' Voyages.	Hakluyt, vol. v.
1600	A Geographical Historie of Africa. By LEO AFRICANUS. Translation by John Pory.	London. Impensis Georg. Bishop. Written originally in Arabic and Italian by John Leo, a Moor, born in Granada and brought up in Barbary.
„	A Description of Places undescribed by John Leo. By JOHN PORY.	Supplement to above.
1603	Spraak ende woord boek in de maleische ende Madagaskarsche talen. FRED DE HOUTMAN.	Amsterdam. Der erste holländische Versuch, linguistisches Material über Madagascar zu sammeln Houtman schreib das werk im Kerker auf Java—(<i>Paulitschke</i> and <i>Barbié du Bocage</i>).
„	Vocabulaire de la langue parlée dans l'île Saint-Laurent. Par CORNELLE VAN HEEMSKERK.	Amsterdam—(<i>Barbié du Bocage</i>).
1606	Loffelijke Voyagie op Ost-Indien, Met 8 Schepen uyt Tessel gevaren int Jaer 1606 etc. Haerivech genomen hebbende tuoschen Madagascar ende Abissinia deur. By VAN CAERDEN.	Amsterdam—(Commelin's <i>Sammlung und Beginende Voortang</i> , vol. ii. 1646).
„	Delle Navigationi et Viaggi. GIO BATTISTA RAMUSIO.	Venetia. Discorso d'un gran Capitano. . . Isola di San Lorenzo.
1607	Large Journall of W. FINCH.	Purchas's <i>Pilgrimes</i> , vol. i.
1608	Historia Indiæ Orientalis. GOTHARDUS ARTHUSIUS.	.....

Date.	Title of Work and Name of Author.	Publisher, Place of Publication, and Remarks.
1609	Beschreibung der maechtigen und weitberühmten Insel Madagascar. HIERONYMUS MEGISERUS.	8vo, Altenbourg. See notice by Sibree <i>ante</i> . "Avec un dictionnaire de la langue de l'île"—(<i>Barbié du Bocage</i>).
1613	Colloquia Latino - maleyica et Madagascarica. GOTH. ARTHURIUS.	4to, Frankfort—(<i>Paulitschke</i> and <i>Barbié du Bocage</i>).
„	Account of an Expedition of the Portuguese from India to Madagascar.	See Kerr's <i>Voyage</i> , vol. vii.—(<i>R.G.S. Catalogue</i>).
1616	Histoire du grand et admirable royaume d'Antongil, en l'île de Madagascar.	Paris and Leyden—(<i>Paulitschke</i>).
1617-25	PURCHAS, SAMUEL, His Pilgrimes, vol. i.	Voyage of Sir John Lancaster, 1600, St. Marie's, Antongill.
1619	Geographia Nubiensis. By EDRISI.	Paris.
1628	Histoire de la Navigation de JEAN	Amsterdam. Chez Evert Cloppenburg, demeurant sur le Water, à la Bible dorée—(<i>Barbié du Bocage</i>).
1638	HUGUES DE LINSCHOT, Hollandais, aux Indes Orientales.	Contenant diverses descriptions des lieux jusqu'à présent découverts par les Portugais. Observations des coutumes et singularitez de delà, et autres déclarations. Avec annotations de D. Paludanus, docteur en médecine, sur la matière des plantes et épiceries; item quelques cartes géographiques et autres figures. 3e édition augmentée. Sibree gives date of above, probably the first edition, as 1628, and the author's name Johan Hugen von Linschot. See <i>The Great African Island</i> , p. 6. Suit; le grand routier des mers, du même auteur, contenant une instruction des routes et cours qu'il convient tenir en la navigation des Indes Orientales. Le tout fidèlement recueilli des mémoires et observations des pilotes Espagnols et Portugais, et nouvellement traduit du Flameng en François. Avec une carte de la côte d'Afrique et de Madagascar, que et S. Laurentii <i>insula dicitur</i> . Manuscript Hofbibliothek Zu Wien—(<i>Paulitschke</i>).
1630-40	Portolano eines Anonymus nach Matakovié von einem spanischen Cosmographen, 1630-40 aufgefertigt. Blatt 9. Madagascar mit Ostafrika von 1° bis 40° S.	4to, London. ? Nicholas Bourne—(<i>Sibree</i>).
1640	A Paradox: Proving the Inhabitants of the Island called Madagascar or St. Laurence (in things temporal), to be the happiest people in the world. By WALTER HAMMOND, Surgeon.	
1640-86	Fonds, Compagnie des Indes Orientales, Administration en France, Registres 2C ₂ ; 3C ₂ ; 4C ₂ ; 5C ₂ .	Paris. Archives, Ministère de la Marine—(<i>Pauliat</i>).

Date.	Title of Work and Name of Author.	Publisher, Place of Publication, and Remarks.
1642-1754	Archives coloniales du Ministère de la Marine : fonds Madagascar, Correspondance générale, Carton Cg.	Paris.
1643	Madagascar, The Richest and most Fruitfull Island in the World. Wherein the Temperature of the Clymate, the Nature of the Inhabitants, the Commodities of the Countrie, and the facility and benefit of a Plantation by our People there, are compendiously and truly described. By WALTER HAMMOND.	4to, London. Printed for Nicholas Bourne, and are to bee sold at his Shop, at the south entrance of the Royall Exchange. Dedicated to the Honourable John Bond, Governour of the island, whose proceeding is Authorized for this Expedition, both by the King and Parliament.
1645-47	ALB. VON JOH. MANDELSLO, Schreiben von Seinar ostindischen Reise aus der Insel Madagascar. Anno 1639, abgelassen, etc. . . .	Schleswig—(<i>Paulitschke</i>).
1646	COMMELIN's Sammlung und "Beginnende Voortgang" II.	Amsterdam—(<i>Sibree</i> and <i>Paulitschke</i>).
"	A Briefe Discovery or Description of the most Famous Island of Madagascar or St. Laurence in Asia, neere unto East India. By RICHARD BOOTHBY, Merchant.	8vo, London. Printed by E. G. for John Hardesty, at the signe of the Black Spread Eagle, in Duck Lane—(<i>Sibree</i>).
1648	Madagascar, with other Poems. By W. DAVENANT, Knight.	London—(<i>Sibree</i>).
1649 (?)	Sonnet: "To my Friend Will Davenant, on his Poem of Madagascar." By Sir JOHN SUCKLING.	Sir John Suckling was Comptroller of the Household to Charles I.—(<i>Sibree</i>).
1649	An Answer to Mr. Boothby's Book of the description of Madagascar. By B. WALDEGRAVE.	London.
1651	Relations véritables et curieuses de l'isle de Madagascar et du Brésil, etc. Recueilly par le Sieur MORISOT.	4to. Publié à Paris chez Augustin Courbé, au Palais, en la galerie des Merciers, à la Palme. Table des Relations contenues dans se volume. "Relation du voyage que François Cauche de Roüen a fait en l'Isle de Madagascar, autrement Saint Laurent, isles adjacentes et costes d'Afrique, contenant la descriptions du pays, mœurs des habitants, ensemble des oyseaux, poissons, arbres, arbrisseaux, racines et plantes, avec une carte de ladite isle. Colloque entre un Madagascarois et un François sur les choses les plus nécessaires pour se faire entendre et estre entendu d'eux. Le tout recueilly par le Sieur Morisot avec des notes en marge."
1661	Histoire de la Grande Isle Madagascar. Composée par le Sieur DE FLACOURT, Directeur-General de la Compagnie Française de l'Orient et Commandant pour sa Majesté dans ladite Isle v. és Isles adjacentes.	4to. Avec une relation de ce qui s'est passée ès années 1655, 1656, et 1657, non encor veüe dans la première impression et plusieurs cartes. À Paris, chez Gervais Clouzier, au Palais, sur les degrès en montant pour aller à la Sainte Chapelle. 1st edition, 1658.

Date.	Title of Work and Name of Author.	Publisher, Place of Publication, and Remarks.
1663	Dagregister gehouden bij J. BLANCK, over de reyse van Cabo de Bonne Esperance na't Eylandt Madagascar, van den 29 Mey tot December 1663, dat weder aan gemette Caep zijn gearriveert. Mit dem Rapport over't geen aan't eyland Madagascar is uytyrecht, mitsgaders de gelegentheyt der selver plaetse zoovel in de bhay Augustijn heb kunnen vernemen, 1663.	Manuscrite des Holländischen Reichsarchivs—(<i>Paulitschke</i>).
1663-75	Fonds, Indes Orientales; Correspondance générale; Registre 62C ₂ . Registres des ordres du Roy (Louis XIV.), et autres expéditions pour les Compagnies des Indes Orientales et Occidentales de France, B ₁ ; B ₂ ; B ₃ ; B ₄ ; B ₅ .	Paris. Ministère de la Marine.
1664	Relation de divers voyages curieux, par M. THEVENOT, Part II. Le mémoire du voyage aux Indes Orientales.	2 vols., Paris. Ce mémoire a fourni quelques éléments madécasses au P. Hervás, pour ses études comparées de philologie. —(<i>Note du Père Rivière</i>).
„	Discours d'un fidèle sujet du Roy touchant l'Établissement d'une Compagnie Françoisé pour le commerce des Indes Orientales. Adressé à tous les François.	Paris. See Pauliat's "Madagascar sous Louis XIV.," attributed to Charpentier.
1664-1710	Indes Orientales; Correspondance générale, Carton 1, C ₂ .	Paris. Ministère de la Marine. Archives.
1665	Histoire de l'Établissement de la Compagnie Françoisé pour le commerce des Indes Orientales. Par CHARPENTIER, académicien.	4to, Paris—(<i>Barbié du Bocage</i>).
1666-68	2d and 3d editions Charpentier's Work.	.....
1668	Relation du premier voyage de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, en l'isle de Madagascar ou Dauphine. Par M. SOUCHU DE RENEFORT, secrétaire de l'État de la France Orientale.	12mo, à Paris. Chez François Clouzier, au Palais, à l'image Notre Dame. Cet ouvrage est accompagné du plan du Fort Dauphin, levé sur le lieu par le Sieur de Flacourt—(<i>Barbié du Bocage</i>).
„	États des ports et baies de l'île Dauphin. MS. Rapport des pilotes sur les côtes de l'Ouest.	Paris. Ministère de la Marine. Archives.
1672	Cort extract uyt het verhael bij Commandeur Hubert Hugo op deze reyse gehouden in't jacht de Pijl, seylende van d'Caeb d'Bonne Esperance naer Madagascar.	Manuscript des Holländischen Reichsarchivs—(<i>Paulitschke</i>).
„	Voyages and Travels of Mr. JOHN NIEUHOFF, who was killed in the Island of Madagascar in 1672.	Churchill's Collection. Vol. ii. 1740.
1674	Les voyages faits par le Sieur D. B. [Du Bois], aux îles Dauphine ou Madagascar, et Bourbon ou Mascarenne, ès années 1669, 1670, 1671, et 1672.	12mo, Paris. Chez Claude Barbin, au Palais, sur le second perron de la Sainte Chapelle—(<i>Barbié du Bocage</i>).
1677	Journal gehouden in't Jaght Voorhout, van de Caep na Madagascar en Mosambique en van daer terug naer de Caep.	Manuscript des Holländischen Reichsarchivs—(<i>Paulitschke</i>).

Date.	Title of Work and Name of Author.	Publisher, Place of Publication, and Remarks.
1679	Voyage contenant la navigation aux Indes Orientales. Par le Sieur DU VAL, Geographe ordinaire du Roy, François Laval.	Paris. Euthält Daten über Madagascar und die Comoren—(<i>Paulitschke</i>).
1681	Journal gehouden in't Schip Silida van de Caeb na Madagascar en van daernaer de Westcüst van Sumatra.	Manuscript des Holländischen Reichsarchivs—(<i>Paulitschke</i>).
„	Compendio de las Historias de los descubrimientos o conquistas, guerras della India Oriental. Par Don JOSEPH FELIPE MARTINEZ de la PUENTE.	Madrid—(<i>Barbié du Bocage</i>).
1685	Relation du Voyage. Par M. DILLON.	2 vols. 12mo, Paris—(<i>Maillard</i>).
1688	Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des Indes Orientales. Par M. S. D. R. [M. SOUCHU DE RENNEFORT].	4to, Paris. Chez Arnoul Seneuze, rue de la Harpe, et Daniel Horthemels, rue Saint-Jacques, 1688. En tête, carte générale de l'île d'après Flacourt. Contenant: La navigation des quatre premiers vaisseaux de la Compagnie; l'établissement d'un conseil souverain à l'île de Madagascar, pour le gouvernement des Indes Orientales. Le récit succinct de l'expédition de M. de La Haye, successeur de M. de Mondevergue; l'abandonnement de l'isle de Madagascar—(<i>Barbié du Bocage</i>).
„	Histoire des Indes Orientales. Par M. SOUCHU DE RENNEFORT.	12mo, Leyden. Chez Frederik Harring. Cet ouvrage est la copie des Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des Indes Orientales du même auteur—(<i>Barbié du Bocage</i>).
1696-97	Journal gehouden in't jacht de Soldaet van Cabo Bona Sperance naer Madagasker en terug, door Schipper Hans Christaens Holm.	Manuscript des Holländischen Reichsarchivs.
1698	Journal du voyage des Grandes Indes. Par M. de LA HAYE.	12mo, Paris. Chez Robert et Nicolas Pepie, rue Saint-Jacques, au grand S. Bazile: contenant ce qui s'est fait et passé par l'escadre de Sa Majesté envoyée sous le commandement de M. de La Haye, depuis son départ de La Rochelle, au mois de Mars, avec description exacte de toutes les villes, ports, etc., 1670—(<i>Barbié du Bocage</i>).
„	A Voyage to the East Indies, giving an account of the isles of Madagascar and Mascarenhas, of Surat, the coast of Malabar, etc. Written originally in French by Mons. DELLON, M.D.	8vo, London. There is annexed an abstract of Mons. Reneford's (<i>sic</i>) History of the East Indies, with his proposals for improvement of the East India Company.
1699	Rapport gedaen bij mij Jan Coin Schipper, op't Jagt te Tambour gedestineert van Cabo de Geoe de Hoop over Madagascars Oostkust naer Batavia, etc.	Manuscript des Holländischen Reichsarchivs—(<i>Paulitschke</i>).

Date.	Title of Work and Name of Author.	Publisher, Place of Publication, and Remarks.
1669	Voyages des Indes Orientales, mêlé de plusieurs histoires curieuses. Détails sur Madagascar, Bourbon, & Île de France. Par CARRÉ.	.....
1702	Dagregister gehouden in't Fregat Noordgoun, op de reyse naer Mauritius over Madagascar, etc., in de jaren 1701-1702.	Manuscript des Holländischen Reichsarchivs—(<i>Paulitschke</i>).
1708	Voyages et aventures de FRANÇOIS LE GUAT, & de ses compagnons en deux isles desertes des Indes orientales, Avec la Relation des choses les plus remarquables qu'ils ont observées dans l'Isle Maurice, à Batavia, au Cap de Bonne-Espérance, dans l'isle de Sainte-Hélène, & en d'autres endroits de leur Route. Le tout enrichi de Cartes & de Figures.	2 vols. 12mo. London and Amsterdam. Mortier, 1708. There are several later editions.
„	A Voyage to the East Indies. By LEGUAT.	London. Translation of above.
1710	Travels of the Jesuits in Ethopia, etc. By BELTHAZAR TELLEZ.	4to, ? London. Contains "Voyage to Madagascar," by F. Cauche, see <i>ante</i> —(<i>R. G. S. Catalogue</i>).
1711	Atlas Geographus; or a Compleat System of Geography, Ancient and Modern.	4to, in the Savoy, London. Maps by Herman Moll, and plates. Quoted in Drury. R.G.S.—(<i>S. P. O.</i>)
1719	The King of Pirates: Being an account of the famous enterprises of Captain Avery, the Mock King of Madagascar; with his Rambles and Piracies, wherein all the sham accounts formerly published of him are detected. By DANIEL DEFOE.	London. A. Bettesworth.
1720	2d edition of above.	.....
„	The Life, Adventures, and Piracies of the famous Captain Singleton: Containing an Account of his being set on Shore in the Island of Madagascar, his settlement there, etc. By DANIEL DEFOE.	London. J. Brotherton, at the Black Bull in Cornhill. J. Graves.
„	Reissue of above.	Exeter.
1721	Reprint of same.	Nath Mist.
1720	Rapport van den Schipper J. de Roninck en Boekhouder Servaas Gearsen op het schip Barnevelt Wegens de ontmoetingen op hunne fatale reyse, 1719-20.	Manuscript des Niederländischen Reichsarchivs, Madagascar betreffend.
1722	Voyage de Madagascar, connu aussi sous le nom d'isle de Saint-Laurent. Par M. de V. (<i>Carpeau de Saussay</i>), Commissaire provincial de l'artillerie de France.	12mo, Paris. Chez Jean Luc Nyon. Répétition de la carte de Flacourt—(<i>Barbié du Bocage</i>).
1729	Madagascar; or, Journal during Fifteen Years' Captivity on that Island. By ROBERT DRURY.	8vo, London. The authenticity of this work is doubtful, it has been attributed to Defoe—(<i>S. P. O.</i>) Other editions, 1743, 1808, 1831.
1731	2d edition of above.	Paris. Addressed to M. Chauvelin, Keeper of the Seals. Recently published in the <i>Révue de Géographie</i> , par M. Marcel, 1883—(<i>S. P. O.</i>)
„	Mémoire sur Madagascar. Par M. GROSSIN.	

Date.	Title of Work and Name of Author.	Publisher, Place of Publication, and Remarks.
1734	Histoire des découvertes et conquêtes des Portugais dans le Nouveau Monde. Par le R. P. JOSEPH-FRANÇOIS LAFITAN, de la Compagnie de Jésus.	Paris—(<i>Barbié du Bocage</i>).
1737	History of the Indian Wars; with an account of the Rise, Progress, Strength, and Forces of Angria the Pyrate. By CLEMENT DOWNING.	12mo, London. This rare volume contains an account of a squadron under Commodore Matthews, sent to the East Indies to suppress the Pyrates; also an account of John Plantain, notorious pyrate of Madagascar.
1742-43	Dagregister nopens het merkwaerdigste voorgevallen gedurende de reyze met het Hoekerschip de Brak na en van Madagascar, 1741.	Manuscript des Niederländischen Reichsarchivs—(<i>Paulitschke</i>).
1748	Allerneueste Nachricht von Madagascar aus dem Leben des jetzigen Beherrschers dieses Insel.	Frankfort and Leipsic.
1750	Lettres inédites de CHARLES NACQUART, Prêtre de la Mission de Madagascar, à M. Vincent, Supérieur Général de la Mission, datées 1750 du Fort Dauphin, habitation des Français.	Manuscript der Bibliothek zu Mans, Beobachtungen über Land und Leute von Madagascar enthaltend—(<i>Paulitschke</i>).
„	Lettres inédites de CHARLES NACQUART, Prêtre de la Mission du Fort Dauphin, habitation des Français; Observations de l'auteur dans l'île de Madagascar.	Manuscript. Bibliothèque du Mans, No. 187—(<i>Barbié du Bocage</i>).
„	New East India Directory. By HERBERT.	London.
1759	2d edition of above.	.....
1766	Memoir of a Chart, Madagascar and Comoro. By the Hon. THOS. HOWE.	See Dalrymple's <i>Memoirs</i> —(<i>S.P.O.</i>)
1768	Voyages d'un philosophe. Par M. POIVRE, Intendant à l'île de France.	Yverdun.
1772	Neptune Orientale. Par M. D'APRÈS DE MANNEVILLETTE.	Paris. French Government.
1773	Vocabulaire Français-Malgache et Malgache-Français. Par CHALLAND.	8vo. Imprimé à Île de France—(<i>Barbié du Bocage</i>).
„	Voyages. Par BERNARDIN DE ST. PIERRE.	Amsterdam.
„	Voyage à l'Île de France. Par BERNARDIN DE ST. PIERRE.	1st edition, 2 vols., 8vo, Amsterdam.
1776	Voyage à la Nouvelle Guinée. Par P. SONNERAT.	4to, Paris.
1778-87	Idea dell' Universo. Par LORENZO HERVAS.	21 vols. 4to, Cesène. Les cinq derniers vols., contiennent de nombreux éléments de philologie madécasse—(<i>Note du Père Rivière</i>).
1780	Voyage dans les mers de l'Inde, fait par ordre du roi, à l'occasion du passage de Venus sur le disque du soleil, le 6 Juin 1761, et le 3 du même mois 1769. Par M. LE GENTIL, de l'Académie Royale des Sciences.	5 vols. 8vo. En Suisse—(<i>Barbié du Bocage</i>).
1781	Do.	2 vols.

Date.	Title of Work and Name of Author.	Publisher, Place of Publication, and Remarks.
1782	Voyage aux Indes Orientales, 1774-81. Par P. SONNERAT.	4to, Paris.
1785	Oriental Navigator. Edited by Captain JOSEPH HUDDART, F.R.S.	London. With an atlas of 108 charts—(<i>Findlay</i>).
1787	Idées préliminaires sur le privilège exclusif de la Compagnie des Indes. (Anonym.)	4to, Paris. Chez Lottin l'aîné et Lottin de St. Germain—(<i>Barbié du Bocage</i>).
„	Chansons Madécasses traduites en Français. Par LE CHEVALIER DE PARNY.	Paris.
1790	Les Mémoires et Voyages de MAURICE AUGUSTE COMTE DE BENYOWSKY, écrits par lui-même. [Edited by W. Nicholson.]	2 vols. 8vo, London. Chez G. C. J. and J. Robinson.
1797	Oriental Navigator. By Captain JOSEPH HUDDART, F.R.S.	4to, 2d edition.
1801	3d edition of above. Reprint.	A 4th edition was published in 1808, like the others, a goodly quarto of 755 pages.
„	Voyages faits dans l'intervalle des années 1784-1801. Par M. DE GUIGNES.	.....
1801-4	Voyage aux îles d'Afrique. Par BORY DE SAINT-VINCENT.	4 vols., Paris.
1801-10	Les trois âges des colonies ou de leur état passé, présent et à venir. Par M. DE PRADT, membre de l'Assemblée constituante.	3 vols. 8vo, Paris. Chez Giguet et Cie.—(<i>Barbié du Bocage</i>).
1802	Voyages à Madagascar, à Maroc et aux Indes Orientales. Par ALEXIS ROCHON, membre de l'Institut national de France.	3 vols. 8vo, Paris. Accompagné d'une carte géographique de Madagascar, d'un vocabulaire Madé-gasse, An X. de la République. ¹
1803	Translation of above by Jos. Trapp: Voyage to Madagascar by the Abbé Rochon.	8vo. See also Pinkerton's <i>Voyages</i> , vol. x.
„	Mémoire relatif à l'île de Madagascar. Par le Citoyen LES-CALLIER.	Lu le 17 fructidor, An IX., Paris. Mémoire de l'Institut, tom iv. An XI.
„	Moyens d'amélioration et de restauration proposés au Gouvernement et aux habitants des colonies, ou mélanges politiques, économiques, agricoles et commerciaux et relatifs aux colonies. Par le Citoyen J. F. CHARPENTIER-COSSIGNY, ex-ingénieur, etc.	3 vols. 8vo, Paris. Chez Marchant An XI.
1804	Histoire des végétaux recueillis sur les îles de France La Réunion (Bourbon) et Madagascar, Genera nova Madagascariensia. Par AUBERT DU PETIT-THOUARS.	Paris.
1806	Memoir of a Chart of the N.W. Coast of Madagascar, 1803. By Capt. DAVID INVERARITY.	In Dalrymple's <i>Nautical Memoirs</i> , published for the East India Company, and reprinted for Royal Navy. 1806.
„	Histoire des végétaux recueillis dans les îles Australes de l'Afrique. Par AUBERT DU PETIT-THOUARS.	Paris. Tourneisen.

¹ Le mémoire du comte de Modave est reproduit en entier dans le *Voyage à Madagascar et aux Indes Orientales* de l'Abbé Rochon, Paris, 1791 et 1793. Alexis-Marie de Rochon, né à Brest en 1741, mort membre de l'Institut en 1817 (*Blanchard*).

Date.	Title of Work and Name of Author.	Publisher, Place of Publication, and Remarks.
1809	Dictionnaire Français - madecasse. Par BARTHELEMI HUET, CHEVALIER DE FROBERVILLE, ancien capitaine de l'infanterie.	3 vols., Île-de-France.
"	Histoire de Madagascar ou Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de l'île de Madagascar, rédigés, mis en ordre, et publiés sur les notes manuscrites de MM. MAYEUR, DUMAINE, et autres, et enrichis des extraits de plusieurs voyages anciens et modernes. Par BARTHELEMI HUET, CHEVALIER DE FROBERVILLE, ancien capitaine de l'infanterie.	2 vols., Île-de-France en Afrique. M. Mayeur, interprète du gouvernement dont les relations sont insérées dans cet ouvrage, a fait quatre voyages dans l'intérieur de l'île; en 1774, dans le nord; Avril de la même année, au pays des Séclaves, côte Ouest; en 1777, au pays d'Ancove, dans l'intérieur des terres, par ordre de Benyowsky; en 1785, au même pays d'Ancove par le pays d'Ancaye—(<i>Barbié du Bocage</i>).
"	East India Directory. By Capt. JAS. HORSBURGH, hydrographer to the H.E.I.C.S., part i.	London. The plan and arrangement of the <i>Oriental Navigator</i> are copied, and much is derived from the <i>Neptune Orientale</i> , but without indicating his sources. This has been almost entirely followed down to the recent editions, and thus the French author to whom the credit belongs has been ignored—(<i>Findlay</i>).
1811	The same, part ii.	.....
1813	Oriental Commerce, containing a geographical description of the principal places in the East Indies, China, and Japan, with their produce, etc. By WILLIAM MILBURN, Esq., of the Hon. East India Company's Service.	2 vols. 4to, London—(<i>Barbié du Bocage</i>).
"	Mémoire sur Madagascar. Par M. RONDEAUX.	?—(<i>Barbié du Bocage</i>).
1814	Voyage à l'Île de France. Par MILBERT, ed. par Roquefort.	.....
?	Essay on Colonisation. By — WADSTROM.	Quoted by Copland.
1815	Memoirs. By Major-General ANDREW BURN.	2 vols. 8vo, London. Winchester and Son (Library R.U. Service Institution). Quoted by Copland. "In the year 1780 General Burn visited Madagascar on his passage from the East Indies, and landed at St. Augustine's Bay, where he remained about six weeks."
1819	Memoir and explanatory notice of a chart of Madagascar and the north-eastern Archipelago of Mauritius; drawn up according to the latest observations under the auspices and government of His Excellency Robert Townsend Farquhar, governor. By LISLET GEOFFROY.	4to, London. John Murray. Cet ouvrage qui est suivi d'une courte notice fournie par M. Barbarin, sur les vents qui règnent à la côte de Madagascar, est publié à la fois en Français et en Anglais. Il est accompagné d'une carte de Madagascar et îles adjacentes, dressée par M. Lislet Geoffroy—(<i>Barbié du Bocage</i>).
1820	A narrative of the loss of the <i>Winterton</i> , East Indiaman, wrecked on the coast of Madagascar in 1792,	8vo, Edinburgh. Map and plates.

Date.	Title of Work and Name of Author.	Publisher, Place of Publication, and Remarks.
	to which is subjoined a short account of the Natives of Madagascar. By Mr. BUCHAN of Kelloe.	
1822	Voyage aux Colonies Orientales, ou lettres écrites des îles de France et de Bourbon pendant les années 1817, 1818, 1819, et 1820, à M. le Comte de Montalivet, pair de France. Par AUGUSTE BILLIARD.	Paris— <i>Barbié du Bocage</i> .
"	Histoire des plantes découvertes à Madagascar, l'île de France, et Bourbon. Par DU PETIT-THOUARS.	(<i>Sibree</i> .)
"	History of the Island of Madagascar, comprising a Political account of the Islands, the Religions, etc., of its Inhabitants, and its Natural Productions. By SAMUEL CORLAND.	8vo, London. Burton and Smith. With map—(<i>S. P. O.</i> and <i>Sibree</i>).
1825	Voyage à l'île de France. Par PIERRE BRUNET, relation des Voyages faits par l'auteur vers 1803.	Paris.
1827	The Widowed Missionary's Journal, containing some account of Madagascar, and also the narrative of the missionary career of the Rev. J. Jeffreys. By KETURAH JEFFREYS.	Southampton—(<i>Sibree</i>).
1830-39	Voyage de la Corvette L'Astrolabe . . . pendant les années 1826-29. Par DUMONT D'URVILLE.	12 vols., Paris. "Ces volumes contiennent des documents exacts et précieux sur la langue et les richesses naturelles de la grande île Africaine."
1833	Faune entomologique de Madagascar, Bourbon et Maurice. Par BOISDUVAL.	Paris.
"	Narrative of Voyages to explore the shores of Africa, Arabia, and Madagascar, performed in H.M. Ships "Leven" and "Barracouta," under the direction of Captain W. F. W. Owen, R.N. Edited by Lieut. H. B. ROBINSON.	2 vols. 8vo, London. Richard Bentley, New Burlington Street. Plates and charts.
"	Histoire des révolutions de Madagascar, depuis 1642 jusqu'à nos jours. Par M. ACKERMAN.	Paris—(<i>Barbié du Bocage</i>). M. Ackerman was in medical charge of the French posts.
1835	A Dictionary of the Malagasy Language. English-Malagasy by J. J. FREEMAN; Malagasy-English by D. JOHNS.	Antananarivo. Printed at the Press of the London Missionary Society by R. Kitching.
1836	Précis sur les établissements formés à Madagascar; imprimé par ordre de M. l'amiral Duperré, pair de France, Ministre Secrétaire d'État de la Marine et des Colonies.	Paris. Imprimerie royale—(<i>Barbié du Bocage</i>).
1838	Essai sur Madagascar. Par M. LE BARON D'UNIENVILLE, Archiviste Colonial de l'île Maurice.	Paris— <i>Barbié du Bocage</i> .
"	History of Madagascar, comprising also the progress of the Christian Mission established in 1818; and	2 vols. 8vo, London. Fisher, Son, and Co., Newgate Street, and Quai de l'Ecole, Paris. Maps and

Date.	Title of Work and Name of Author.	Publisher, Place of Publication, and Remarks.
	an authentic account of the persecutions and recent martyrdom of the native Christians. Compiled chiefly from original documents by the Rev. WILLIAM ELLIS, Foreign Secretary to the London Missionary Society.	plates. The standard work on Madagascar up to date of 1830.
1838-39	Log-book of the Schooner "Eliza Scott," from July 1838 to September 1839, during her voyage from London to New Zealand, on discovery to the southwards and to Madagascar. By WILLIAM MOORE, Chief Mate.	MS., 4to. Royal Geographical Society—(S. P. O.)
1839-43	Rapports sur les travaux de la Société d'histoire naturelle de l'île Maurice. Par M. BOJER.	Maurice. M. Bojer a signalé divers arbres et beaucoup d'arbrisseaux qu'il avait vus pendant ses voyages en Madagascar—(Blanchard).
1840	Notices Statistiques sur les Colonies française, imprimées par ordre de M. le Vice-amiral Baron Roussin, Ministre Secrétaire d'État de la Marine et des Colonies. Madagascar et les îles Saint Pierre et Miquelon.	Paris. Imprimerie Royale.
"	Voyage à Madagascar et aux îles Comores (1823 à 1830), par B. F. LEGUEVEL DE LACOMBE; précédé d'une notice historique et géographique sur Madagascar, par M. EUGÈNE DE FROBERVILLE, membre de la Société de Géographie.	2 vols. 8vo, Paris. Avec un atlas de vues et costumes et deux cartes géographiques. Pour la carte générale de l'île, M. Leguevel s'est servi en partie de la carte de Lislet Geoffroy qui pêche par trop de détails—(Barbié du Bocage). See Appendix—(S. P. O.)
"	A narrative of the Persecution of the Christians in Madagascar, with details of the escape of the six Christian Refugees now in England. By J. J. FREEMAN and D. JOHNS, formerly Missionaries in the island.	12mo, London. John Snow. Coloured frontispiece and vignette—(Sibree).
"	Notices Statistiques sur les Colonies françaises.	Paris. Imprimerie Royale. Publication officielle. 4 vols. 8vo.—(S. P. O.)
1844	Colonisation de Madagascar. Par DÉSIRÉ LAVERDANT, membre de la Société Maritime de Paris.	8vo, Paris. Amyot. Renferme Bibliographie Ouvrage accompagné d'une carte. Publications de la Société Maritime—(Jas. Jackson and Barbié du Bocage).
1845	Essay on the Malagasy Grammar. By GRIFFITHS and BAKER.	Mauritius—(S. P. O.)
"	Histoire de l'établissement français de Madagascar pendant la Restauration, précédé d'une description de cette île, et suivie de quelques considérations politiques et commerciales sur l'expédition et la colonisation de Madagascar. Par L. CARYON, Capitaine d'artillerie et ancien Commandant par interim dudit établissement.	Paris. Ouvrage accompagné d'une carte. M. Carayon a publié la partie de son travail contenant le précis historique sur le peuple Hôva, et l'appréciation des derniers événements de Tamatave—(Barbié du Bocage).
"	The Anglo-Indian Passage, homeward and outward. By DAVID LESTER RICHARDSON.	8vo, London.

Date.	Title of Work and Name of Author.	Publisher, Place of Publication, and Remarks.
1845	Documents sur l'histoire, la géographie et le commerce de la partie occidentale de Madagascar. Recueillis et rédigés par M. GUIL-LAIN, Capitain de corvette.	8vo, avec carte, Paris. Arthur Bertrand. Libraire de la Société de Géographie. Cet ouvrage, extrait des Annales maritimes et coloniales, est accompagnée d'une carte de la côte occidentale de l'île. Il se divise en deux parties ; histoire politique du peuple Sakalave, et voyage fait à la côte ouest de Madagascar en 1842 et 1843—(<i>Barbié du Bocage</i>).
1846	Histoire et géographie de Madagascar. Par M. MACÉ DESCARTES, membre titulaire de la Société Orientale de Paris.	Paris. Ouvrage accompagné d'une carte—(<i>Barbié du Bocage</i>). Macé Descartes was the pseudonym adopted by M. Henry d'Escamps, who has written a revised edition in 1884 (see p. 243)—(<i>S. P. O.</i>)
1847	Madagascar, Past and Present By a Resident.	London. ? Mr. Baker—(<i>Sibree</i>).
1848	L'Univers, ou Histoire et description de tous les peuples, de leurs religions, etc., volume des îles de l'Afrique, par M. D'AVEZAC ; art. Îles Madagascar, Bourbon, et Maurice. Par M. VICTOR CHAR-LIER.	Paris—(<i>Barbié du Bocage</i>).
„	Madagascar et la France. Par H. CHAUVOT.	Paris. Ouvrage accompagné d'une carte—(<i>Barbié du Bocage</i>).
„	Documents sur l'histoire, la géographie et le commerce de l'Afrique orientale. Recueillis et rédigés par M. GUILLAIN, Capitaine de vaisseau, publiés par ordre du Gouvernement.	3 vols. 8vo, et atlas, Paris.—(<i>Barbié du Bocage</i>).
1850	Renseignements nautiques sur Nossi-Bé, Nossi-Mitsiou, Bavatoubé, etc. (côte N.-O. de Madagascar), et sur l'île Mayotte. Par M. JEHENNE, Capitaine de corvette, Commandant la gabare "La Prévoyante," publiés par ordre de M. le Ministre de la Marine.	Paris. Dépôt général de la marine. Cet ouvrage est extrait des Annales maritimes et coloniales (Mars 1843)—(<i>Barbié du Bocage</i>).
1851	Rapport commercial sur la côte orientale d'Afrique. Par M. LOARER, Capitaine au long cours, délégué du ministère de l'agriculture et du commerce dans l'exploration faite par M. le Capitaine Guillain, Commandant le "Ducouédic." 1846-47-48-49.	Paris. Autographié par ordre du ministre de l'agriculture et du commerce—(<i>Barbié du Bocage</i>).
„	Considérations générales sur l'Océan Indien. Par Capitaine CHAS. PHILIPPE DE KERHALET.	Paris. Dépôt général de la marine. Chief authority for routes through Mozambique Channel and east of Madagascar—(<i>Findlay</i>).
1853	Encyclopédie moderne. Au mot Madagascar : géographie et histoire de Madagascar. Par M. AMÉDÉE TARDIEU. Madagascar (linguistique). Par M. LÉON VAISSE.	Paris. Publiée par Firmin Didot frères—(<i>Barbié du Bocage</i>).

Date.	Title of Work and Name of Author.	Publisher, Place of Publication, and Remarks.
1853	Considérations Générales sur l'Océan Indien. Par M. CH. PHILIPPE DE KERHALLET, Capitaine de frégate, etc.	Paris. Dépôt général de la marine —(<i>Barbié du Bocage</i>). 2d edition.
1853-55	Dictionnaire Français - Malegache et Malegache-Français.	2 vols., Réunion. Établissement malegache de Notre-Dame de la Ressource île Bourbon. Cet ouvrage n'est que la reproduction du dictionnaire des Reverends Freeman & Johns qui avait été imprimé à Antananarivo en 1835—(<i>Descamps</i>).
1854	A Grammar of the Malagasy Language in the Ankova dialect. By D. GRIFFITHS.	12mo, Woodbridge.
1855	Grammaire élémentaire Malegache. Par le Père WEBER.	Réunion. Un chef d'œuvre magistral de science philologique, qu'il sera difficile de dépasser et même d'égaler—(<i>Descamps</i>).
1856	La question de Madagascar après la question d'Orient. Par le COMTE DE GAALON DE BARZAY.	Paris. Ouvrage accompagné d'une carte—(<i>Barbié du Bocage</i>).
1857	De la Transportation. Aperçus législatifs, philosophiques, et politiques sur la colonisation pénitentiaire. Par C. O. BARBAROUX, conseiller d'État, ancien procureur général à l'île de la Réunion et en Algérie.	Paris. Ouvrage accompagné d'une carte de Madagascar—(<i>Barbié du Bocage</i>).
1858	Notice sur les Colonies françaises in 1858, histoire, commerce, productions. Par M. ROY.	Paris. Dupont. Publication Officielle—(<i>S. P. O.</i>)
"	Three Visits to Madagascar during the years 1853, 1854, 1856, including a journey to the Capital, with notices of the Natural History of the country and of the present civilisation of the people. By the Rev. WILLIAM ELLIS, F.H.S., London Missionary Society.	London. John Murray, Albemarle Street. Illustrated by woodcuts from photographs, and original sketches, and accompanied by a map, and portrait of the author.
1859	Histoire de l'île Bourbon depuis 1643 jusqu'au 20 Décembre 1848. Par M. GEORGES AZEMA, Greffier de la justice de Paix de Saint-Denis, Conseiller Municipal de cette Commune, et Membre de la Chambre consultative de l'île de la Réunion.	Paris. Henri Plon Imprimeur-Éditeur, Rue Garancière 8—(<i>S. P. O.</i>)
"	Madagascar, Possession Française depuis 1642. Par V. A. BARBIÉ DU BOCAGE, Membre de la Commission Centrale de la Société de Géographie et de la Société de l'Histoire de France, etc. ¹	Paris. Arthur Bertrand, Éditeur. Libraire de la Société de Géographie, 21 Rue Hautefeuille. Ouvrage accompagné d'une grande carte, dressée par M. V. A. Malte-Brun, Secrétaire adjoint de la société de Géographie.
1860	Les Voyages à Madagascar du docteur William Ellis. Par OCTAVE SACHOT.	Paris.

¹ Almost the whole of the preceding list of books is taken from this standard work of M. Barbié du Bocage, who gives a compendious "Notice Bibliographique" at the end, which is quoted by M. Sibree in *Antananarivo Annual*, No. II., 1876. In addition M. du Bocage also gives an exhaustive list of articles on Madagascar published in various reviews and periodicals, etc., which has been amplified and continued to date by Sibree. From 1859 the list is continued from a notice by Mr. Jas. Sibree, L.M.S., and other sources.

Date.	Title of Work and Name of Author.	Publisher, Place of Publication, and Remarks.
1860-62	Album de l'Île de la Réunion.	2 vols. 4to, Saint-Denis.
1861	Ornithologischer Beitrag zur Fauna Madagascars. DR. G. HARTLAUB.	Bremen.
"	The last travels of Ida Pfeiffer, inclusive of a visit to Madagascar. Translated by H. W. Dulcken, Ph.D.	London.
1862	Voyage à Madagascar par Madame Ida Pfeiffer. Traduit de l'Allemand avec l'autorisation de la famille de l'auteur. Par W. DE SUCKAU, et précédé d'une notice historique sur Madagascar par FRANCIS RIAUX.	Paris. Librairie de L. Hachette et Cie.
"	Connaissance de Madagascar. Par LOUIS LACAILLE.	Paris.
"	Relation du Voyage à Tanànarivo. Par le T. R. P. JOUEN.	(?)
"	Précis sur les établissements français de Madagascar. Par FRANCIS RIAUX.	Paris. Publié par le département de la marine.
"	Madagascar: its Missions and its Martyrs. By the Rev. E. PROUT.	London—(Sibree).
"	Notice géographique et historique sur l'île de Madagascar. Par EUGÈNE DE FROBERVILLE.	
1863	Madagascar: its social and religious progress. By Mrs. ELLIS.	London.
"	Compagnie de Madagascar, Rapport du Gouverneur du Conseil d'Administration sur la Fondation de la Compagnie. Par LAMBERT.	Paris.
"	La Question de Madagascar. Par L. CRÉMAZY.	8vo, Paris. Dentu.
"	Madagascar et le roi Radàma II. Par le R. P. HENRY DE REGNON, Procureur des Missions de Madagascar et du Maduré.	Paris. Charles Douniol, Libraire, Rue de Tournon 29. Accomagné d'un extrait des notes du R. P. Jouen, S.J., Préfet Apostolique de Madagascar.
"	Copies or extracts of Papers relating to the Congratulatory Mission to King Radàma of Madagascar on his accession to the throne, 1861. And of Correspondence and Papers relating to the Mission to Madagascar in 1862.	London. Parliamentary paper. Missions of Colonel Middleton and General Johnstone.
"	Trois Mois de Séjour à Madagascar. Par JULES DUPRÉ, Capitaine de vaisseau, Commandant la division navale des côtes orientales d'Afrique.	Paris.
1864	Les Colonies et la Politique Coloniale de la France. Par M. JULES DUVAL.	Paris. Arthur Bertrand, avec carte de Madagascar par M. V. A. Malte-Brun.
"	Voyage à Madagascar. Par Dr. AUGUSTE VINSON.	Paris.
"	Les Habitants de Madagascar et des îles voisines sous l'influence du Christianisme. Par le R. P. HENRY DE REGNON, de la Compagnie de Jésus.	Paris. B. CHARLES MATHIEU, Rue du Four-Saint-Germain 15—(S. P. O.)

Date.	Title of Work and Name of Author.	Publisher, Place of Publication, and Remarks.
1864	Madagascar et ses deux premiers évêques. Par Mgr. AMAND-RENÉ MAUPONT, Évêque de St. Denis (Réunion).	2 vols., Paris. Dillet. Tom. i., Mgr. Dalmond. Tom. ii., Mgr. Monnet.
,,	Madagascar et des Madécasses : Histoire, Mœurs, Productions du Pays, Curiosités Naturelles. Par OCTAVE SACHOT.	Paris.
,,	Mauritius and Madagascar. By V. RYAN, Bishop of Mauritius.	London. Seeley, Jackson, & Halliday, 54 Fleet Street.
,,	Les Colonies et la Politique Coloniale de la France. Par JULES DUVAL.	Paris. Bertrand. With map of Madagascar by Malte-Brun.
1865	Madagascar and its people. By LYONS M'LEOD, Esq., F.R.G.S., late British Consul at Mozambique.	With a map from vol. xx. Royal Geographical Society's Journal—(S. P. O.)
,,	Voyage à Madagascar au couronnement de Radama II. Par le Docteur VINSON.	Paris.
,,	The Gospel in Madagascar. A brief sketch of the Mission in that island. With a preface by the Bishop of Mauritius.	London. Seeley, Jackson, & Halliday.
,,	Madagascar and the Malagasy : with Sketches in the Provinces of Tamatave, Bétanimèna, and Ankôva. By Lient. S. P. OLIVER, R.A., F.R.G.S.	London. Day & Son, Gate Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields. With sketch of route from Tamatave to Antananarivo, and 24 original sketches reproduced in chromolithography. This work contains an account of the British Mission despatched by H.M.'s Government to be present at the coronation of King Radama II. (1862.)
1866	Mémoires de la Congrégation de la Mission, T. ix. Art. Par M. l'abbé DURAND, autrefois prêtre missionnaire, et depuis curé de Maule (Seine-et-Oise).	Paris.
,,	Outlines of a grammar of the Malagasy Language. By H. VAN DER TUUK.	London.
,,	Notices sur les Colonies Françaises.	8vo, Paris. Dupont.
,,	The Geographical Distribution of Mammals. By ANDREW MURRAY, F.L.S.	Atlas in 4to. 4to, London.
1867	Les Pays Lointains, Notes de Voyage (La Californie, Maurice, Aden, Madagascar). Par L. SIMONIN.	Paris. Challamel aîné, 30 Rue des Boulangers.
,,	Recherches sur la Faune de Madagascar et ces dépendances, d'après les découvertes de MM. FRANÇOIS P. L. POLLEN et D. C. VAN DAM.	Leyden. J. K. Steenhoff, Éditeur. contenant, en cinq parties :—(1) Relation du Voyage, (2) Mammifères et Oiseaux, (3) Reptiles, (4) Poissons, (5) Insectes, Crustacés, Mollusques, etc.
,,	Documents sur la Compagnie de Madagascar, précédés d'une Notice Historique. Publiés par les soins de M. le Baron Paul de Riche- mont, Sénateur, Ancien Gouverneur de la Compagnie.	Paris. Challamel aîné, Commissionnaire pour la marine, les colonies et l'Orient, 27 Rue de Bellechasse.

Date.	Title of Work and Name of Author.	Publisher, Place of Publication, and Remarks.
1867	Madagascar Revisited : describing the events of a new reign, and the revolution which followed ; setting forth also the persecutions endured by the Christians and their heroic sufferings, with notices of the present state and prospects of the people. By the Rev. WILLIAM ELLIS, L.M.S.	London. John Murray. With numerous illustrations from photographs, and a map of Antanànarivo from actual survey by James Cameron.
?	L'île de Madagascar. Par M. E. BLANCHARD.	Paris. J. Clay, Imprimeur.
1869	Les Hóvas et autres tribus caractéristiques de Madagascar. Par S. P. OLIVER, Lieut. R.A.	Guernsey. De l'imprimerie de E. le Lièvre, Bordage.
1870	Madagascar and its People, Notes of a four years' residence ; with a sketch of the History, Position, and Prospects of Mission Work amongst the Malagasy. By JAMES SIBREE jun., L.M.S., Architect of the Memorial Churches, Antanànarivo.	London. The Religious Tract Society.
„	An Introduction to the Language and Literature of Madagascar, with hints to travellers, and a new map. By the Rev. JULIUS KESSLER.	London. Hunt & Co.
1871	The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian. By Col. HENRY YULE. (2d ed. 1875.)	2 vols. 8vo, London. Maps and illustrations.
1871-84	Reports of the Friends' Foreign Mission Association referring to Madagascar. 1871-1884.	London.
1872	Grammaire Malegache-Hóva. Par le Père LAURENT AILLOUD.	Antanànarivo. Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique. Ornée du portrait en photographie du Père Ailloud et de son élève Ratahiry, Prince Malegache—(Descamps).
„	Île de Madagascar. Par M. E. BLANCHARD.	Paris. J. Clay, Imprimeur.
„	Madagascar et ses habitants. Par JAMES SIBREE jun., Traduit de l'Anglais par M. H. Monod, pasteur, et Henry Monod, avocat, Toulouse, Soc.	Paris. Avec une carte et illustrations. Société des livres religieux.
(1881)	Idem. Traduction allemande.	Leipsic. F. A. Brockhaus. (Ne renferme pas bibliographie) — (James Jackson).
1873	The translation of the Malagasy Bible. By the Rev. W. E. COUSINS, L.M.S.	Antanànarivo. F.F.M.A. Press.
„	Recollections of Mission Life in Madagascar during the early days of the L.M.S. By Mr. JAMES CAMERON.	Antanànarivo. F.F.M.A. Press.
„	Life of William Ellis, Missionary. By his son, JOHN EIMEO ELLIS, with a supplementary chapter by HENRY ALLON, D.D.	London. John Murray. With a Portrait—(S. P. O.)
1874	Proceedings of a Missionary Conference held in Antanànarivo in January 1874.	Antanànarivo. F.F.M.A. Press.

Date.	Title of Work and Name of Author,	Publisher, Place of Publication, and Remarks.
1874	From Fianàrantsòà to Mānanjàra: Notes of a Missionary Journey. By Mr. G. A. SHAW, L.M.S.	Antanànarivo. F.F.M.A. Press.
"	Notes of a Journey to Antsihànaka and back. By the Rev. J. SIBREE, L.M.S.	.....
1875	The Sàkalàva: Notes of a Journey from Antanànarivo to some towns on the border of the Sàkalàva territory in June and July 1875. By JOSEPH S. SEWELL, F.F.M.A.	Antanànarivo. F.F.M.A. Press.
"	From Fianàrantsòà to Ikòngo: Notes of a Missionary Journey. By Mr. G. A. SHAW, L.M.S.	Antanànarivo. F.F.M.A. Press.
"	Twelve Months in Madagascar. By JOSEPH MULLENS, D.D., Foreign Secretary of the London Missionary Society.	London. Jas. Nisbet and Co., 21 Berners Street. With illustrations and important map of the central provinces of the island from sketch survey—(S. P. O.)
"	Antanànarivo Annual, No. 1.	Antanànarivo. L.M.S.
1876	Joseph C. Sewell and his work in Madagascar. By HENRY E. CLARK, F.F.M.A.	Antanànarivo. F.F.M.A. Press.
"	South-East Madagascar. By the Rev. J. SIBREE.	Antanànarivo. F.F.M.A. Press.
"	Remarks on Slavery in Madagascar; with an Address on the subject delivered at Antanànarivo. By JOSEPH S. SEWELL, F.F.M.A.	London.
"	Some Remarks on Writing Malagasy. By Mr. LOUIS STREET, F.F.M.A.	Antanànarivo. F.F.M.A. Press.
"	A Reply and a Justification: a Critique on "Some Remarks on Writing Malagasy." By the Rev. J. RICHARDSON, L.M.S.	Antanànarivo. L.M.S. Press.
"	The Malagasy Language: a Paper read before the Philological Society. By the Rev. W. E. COUSINS.	London.
"	North-East Madagascar: A Narrative of a Missionary Town. By the Rev. J. HOULDER, L.M.S.	Antanànarivo. L.M.S. Press.
"	The Geographical Distribution of Animals. By A. R. WALLACE.	2 vols. post 8vo. Macmillan & Co. See vol. i. chapter viii.
"	Grammaire Malgache avec recueil de proverbes. Par MARRE DE MARIN, Professeur de langues orientales.	8vo, Paris. Chez Maisonneuve, Quai Voltaire 15.
"	Antanànarivo Annual, No. II.	Antanànarivo. L.M.S.
1876-84	Reports of the Madagascar Mission for the years 1876 to 1884.	Antanànarivo. L.M.S. Press.
1877	An Ancient Account of Madagascar. Translated from the German of Hieronymus Megiserus. With Introductory Notice by the Rev. J. SIBREE, L.M.S.	Antanànarivo. F.F.M.A. Press.
"	Um Afrika: Skizzen von der Reise S. Majestät Corvette "Helgoland," in den Jahren 1873-75. Von LEOPOLD VON JEDINA.	Vienna, Pesth, Leipsic. A Hartleben's Verlag. With 70 illustrations and notices of Tullear, Nòsy - Bé, Mojangà, etc.; with chart of track of the "Helgoland" —(S. P. O.)

Date.	Title of Work and Name of Author.	Publisher, Place of Publication, and Remarks.
1877	Lights and Shadows: or, Chequered experiences among some of the heathen tribes of Madagascar. By the Rev. J. RICHARDSON, L.M.S.	Antanânarivo. L.M.S. Press.
"	Renseignements utiles sur Madagascar. Ports et Mouillages du côtes est de l'île. Par E. LAILLET, Ingénieur, Membre de la Société Géographique.	Paris. Epinat. V. Collot imprimeurs.
"	Antanânarivo Annual, No. III.	L.M.S.
"	Die Vögel Madagascars und der benachbarten Inselgruppen. Ein Beitrag zur Zoologie der äthiopischen Region. VON G. HARTLAUB.	Halle. Druck und Verlag von H. W. Schmidt (see chapter vii.)
1878	The Church in Madagascar. Reprinted from the Friends' <i>Quarterly Examiner</i> . By H. E. CLARK.	London.
"	The Madagascar Mission: A Statement in reply to Recent Criticisms. By the Secretary of the Imèrina District Committee.	Antanânarivo. L.M.S. Press.
"	Three Years of Mission Work at Andévoranto, East Coast of Madagascar. By the Rev. H. W. LITTLE, Missionary, S.P.G.	Mauritius.
"	Les Colonies Françaises: leur organisation, leur administration. Par M. J. DELARBRE.	Paris. Berger-Levrault et Cie.—(S. P. O.)
"	Antanânarivo Annual, No. IV.	Antanânarivo. L.M.S.
1879	The Church in Madagascar. Reports of the S.P.G. Mission for 1874-1878.	London.
"	Baron Carl Klaus von der Decken's Reisen in Ost Afrika in der Jahren 1859-65.	Leipsic and Heidelberg. C. F. Winter. Renferme art. sur Madagascar, pp. 30-38—(<i>Jas. Jackson</i>).
"	The Great African Island: Chapters on Madagascar. By the Rev. JAMES SIBREE jun., F.R.G.S., L.M.S.	London. Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill. A popular account of recent researches in the physical geography, geology, and exploration of the country, and its natural history and botany, and in the origins and divisions, customs and language, superstitions, folk-lore, and religious beliefs and practices of the different tribes. With physical and ethnographical sketch-maps and four illustrations. Illustrations from Wallace's <i>Geographical Distribution of Animals</i> —(S. P. O.)
1879-84	Histoire Physique, naturelle et politique, de Madagascar. Par M. GRANDIDIER. The following volumes are published:— 5e partie. Mammifera. Vol. i. texte, 1re partie (vol. vi. of series). 5e partie. Mammifera. Vol. iv.,	Large 4to, Paris. Hachette et Cie, 79 Boulevard St. Germain. In course of publication. Will form about 28 volumes. "Magnifique ouvrage!" "Véritable monument scientifique!" Vols. vi., ix. are published at £15:10s., and vols. xii., xiii.,

Date.	Title of Work and Name of Author.	Publisher, Place of Publication, and Remarks.
1880	planches, 1re partie (vol. ix. of series). Géographie and Atlas. Die Geographische Erforschung des Afrikanischen Kontinents von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf unsere Tage. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Erdkunde von Dr. PHILIPP PAULITSCHKE. Zweite vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage.	xiv. at £20:7:6, to non-subscribers. See p. 267. Wien. Brockhausen & Bräuer. Renferme, pp. 311-314, une bibliographie d'environ 112 articles concernant les îles voisines de l'Afrique.
1881	On and Off Duty. Part II.: Lemuria. The Mascarene Islands and Madagascar. By Captain S. P. OLIVER, Royal Artillery.	London, 4to. W. H. Allen and Co. A valuable appendix is added by J. C. Baker, on the Natural History of Madagascar. Numerous woodcuts from original drawings by the author—(S. P. O.)
„	Recueil des actes organiques des Colonies.	Paris. Publication Officielle—(S. P. O.)
„	Antanânarivo Annual, No. V.	Antanânarivo. L.M.S.
„	Liste Provisoire de Bibliographies Géographiques Spéciales. Par JAMES JACKSON, Archiviste-Bibliothécaire de la Société de Géographie.	8vo, Paris. Société de Géographie, 184 Boulevard St. Germain. A valuable introduction to geographical literature.
„	Souvenirs de Madagascar. Par M. le Dr. H. LACAZE. Voyage à Madagascar. Histoire—Population—Mœurs—Institutions.	Paris. Berger-Levrault et Cie, Éditeurs de la Revue maritime et Coloniale et de l'Annuaire de la Marine. 5 Rue des Beaux-Arts. Avec une Carte et une Planche.
1882	Die Afrika-Literatur. ¹ By Dr. PHILIPP PAULITSCHKE.	Wien. Brockhausen & Bräuer.
„	La Question de Madagascar. Par J. BRENIER, Directeur du Courrier de Havre.	Paris. Challamel aîné. Libraire maritime et coloniale. 5 Rue Jacob. Dr. Lacaze made his journey in 1868-69—(S. P. O.)
„	Antanânarivo Annual, No. VI.	L.M.S.
„	Correspondance entre le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères de Madagascar et les Consuls de France et Commissaires du Gouvernement de la République.	Tananarive. Imprimerie de Sa Majesté La Reine de Madagascar au Palais, 1882.
1883	Notes sur Madagascar. Par M. LAURENT CRÉMAZY, Conseiller à la Cour d'Appel de la Réunion.	Plusieurs autres affaires ont été discutées par les deux parties, mais ce recueil ne contient que celles des terrains d'Ambodin'Andohalo et Ambohitsorohitra habitées par M. Laborde, du boudre français "Toulé" et la "Côte Nord-Ouest" de Madagascar. Copies certifiées conformes aux originaux : Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Ravoninahitriniarivo ; Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, 15me Hr. O.D.P.
„	Affaires Étrangères. Documents diplomatiques Affaires de Madagascar, 1881-83.	Paris. Berger-Levrault et Cie. Grand in 8e broché—(S. P. O.) Paris. Imprimerie Nationale.

¹ Die Afrika-Literatur in der Zeit von 1500 bis 1750 N.CH. Ein Beitrag zur Geographischen Quellenkunde, Gelegentlich des II. Deutschen Geographentages zu Halle A/S Veröffentlicht von Dr. Philipp Paulitschke, K.K. Professor.

Date.	Title of Work and Name of Author.	Publisher, Place of Publication, and Remarks.
1883	Recent Researches in Madagascar. By the Rev. JAS. SIBREE, Jun., L.M.S.	.....
„	Madagascar, La Reine des Îles Africaines. Histoire, Mœurs, Religion, Flora, etc. Par CHARLES BUCT.	Paris. Société Générale de Libraire Catholique. Victor Palmé, Directeur Général, 76 Rue des Saint-Pères. This work contains a portrait of the late M. Laborde, and a num- ber of illustrations, mostly taken from woodcuts in Mullens's work. One view of Fianàrantsôa is inaccurately described as "Vue générale de Tananarive"—(S.P.O.)
„	Faculté de Médecine de Paris—Essai de bibliographie médicale de Nosi-bé, près la côte nord-ouest de Madagascar (avec cartes). Thèse pour le doctorat en méde- cine. Présentée et soutenue par PAUL RICHARD DELENNE, Doc- teur de la Faculté de Paris, Médecin de la Marine. Ren- formes, Index bibliographique.	8vo, Paris. A. Parent, imprimeur de la Faculté de Médecine, A. Davy, successeur, 52 Rue Madame, et Rue Monsieur-le-Prince 14— (J. Jackson).
„	Polybiblion, Revue bibliographique universelle. Deuxième série, tom. dix-huitième, renformes. Cata- logue des ouvrages écrits sur Madagascar. Par M. E. RIVIÈRE, S.J.	Paris. Bureaux du Polybiblion, 195 Boulevard St. Germain— (Jas. Jackson).
1884	Voyage à Madagascar. Par J. L. MACQUARIE.	Paris. E. Deutre, Éditeur. Il- lustrations de L. Houssot d'après les croquis inédits de M. J.-B. Richard, Secrétaire de la Mission Française du Couronnement de Radâma II. A semi-fictitious narrative, badly illustrated. J.- B. Richard had no official status on the staff of Admiral Dupré's mission. This work appeared in 1883—(S. P. O.)
„	La France Orientale, Madagascar sa situation, ses produits, ses habit- ans, ses mœurs. La France à Madagascar depuis sa découverte jusqu'à nos jours. Par E. LAILLET.	Paris. Challamel.
„	Les Colonies Françaises en 1883. Deuxième Edition. Art. IV. Sainte - Marie - de - Madagascar. Art. IX. Mayotte. Art. X. Nossi-Bé.	Paris. Berger-Levrault et Cie. Publication Officielle. Par ordre du Ministère de la Marine et des Colonies—(S. P. O.)
„	Affaires Étrangères, Documents Diplomatique Affaires de Mada- gascar, 1882-1883.	Paris. Imprimerie Nationale. Les Notices Statistiques sur les Colonies françaises ont été ré- digées par la Direction des Colo- nies d'après les documents fournis par les administration locales. A valuable record.
„	La Colonisation Scientifique et les Colonies Françaises. Par M. le Dr. A. BORDIER.	Paris. C. Reinwald.

Date.	Title of Work and Name of Author.	Publisher, Place of Publication, and Remarks.
1884	Histoire de Madagascar, ses habitants et ses missionnaires. Par Le P. de la VAISSIÈRE, de la Compagnie de Jésus.	2 vols. 8vo, Paris. Victor Lecoffre, Éditeur, 90 Rue Bonaparte. This most interesting work was compiled at Antananarivo by Father de la Vaissière, from a mass of documents and materials accumulated by the late Father Finaz, previous to his death in 1880. The careful survey of the environs of Antananarivo, by Father Roblet, is attached to the second volume of this important book.
,,	Madagascar. Par P. de BEAUJEU.	Paris. Librairie patriotique, 148 Rue Montmartre.
,,	Madagascar: its History and People. By the Rev. HENRY W. LITTLE, some years Missionary in East Madagascar.	London and Edinburgh. Blackwood and Sons.
,,	Histoire et Géographie de Madagascar. Par H. D'ESCAMPS. Nouvelle Édition. Enrichie d'une carte de M. Alfred Grandidier.	Paris. Firmin Didot et Cie, Rue Jacob 56. This work is a considerably altered and enlarged reproduction of the work issued nearly 40 years ago by the same author, under the pseudonym of Macé Descartes.
,,	Les Français à Madagascar, avec Carte et Cartouches. Étude Géographique, physique, économique, historique et coloniale. Par LOUIS LEROY, Université de Paris. Renformes notice bibliographique.	Paris. Delagrave, 15 Rue Soufflot.
,,	Les Colonies Françaises. Par PAUL GAFFAREL.	8vo, Paris. Félix Alcan, Librairie Germer Baillière et Cie.
,,	Madagascar. Par M. LOUIS PAULIAT.	Paris. Calmann Lévy. Ancienne maison Michel Lévy frères, Rue Auber 3, et Boulevard des Italiens 15. A la Librairie Nouvelle. Dedicated À la mémoire du regretté Amiral Pierre, Commandant de l'Expédition Française de Madagascar en 1883. Qui sut tenir si haut le drapeau de la France en face des intrigues britanniques, et dont tous ceux qui l'ont approché gardent le souvenir comme celui d'un homme dont la mort a été une perte irréparable pour notre pays.
,,	Rapport fait au nom . . . d'un crédit le 5,361,000 francs pour les dépenses occasionnées par les événements de Madagascar. Par M. DE LANESSAN, Député.	Paris. Imprimerie de la Chambre des Députés.
,,	Do., Dépôts des Témoins.	Paris. Do. do.
,,	Correspondances diverses, et Rapports des Conférences entre les Plénipotentiaires du Gouvernement de la Reine de Madagascar et les Plénipotentiaires du Gouvernement de la République Française, depuis le 24 Juillet, jusqu'au 10 Juin 1884.	Antananarivo. Notontaina tamy ny presin' ny H.M. Mpanjakany Madagaskara ao Avara-drova.

Date.	Title of Work and Name of Author.	Publisher, Place of Publication, and Remarks.
1884	Madagascar. Par H. CASTONNET DES FOSSES.	Paris. Librairie de la Société Bibliographique, 195 Boulevard Saint-Germain. One of the series, Voyages et Découverts Géographiques collection, publiée sous la direction de M. le Vicomte H. de Bizemont.
1885	Rapports des Négociations qui eurent lieu entre le Gouvernement de Madagascar et les Plénipotentiaires Français à Tamatave, par la médiation amicale de M. D. Maigrot, Consul de S. M. le Roi d'Italie, du 13 Juin au 17 Aout 1885.	Antananarivo. Notontaina tamy ny presin' ny H. M. Mpanjakanany Madagaskara ao Avara-drova.
„	Madagascar and France, with some Account of the Island, its People, its Resources, and Development. By GEORGE A. SHAW, F.Z.S., London Mission, Tamatave.	London. The Religious Tract Society, 56 Paternoster Row, 65 St. Paul's Churchyard, with many illustrations from original sketches and photographs, with a map.
„	The True Story of the French Dispute in Madagascar. By Capt. S. PASFIELD OLIVER, late R.A.	London. T. Fisher Unwin, 26 Paternoster Square, with a map showing places bombarded by the French.]
„	Rapport fait au nom de la Commission chargé d'examiner le projet de loi portant ouverture au Ministre de la Marine et des Colonies d'un crédit extraordinaire de 12,190,000 francs pour les dépenses occasionnées par les événements de Madagascar. Par M. DE LANESSAN, Député.	Paris. Imprimerie de la Chambre des Députés. Annexe 1. Traité de Paix et de Commerce conclu le 8 Aout 1868 entre la France et Madagascar.
„	Rapport fait au nom de la Commission, etc. . . . Par M. EMILE LENOËL, Sénateur.	Do. do. do.
„	Les Colonies nécessaires; Tunisie, Tonquin, Madagascar. Par un Marin.	Paris. Paul Ollendorff.
„	Vingt ans à Madagascar. Colonisation, Traditions Historiques—Mœurs et Croyances; d'après les notes du Père Abinal et de plusieurs autres missionnaires de la compagnie de Jésus. Par le Père de la VAISSIÈRE, S.J.	Paris. Librairie Victor Lecoffre.
„	A Madagascar Bibliography: A Catalogue of Books, Pamphlets, and Articles from Periodicals and other Publications upon Madagascar and its Inhabitants. In two parts. Part I. Arranged alphabetically according to Author's Names. Part II. Arranged chronologically according to subjects treated of. To which is added, A list of Books and other publications in the Malagasy Language, and a list of maps of Madagascar. Collected and arranged by the Rev. JAMES SIBREE jun., F.R.G.S.	The London Missionary Society Publishing Committee. Printing Office: Imarivolanitra, Antananarivo. This compendious publication includes, as far as practicable, the full title and particulars of every known publication—whether book, pamphlet, paper, or magazine or review article—on all subjects relating to Madagascar and its inhabitants, in the English, French, German, and other European languages, showing what has been written with regard to its history, topography, natural history, botany, ethnology, language, and mission work. The number of such publications amounts to nearly 800. 100 pp. demy 8vo. Price 1s.

Date.	Title of Work and Name of Author.	Publisher, Place of Publication, and Remarks.
1885	La France et L'Angleterre à Madagascar. Par FERNAND HUE.	8vo, Paris. Librairie Paul Ollendorff.
"	Recent Colonial Acquisitions by Foreign Powers. By Col. Sir CHAS. NUGENT, R.E., K.C.B.; and Examples of Military Operations in Madagascar by Foreign Powers and Native Campaigns, 1643-1881. By Capt. S. PASFIELD OLIVER. Journal Royal United Service Institution, vol. xxix.	London. Mitchell and Co., Charing Cross.
"	Le R. Père Barbe, de la compagnie de Jésus, Missionnaire à Madagascar. Mort à Tamatave le 22 Oct. 1883. Par l'Abbé LAM-AIGNÈRE, Prêtre du diocèse d'Aire.	Paris. Librairie H. Oudin.
1886	Bibliographie des Traditions et de la littérature populaire des France d'outre-mer. Par H. GAIDOZ et PAUL SEBILLLOT.	8vo, Paris. Maisonneuve frères. Quai Voltaire.
"	Au pays de la revanche. Par le Dr. ROMMEL.	12mo, Geneva. Librairie Stapelmohr.
"	Madagascar sous Louis XIV. Louis XIV. et la Compagnie des Indes Orientales de 1664. D'après des documents inédits tirés des archives Coloniales du Ministère de la Marine et des Colonies.	18mo, Paris. Calmann Lévy.
"	Madagascar. Par RAOUL POSTEL. Préface par M. de Mahy, député de l'île de la Réunion, ancien ministre.	18mo, Paris. Challamel aîné, avec 5 cartes.
"	La Colonisation de Madagascar sous Louis XV., d'après la correspondance inédite du Comte du Maudave. Par H. POUGET DE ST. ANDRÉ.	18mo, Paris. Challamel aîné avec carte.
"	Ministère des Affaires Étrangères. Documents Diplomatiques. Affaires de Madagascar 1884-1886.	Paris. Imprimerie Nationale.
"	Le Tonkin et Madagascar. Discours prononcé à la Chambre des Députés le 21 Décembre 1885, par Mgr. FREPPEL, Évêque d'Angers.	Paris. Librairie Catholique.
"	Rapport fait au nom de la Commission chargée d'examiner la ratification du traité du 17 Décembre 1885.	Paris. Imprimerie de la Chambre des Députés.
"	French Operations in Madagascar, 1882-1886. Prepared in the Intelligence Branch, War Office, by Major W. S. COOKE, Cheshire Regiment, D.A.Q.M.G.	London. H.M. Stationery Office. Captain Oliver's paper below founded on this publication.
"	Atlas Colonial. Par HENRI MAGER.	4to, Paris. Charles Bayle. Articles on Madagascar by Grandidier, De Mahy, and De Cambourg.
"	French Operations in Madagascar, 1883-1885. By Captain S. PASFIELD OLIVER.	London. Royal United Service Institution Journal, vol. xxx., with statement by General Willoughby.

ABSTRACT of MSS., BOOKS, and PAPERS respecting Madagascar during the possession of Mauritius by the French, that is prior to 1810, presented by Sir Walter Minto Farquhar to the British Museum.

These documents appear to have been extracted and copied from the archives of Mauritius and brought to England by Sir W. M. Farquhar from Mauritius on his relinquishing the government of that island. The following abstract was made by W. J. Hamilton, Esq., in April 1850, and presented by him to the Royal Geographical Society, by whom it was printed in vol. xx. of their journal for 1851.

I.—(1.) Three volumes of dictionary, French and Malagasy, entitled, “Dictionnaire Français et Madecasse. Divisé en trois Colonnes. La première renferme le mot Français dans l’ordre alphabétique et le mot Madecasse le plus usité dans l’idiôme du Sud. La seconde, le mot Madecasse le plus usité dans l’idiôme du Nord. La troisième, les mots donnés à la langue, d’après des élémens connus. Par BARTHELEMI HUET, CHEVALIER DE FROBERVILLE, ancien Capitaine d’Infanterie,” etc. etc. In the *Préface nécessaire* the third column is thus described: “La troisième celle des mots que j’ai donnés à la langue. Celle-ci seule a besoin d’explication.” This is explained further on to mean the words which the author has introduced in addition to those already published in former vocabularies and dictionaries. These are very faulty, full of errors and omissions. The errors are corrected in the first volume, the omissions are made good in the third. Some grammatical details are also given in this introduction.

II.—(2.) Five volumes of dictionary, Malagasy and French, interspersed with many long notes and details on the different words and objects of natural history introduced, as well as political and geographical terms alluded to; e.g. *Antatchimes*, name given by the inhabitants of the north of Madagascar to all the people dwelling between the southern bank of the Mangoro river and Cape St. Mary. *Antavaratehs*, people of the north (followed by a long description). *Atsimou*, south, south pole, southern provinces, “Les Naturels de Madagascar divisent leur isle en cinq parties” (followed by a long descrip-

tion). *Bétanimène*, le peuple qui habite toute cette partie de la côte de l'est qui git entre le territoire de Tamatave en descendant vers le sud, et la rive nord du Manghourou, etc. *Coracora*, Limaçon (followed by a long description of *Helix* and *Bulimus*, "en forme de Buccins").

These volumes evidently contain much valuable information for the history and natural history of the island. The fifth volume contains at the end of the dictionary several interesting supplementary dissertations on various subjects connected with the geography and natural productions of Madagascar. Amongst these the following subjects may be mentioned :—

- (1) *Zafferaminis*, a people of the north.
- (2) *Zaffé bourahé*, the same people inhabiting the island St. Mary. (The language of Madagascar contains many Phœnician roots, and the author attributes this circumstance to the dispersion of the fleets equipped by Solomon at Eziongeber to procure gold from Ophir, supposed to be on the coast of Zanzibar. The greater part of Solomon's sailors were Phœnicians).
- (3) *Zaffidienbilous*, another people of the island.
- (4) Madagascar according to M. Legentil, a description of the island, its resources, and advantages to French commerce, followed by—(a) An anonymous account of it in 1750. (b) An account of the island by Flacourt, 1661, followed by (c) *Projet d'établissement, colonisation, etc.*, followed by (d) An account by M. de Cossigny, 1773-1802. (e) Madagascar, suivant Fressanges, 1806. (f) Madagascar, suivant M. Rondeaux, 1813. (g) Madagascar, suivant M. Lescallier, 1792. (h) Madagascar, suivant M. L'Islet Geffroi, 1814.
- (5) *Famourane*, on the practice of circumcision.
- (6) On the island of Nossé hibrâhîm, Nossé bourahé, or L'isle Ste. Marie, taken from the different authors above mentioned—(a) *Sur l'établissement des Français à l'isle Ste. Marie et de sa ruine*; (b) *Actes de concession, et Prise de Possession de l'isle Ste. Marie de Madagascar*.
- (7) Marotte, Marosse Maroi, or Nossi-Manghabé (island in Antongil Bay).
- (8) Madagascar (2d notice)—(a) De Madagascar, suivant M. de Maudave, 1767, *Projet d'établissement*; (b) De Madagascar, suivant M. Rochon, 1780; (c) De Madagascar, suivant M. Mayeur.
- (9) Anossi, Androbeigaha, or Carcanossi. On the productions of Fort Dauphin (Province d'Anossi), propres au commerce et à la vie. *Notice Historique sur l'Etablissement Français du Fort Dauphin*.
- (10) Manghabé ou Baie d'Antongil. Description of its position and advantages—(a) *Notice sur le Comte de Beniowsky et l'établissement qu'il fonda à la Baie d'Antongil en 1774*.

III.—(3.) An original copy of a French and Malagasy, and Malagasy and French Dictionary. Very dirty. Written on coarse, hard brown packing paper. Each page is divided into two columns, one being headed "Français et Malgache," the other "Malgache et Français." Towards the end the word is written "Madegasse."

IV.—(4.) History of Madagascar in 2 vols., entitled, "Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de l'isle de Madagascar, redigés, mis en ordre, et publiés sur les notes Manuscrites de MM. Mayeur, Dumaine et autres, et enrichis des extraits de plusieurs voyages anciens et modernes. Par M. BY. BUET, CHEV. DE FROBERVILLE, ancien Capitaine d'Infanterie. A l'isle de France en Afrique, 1809."

In the preface the author says: "Trois races d'hommes très distinctes occupent le sol de cette grande isle. Les naturels de la côte de l'ouest ont beaucoup de rapport avec les habitans de la côte d'Afrique vis-à-vis laquelle, elle est située. Ils ont les cheveux courts et crépus, etc. etc. La seconde est celle (blanc) dont l'existence à Madagascar est un problème, qui n'a de rapport ni avec celles de la côte de l'est, ni avec celle de la côte de l'ouest. La troisième est celle qui habite les côtes de l'est, la plus belle, la mieux conformée. Les hommes sont grands, bien faits, ils ont la figure ouverte, les traits nobles, etc. Je les crois descendans des Juifs; l'isle de Ste. Marie, l'isle d'Hibrahim, Ile de Quint enfans d'Abraham. L'unité de langage parmi tout ce peuple est encore un problème, vû la différence de leur origine."

The first volume commences with the following:—

"*Collection de Voyages dans l'intérieur et sur les côtes de l'isle de Madagascar.—Premier Voyages.*—Voyage de M. Mayeur, interprète du Gouvernement, dans le nord de Madagascar en 1774. [This is followed by "Notes et Eclaircissemens" on various subjects; then "Note Géographique, Historique, et Etymologique, de quelques noms propres Madecasses, et de quelques noms de peuples, villages, montagnes, divisions, etc., dont il est parlé dans le Voyage du Nord.]"

"*Second Voyage.*—Voyage au pays des Séclaves, côtes Ouest de Madagascar, Avril 1774, par M. Mayeur. [This is followed by "Notes et Eclaircissemens en forme de lettres, pour le voyage au pays des Séclaves.]"

"*Troisième Voyage.*—Voyage au pays d'Ancove, autrement dit des Hóvas ou Anboilambes, dans l'intérieur des terres, Isle de Madagascar, Janvier 1777. M. Mayeur. Ce voyage fut entrepris sous le nom de Mission secrète par les ordres de M. le Baron de Beniowsky, Commandant

pour le Roi à l'isle de Madagascar. Il eut pour objet de visiter une partie des côtes en avançant vers le sud, de pénétrer, s'il y avait lieu, dans l'intérieur des terres vers le S.O., de connoître les pays, la nature de leurs productions, les objets d'échange qui conviendraient à un commerce stable, de sonder les dispositions des peuples sur des alliances, de faire connoître en un mot le nom Français dans les régions où il n'avoit point encore pénétré. J'étais à Foule Pointe, côte de l'est, lorsque ces ordres me parvinrent. Je fis mes préparatifs en consequence et fixai mon départ au 20 Janvier 1777. [At Enkissikissic, he says, "Les jours suivans je parcourus les campagnes. Elles me parurent arides, le sol ingrat, les plantes sans vigueur ; les bois y manquent totalement." At Engua-la sola (Enghalla solla): "Le pays abonde en mines de fer qu'ils exploitent. La soie, le coton, l'indigo se trouvent a Endrantsaye" (Andrantsi). This is followed by "Notes et Eclaircissemens des lacs de Noussevay, de Mouasse et de Rangué."]

"*Quatrième Voyage.*—Voyage au pays d'Ancove, par le pays d'Ancaye, autrement dit des Baizangouzangoux (*Bezànozàno*), Juillet 1785, M. Mayeur. Les notes de ce voyage ne m'ont point été communiquées, par M. Mayeur, etc. [They came through the hands of a M. Dumaine, followed by notes—"Armes offensives et défensives des Madécasses. Leur manière de faire la guerre."]

"*Cinquième Voyage.*—Voyage à Ste. Luce, à Baquik, à la Ville d'Amboule, Isle de Madagascar ; par M. L'Islet Geoffroi, officier du corps du Génie, 1787.

"*Sixième Voyage.*—Voyage au pays d'Ancaye, autrement dit des Bezounzouns, isle de Madagascar, par M. Dumaine, chef des Traités, Juillet, 1790.

"*Septième Voyage.*—Voyage à la côte de l'Ouest, autrement dite pays des Séclaves. Janvier 1793, par M. Dumaine, chef des Traités pour le Roi à Madagascar.

"(a) Idée de la côte de l'Ouest, de Madagascar depuis Anconala situé au Nord jusqu'à Mouzourdava, autrement dit Menabé.

"(b) Rapport sur l'utilité dont cette partie de côte peut être au commerce Français.

"*Huitième Voyage.*—Voyage à l'isle de Madagascar, par M. Lescallier, traduit de l'Anglais. [Monthly Magazine, April 1805.]

"*Neuvième Voyage.*—Voyage à l'isle de Madagascar. Par M. de Flacourt. An 1648. Extrait et abrégé du Voyage de M. de Flacourt. [This account gives a worse picture of the character of the Malagasy than all subsequent writers.] Ce qui suit trouve ici naturellement sa place parce que Flacourt n'est satisfaisant que pour la partie du Sud ; et le tableau sera complet avec les notions sur le Nord, extraites de M. Rochon, qui a été assez bien servi à cet égard. Réflexions sur la partie du Nord de Madagascar, extraites des Voyages de M. Rochon. [Very valuable notes are added to the text ; tom. i. p. 258. Some of the subjects are : "Des Pirates," "Ruine de l'établissement de Ste. Marie," "Des Quimos, Mémoire de M. de Modave" (the notes deny the existence of this race of dwarfs), "Du Fort Dauphin," "De la Baye d'Antongil."]

"(a) Notions Générales sur des Madécasses ; Extraites du Voyage de M. Rochon.

"(b) Continuation du même sujet : Extraites des Voyages de M. Le Gentil, dans les mers de l'Inde, 1761.

- “(c) Mélanges extraits de divers Auteurs et Correspondances particulières. [The second volume is entitled, “Mémoires pour servir,” etc. Tom ii.]
- “(d) Projet d’établissement à Madagascar, soumis en 1660 à la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, par M. de Flacourt, sous le titre d’Avantage qu’on peut retirer pour la Religion et le commerce d’un Etablissement de Colonies à Madagascar. [M. de Flacourt resided several years on the island, and his account of the productions of the island is valuable. Precious stones of all sorts are said to be in great abundance.]
- “(e) Réflexions sur l’Île de Madagascar, par M. de Cossigny. [He describes the various productions of the island.]
- “(f) Discussion sur le Choix du Lieu propre à faire un Établissement à Madagascar, par M. de Cossigny. [The amiable qualities of the inhabitants are everywhere insisted on.]
- “(g) Correspondance et Observations de M. de Mayeur sur le Projet d’Établissement à Madagascar, présenté par M. de Cossigny. Ce fut pendant la publication en 1804 d’une partie des mémoires précédens dans les journaux de l’isle de France, dont j’étais rédacteur alors, que commença mes liaisons avec M. Mayeur. . . . Il ignorait que j’avais reçu des ordres pour ne pas aller plus loin. Il m’écrivit. . . . Pour m’offrir tous les secours dont je pourrais avoir besoin dans un travail sur Madagascar. C’est cette correspondance que je publie aujourd’hui. [These letters are full of interesting details. See letter 17, on Liaisons with Madagascar women.]
- “*Dixième Voyage.*—Voyage à la Baye de S. Augustin, Côte Occidentale de Madagascar, par M. Capmartin, 1804. [Interesting account of the bay and surrounding country.]
- “(a) Remarques sur Engontsi, autrement dit le Cap de l’Est. Côte Orientale de Madagascar. Extraits de quelques feuilles éparses d’un Journal de Navigation, dont l’auteur m’est inconnu. [This is followed by a “Vocabulaire Malgache et Français,” full of corrections and additions, therefore evidently original ; list of minerals, etc.]
- “(b) Histoire de Ratsimila-hoe, Roi de Foulepointe et des Be-tsimiçaraes.” [Preceded by an introduction, “Lettres de l’Éditeur à l’Auteur.”]

V.—(No. 12.) A Volume of Reports, etc., with the following note on a fly-leaf :—

“Ce registre est un recueil fait pour mon usage d’extraits de journaux, mémoires, livres, divers, tant publiés qu’inédits. La seule pièce intéressante qu’il renferme est la première, intitulée, ‘Mémoire sur Madagascar.’ Elle est souvent citée dans mes notes au ‘Vocabulaire Madécasse,’ sous le nom de ‘Mémoire,’ ou ‘Auteur Anonyme.’ Monsieur le Gouverneur a toutes les autres dans les livres de MM. de Cossigny et Legentil. Le projet d’Établissement proposé par Flacourt remis en style moderne, et qui en fait aussi partie se trouve au Vocabulaire à l’article ‘Madagascar.’ Le présent recueil a sa *suite* dans le volume No. 6 du ‘Vocabulaire Madécasse.’ Comme son Excellence a le livre de M. Legentil dont cette

suite est extraite, je crois qu'il serait bon, pour éviter la confusion, de biffer les vingt ou trente premières pages de ce sixième volume qui lui deviennent inutiles. Alors ces six volumes se trouveraient être exclusivement le 'Vocabulaire Madécasse' et ses Notes.

(Signé)

"DE FROBERVILLE.

"*Avis de l'Éditeur.*—Le Mémoire qui suit doit commencer la collection des pièces sur Madagascar. Il n'en est pas de mieux fait, de plus exact, et de plus précis, il est la meilleure préface qu'on puisse donner à un recueil de ce genre. Il est bien à regretter qu'il ne soit pas parfait. La description des provinces du Nord et de celles des Hôvas ainsi que la conclusion manquent."

The same volume contains "Mémoire sur la Côte Orientale d'Afrique, par M. de Cossigny." After describing its productions, he insists on the advantages of a colonial establishment being founded by the Government.

(a) "Sur la Déclinaison et l'Inclinaison de l'Aiguille Aimantée à Madagascar" (extrait du Voyage de M. Le Gentil dans les Mers de l'Inde, vol. ii, p. 626), p. 139.

Amongst the many articles contained in this volume are the following:—"De l'isle Diego Roys," "Fort Dauphin," "Ebb and flow of the Tides," "De la Pointe à Larrée," "Description de l'Isle Marotte," "Des Différentes Espèces d'Hommes qu'on trouve à Madagascar, et s'il y a des Pigmées," "Mœurs, Coutumes, Génie des Habitans de la Côte de l'Est de Madagascar," "Tamsimilo Roi de Foulpointe," "Mœurs des Madécasses, leurs Armes Façon d'apprêter la Viande, Soufflets de leurs Forges," "De la Pêche de la Baleine et de la Circonscision," "De la Navigation de Madagascar, et de la Monnaie," "De quelques Termes de la Langue Madécasse."

VI.—A second volume of "Collection of Reports," in continuation of the last. It contains the following letter:—

"À S. E. Monsieur FARQUHAR, Governor-General des Isles Maurice et dépendances.

"MONSIEUR LE GOUVERNEUR—J'ai l'honneur de vous adresser trois MSS. qui complètent la livraison des ouvrages que je me suis obligé de fournir à votre Excellence.

"Le premier est un MS. en trois volumes, contenant le 'Dict. Franc. et Madégassee' (Le Franc. avant le Madéc). Je vous prie d'avoir la bonté de jeter un coup d'œil sur la préface dont la lecture est nécessaire pour comprendre la distribution de l'ouvrage.

"Le second est le catéchisme abrégé à l'usage de ces peuples en un cahier de papier non relié.

"Le troisième, un recueil des pièces détachées, extraites de divers ouvrages et mémoires, tant publiés qu'inédits, et qui figurent dans la collection comme pièces justificatives.

" Il ne me restera plus à fournir à votre Excellence que *le petit Dict. des Noms de Lieux*, qui n'est qu'ébauché, et auquel il m'est impossible de travailler sans avoir sous les yeux les MSS. qui en contiennent les élémens. Ces MSS. sont renfermés dans les deux gros volumes reliés, et couverts en peau jaune, qui ont fait partie de la première remise que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous faire le 26 Décembre dernier. Si vous voulez avoir la bonté de me les faire parvenir je m'en occuperai de suite.—Je suis, etc.,

(Signé)

DE FROBERVILLE.

"PORT LOUIS, ce 9 Février 1816."

(a) "Mélanges Extraits du Voyage de M. Legentil." Amongst the memoirs or extracts in this volume are the following:—"Erreur sur le Gisement de Madagascar soupçonnée," "Description de l'Observatoire de l'Auteur à Foulepointe," "Résultat des Déterminations de la Longitude du Fort Dauphin," "Reflexions sur la salubrité de la Baie d'Antongil" (it should rather be on the unhealthiness), "On Port Loquez," "Du Serment de Sang chez les Madécasses," "De la population des Bêtes à Cornes à la Côte de l'Ouest," "Des Moyens à employer pour en tirer de bonnes Salaisons," "*Rava* sur les Ruines, Monumens, etc.," "*Vadine Bazaka* (Vazaha) sur les Femmes d'Etrangers," "*Talili*," "Conte, Histoire, Fable, Récit," "Description du Madécasse, ou Malgache, Habitant ou *Insulaire de Madagascar*" (containing a full account of their character, manners, and customs), "Description of Wild Cattle" ("Bœuf des Bois," and "Bœuf sauvage," two species), "Sur la Pêche des Baleines," "Suite de la description de Foulepointe" (the harbour dangerous except in fine weather). It concludes with "Observations Météorologiques sur les Vents et la Chaleur, les Marées, Etat de la Mer, etc.," "Notice sur les Quimos, Kimos, Kimosse" (a pretended race of pigmies) [no such race exists], "Notice sur la Religion des Madécasses, sur le mot *Zanhav* (Zanahary), Dieu, l'Etre Souverain, La Principe de toutes choses."

VII.—(No. 9.) "Index Géographique" (in three *cahiers*, very full and complete). (a) "Index de la Géographie de Madagascar, dressé sur les Itinéraires de MM. de Flacourt, Mayeur, Dumaine, Fressanges et autres Voyageurs Modernes, par BARTHÉLEMY HUET, CHEVALIER DE FROBERVILLE, Ancien Capitaine d'Infanterie," etc. etc.

VIII.—(No. 7.) "Catéchisme abrégé à l'usage des Madécasses. Par M. l'Abbé FLAGEOLLOT, Prêtre de la Mission de

Ste. Lazare, etc., revu, corrigé et augmenté par Barthélemy Huet, Chevalier de Froberville, etc.” “Ce Catéchisme est celui qu’avait fait M. l’Abbé Flageollot pour son propre usage dans le temps où il se destinait aux missions de Madagascar.”

- (a) Extrait du Voyage de M. Mayeur dans le Nord de Madagascar, Province du Cap d’Ambre (M. Mayeur fut accompagné dans ce voyage par M. Corby, Officier des Volontaires de Beniowsky).

- (b) Mémoire sur l’Utilité et la Nécessité de former un puissant Établissement dans l’Isle de Madagascar.

“*Observation Particulière.*—Plusieurs rapports confirment celui qui a été fait à Monseigneur sur le séjour du Sieur de Beniowsky à Londres. On ajoute même que le ministre Anglais s’est décidé à adopter le plan du Sr. Beniowsky pour former un établissement à Madagascar. Sans mettre plus de valeur que de raison aux démarches de cet indigne aventurier si familier avec la trahison et toutes les espèces de crime, on pense cependant qu’il serait prudent de s’assurer de la vérité de ces rapports par l’ambassadeur du Roi à la cour de Londres. Et dans le cas où effectivement cette cour se disposerait à faire un armement pour Madagascar, on est d’avis d’envoyer ordre au Gouverneur de l’Isle de France d’expédier sur le champ un bâtiment avec quelques petits détachements pour prendre possession au nom du Roy des trois principaux points de la côte de l’est de Madagascar,” etc.

- (c) Mémoires sur Madagascar. (1) Mémoire intéressant sur l’Isle de Madagascar, où l’on développe les avantages immenses de profit et de gloire que la France pourrait en retirer et où l’on donne un aperçu des moyens qui doivent en assurer le succès. (2) Plan et développement des moyens qui doivent assurer la solidité de l’Établissement proposé à Madagascar, avec les détails des avantages immenses que la France retirera de cette colonie. (3) Mémoire sur les moyens de former pour le Roi dans l’Isle de Madagascar un Établissement de Culture, de Commerce, et d’entrepôt pour l’Europe, l’Asie et l’Afrique, par Siette de la Rousselière, Lieutenant des Milices Nationales de l’Isle de France. (4) Mémoire sur la Nécessité de former un puissant Établissement à Madagascar. (5) Observations Particulières sur Beniowsky. (6) Précis des avantages d’un Établissement à Madagascar. (The last three papers do not appear in this parcel.)

- (a) Vocabulaire Français et Malgache (very short).

- (b) Réflexions sur l’Établissement et l’Amélioration du Commerce de Madagascar. Le 22 Ventose au 10me—(Signé) MAYEUR.

- (c) No. 2, No. 64. Aperçu de mon Dernier Voyage à Ancova, l’an 1808—(Signé) BME. HUGON. (Full of interesting details of the country.)

- (d) No. 41. Essai sur Madagascar. (Anonymous. A general statement of the island, its productions, capabilities, and manners of the inhabitants.)

- (e) Mémoire sur l'administration et le Commerce des Isles de Madagascar et des Seichelles. Notice sur la nécessité de s'occuper sérieusement du Commerce de Madagascar. Mémoire de MM. Guiard et le Gueune sur la Traite qui se peut faire à Madagascar en Octobre 1783. "Advantages of different localities," "Mémoire sur l'Isle des Seichelles."
- (f) Copie d'un Exposé sur quelques Parties de l'Isle de Madagascar (présenté à S.E. le Gouverneur Farquhar), par M. Hebel. (Interesting details of geography.)
- (g) No. 131. Productions de Madagascar. Moyens d'Agriculture et de Commerce. État Moral, Intellectual, et Politique de ses Habitans, etc.
- (h) No. 132 contains descriptions of trees by the same, followed by remarks in English on different objects of natural history, animals, plants, fruits, roots, etc. List of persons of rank and titles.

IX.—"Essai Théorique sur la Langue Madécasse," in three *cahiers*. On the title page:—"Le Grand Dictionnaire de Madagascar. Ouvrage dans lequel ont été recueillies toutes les observations faites sur cette grand isle depuis FLACOURT jusqu'à notre jours, intéressant les *Mœurs anciennes et modernes* des Insulaires, le *Commerce*, la *Navigation*, l'*Histoire naturelle* du pays en ce qu'elle a de connu; les meilleurs systèmes à adopter pour sa colonisation, divers projets d'Etablissement, etc.; la Langue de ces Peuples analysée dans chacun de ses mots, ramenée à ses Elémens les plus simples; une Grammaire générale précédée d'un Discours préliminaire, dans lequel on analise la Langue, ou développe son genre et le mechanisme de ses mots, par BARTHÉLMY HUET, CHEVALIER DE FROBERVILLE."

"1^{ère} Partie.—De quelle langue dérive la Madégasse—De l'unité du langage—Des qualités de la langue Madécasse—De l'écriture à Madagascar—Des idiômes—Des grammaires du Madécasse. 2^{de} Partie.—Des mots—Des différentes parties du discours—Du substantif—De l'adjectif—Du verbe—Des caractéristiques en général—Des caractéristiques de verbes—Des caractéristiques de substantifs—Des caractéristiques de tems de verbes—Des caractéristiques d'agence—Des caractéristiques de sujets de verbes passifs—Des caractéristiques de lieu, 3 sortes—De l'ortographie—De la prononciation. 3^{me} Partie.—Grammaire."

X.—"Histoire de l'Isle de Madagascar, par M. de FLACOURT, Directeur-Général de la Compagnie Française d'Orient, et Com-

mandant pour S. M. dans la dite Isle et isles adjacentes. À Paris l'an 1658. Remise en style moderne par BARTH. HUET, CHEVALIER DE FROBERVILLE, etc. Île Maurice, 1816."—(Only ten thin *cahiers*.)

- (a) Fragment of an old mémoire, in bad condition, written with some humour, *e.g.* :—" On demande la latitude et longitude de l'isle de Madagascar? *Réponse.* Une bonne carte géographique instruirait mieux sur cette question qu'un militaire qui ignore l'art de connoître la position des terres relativement aux astres. *Dem.* Les noms des rivières qui l'arrosent? *Rép.* J'ignore les noms de la plus-part des rivières qui coulent en France ma patrie; celles de Madagascar, qui m'est une terre étrangère me sont plus inconnues." Some of the information is given in the form of letters written by Malagasy inhabitants to their friends.
- (b) Letter of instructions, dated Paris, 24 Avril 1790, forwarding decrees and instructions of the National Assembly of the 8th and 28th March. Signed "La Luzerne."
- (c) Notes sur le Baye St. Augustin, Côte occidentale de Madagascar (signé) Cap. Martin, à bord du vaisseau "Le Marengo," le 1 Avril 1804.

XI.—(No. 2.) A volume of various documents bound together, of which a list is placed at the head of the volume.

Table des Pièces à relier sous le titre Madagascar.

- (1) Lettre du Capt. Lynne de "L'Eclipse à M. S. Roux." [Summons to surrender Tamatave and reply.]
- (2) Idées sur un Projet d'Établissement à Madagascar.
- (3) Lettre à S. Ex. sur Madagascar.
- (4) Questions et Réponses sur Madagascar.
- (5) Notice sur les Causes des Maladies à Madagascar.
- (6) Voyage à Ste. Luce par Lislet Geoffroy.
- (7) État des Postes pouvant être occupés par la Traite des Ris le long de la Coste de l'Isle de Madagascar depuis Manourou jusqu'au grand Manang-han en allant du Sud au Nord.
- (8) Prospectus d'Établissement à Ste. Luce et Fort Dauphin.
- (9) Supplément au Prospectus cy-dessus.
- (10) État des Citoyens Français habitant la Partie sud en l'an 14 (1806).
- (11) Déclaration de quelques Traitans de Foulepointe sur la Gamelle de Riz.
- (12) Lettre adressé à M. Telfer traitant d'un Voyage à Madagascar.
- (13) Lettre du S. Chochot, Voyageur Naturaliste, au même, 3 Mars 1815.
- (16 and 17) Deux Lettres du S. Rondeaux.
- (18 and 19) États des Présens faits aux Chefs en 1784-1786.
- (20) Relevé des Employés morts à Louisbourg depuis Mai 1774 jusqu'à fin de Septembre 1776.
- (21) États des Volontaires de Beniowsky morts de 1773 à 1776.

- (22, 23, 24) Instructions pour les Chefs de Traite, Lavet, Lafevre, et Tellot.
- (25) Note de Bâtiment au Fort Dauphin, l'an 12 (1803).
- (26) Pétition des Traitans de Foulepointe, 1807.
- (27) Seize lettres de M. S. Roux par ordre de dates. [These letters refer to the government of French settlements in Madagascar, and contain details of intercourse with the natives, supply of rice for Mauritius, and are dated from Tamatave.]
- (28) Cinq Lettres de M. Léon de Lahoussaye. [Same subjects, with some geographical details, Tamatave, May 1807 to June 1808.]
- (29) Six Lettres de M. Chardenoux.
- (30) Seize Lettres de M. Tellot. [Details of natural products.]
- (31) Quatre Lettres de M. Jekell.
- (32) Une Lettre de M. Perrot.
- (33) Une Lettre de M. Lagardère.
- (34) Copie et traduction de l'Autorisation donnée par S. M. l'Empereur Joseph II. au Comte de Beniowsky. [This paper is missing from the collection.]
- (35) Cinq Originaux d'Ordres et Instructions du Comte de Beniowsky.
- (36) Procès-verbal de Dépôts contre le Comte de Beniowsky.
- (37) Ordre de Bonifilioli, Secrétaire dudit.
- (38) Huit Lettres originales du Comte Beniowsky.
- (39) Deux Lettres de son Secrétaire.
- (40) Quatre Lettres de M. Dumaine à M. de Beniowsky.
- (41) Deux Inventaires de Lettres relatives à M. de Beniowsky.
- (42) Une Pièce de Recette signée "Michel," mais de la main de Beniowsky.
- (43) Une Liste d'Effets de la même Main.
- (44) Mémoire pour les Chenilles Soieuses de Madagascar.

XII.—(No. 16.) A volume of letters, with the following table of contents :—

Notes sur les Lettres de M. Chapelier contenues dans ce volume.

- (1) Vers à Soie, Teinture du fil de rafin.
- (2) Arraignées Soyeuses, Préparations de la Racine de "*Vahalaingou*," de celle d'Hounitch, et de l'Ecorce de la Tige de "*Vahabontou*," pour teindre en Rouge.
- (3) L'Indigo et le Coton prospérant à Madagascar, les cannes à sucre monstrueuses ; huit Espèces de Palmiers manquant ici (Isle de France).
- (4) Envoi de plusieurs Plantes, et d'un Minerai de Fer à essayer.
- (5) Présent pour le Chef Suprême des Hóvas. (Omitted in the list.)
- (6) Envoi d'un Cocon de Ver à Soie se nourrissant sur l'Anpalé ou Mûrier à Fruits verts.
- (7) Envoi de plantes.
- (8) Dissertation sur la Plante la "*Ponga*" (*Nepenthes distillatoria*), ou "*Porte-burette*."

- (9) Envoi de plusieurs Plantes et du "*Hola-tafou*," Contrepoison.
- (10) Paquets en coton nommés *Toutou-ranou* fabriqués par les Hôvas propre à habiller les Troupes ; riche mine de fer exploitée chez eux.
- (11) Envoi de Plantes et de Bûcher de l'Histie, Bois à Teinture Rouge, fort commun.
- (12) Grand Eloge des Productions de Madagascar—Bassanier Nain, son Utilité.
- (13) Détails sur la Nourriture et l'Education, etc., du Ver à Soie—Arbres et Instruments de musique.
- (15) Mine de Fer à Saha-dahetch à une grande lieue dans le Nord de Tamatave.
- (16) Prix des Boeufs, etc.—Envoi de Plantes—Hofa, nouvelle Espèce de Vacoua (*Pandanus*)—Plantes dans les lieux humides—Pyrites sulphureuses.
- (17) Envoi de la Teigne qui produit la Chenille de la soie jaune.
- (18) Envoi de Plantes—Echantillon de la soie jaune—Bois de Calaba—Sept Espèces de Tatamaka, très propres à la construction civile et navale, produisant une Résine odorante—Quartz découvert à Velimpou et Christaux de Roches hexagones.
- (19) Traduction Malgache du 83me Psaume de David.
- (20) Autre Traduction Malgache.
- (21) Vœux que font les Malgaches lorsque leurs Femmes ou Enfants sont dangereusement malades.
- (22) Découverte d'une Espèce de Pyrite pouvant fournir une bonne qualité de Soufre et de Fer—Découverte d'une Mine de Fer pouvant donner de 60 à 80 les per quintal.
- (23) Envois de Graines—Dissertations—Annonce de Détails sur les Mœurs, etc., des Malgaches.
- (25) Remarques sur les Rapports qui existent entre les Langues Malgache, Taitienne, Zélandaise, Malaise, et Espagnole—Observations sur l'Histoire de Madagascar de Raynal.
- (26) Formula d'Usage en donnant et recevant un Présent.
- (27) Appel des Dieux Supérieurs et Evocation des Manes, avec Notes.
- (28) Formule d'Usage pour l'Epreuve du Feu par le Fer.
- (30) Envoi de Grains, etc., avec détails.
- (31) Envoi de Plantes, avec détails.
- (32) Résine-gomme "*Vazouane*" pouvant remplacer le goudron—" *Vouène-t-Soukingef*," huile bonne à manger.
- (33) Envoi de Plantes—détails. (Dans un ordre du Préfet à MM. Tellot et Jekell mention d'eaux thermales.)
- (36) Apprêts du Cuir chez les Malgaches.
- (37) Quelques Détails sur la Guerre entre Caci et Tsi-manguéha.
- (38) Idem.
- (39) Envoi de plantes—détails.
- (40) Une Lettre de MM. Tellot et Jekell, contenant quelque détails sur les arbres de Madagascar—Travaux qu'exigent les Rizières—Travaux que requièrent les Habitations à Riz—Variétés de Riz cultivées tant dans les Rizières que dans les Habitations. (Details of different races and manners and customs of the Malagasy.)

XIII.—A bundle of loose papers, memoranda, *brouillons*, calculations of finance, copies of decrees and réglemens of the Assemblée Nationale,—Procès-verbal de l'Assemblée Coloniale respecting local disturbances and quarrels in 1791; local decrees and laws; De la justice criminelle. Papers bearing date from 1736 to 1811.

XIV.—A small bundle of papers headed, "Diverses Pièces très endommagées relatives à Madagascar.

- (1) Explication sur le Tatouage et Figures y relatives.
- (2) Notes—Signification de divers Mots Malgaches en Français.
- (3) Formule de Serment Malgache.
- (4) Observation sur l'Amadou des Malgaches.
- (5) Vocabulaire des Principales Parties du Corps Humain selon l'Idiôme de Betsimiscaraen, avec la Conjugaison des Noms des dites Parties.
- (6) Note sur la Pierre à Feu de Madagascar.
- (7) Note relative à la Conchologie—*Solen*.
- (8) Minute d'une Lettre d'Envoi au Gouverneur-Général de diverses Graines et Objets d'Histoire Naturelle.
- (9) Une Note contenant diverses Phrases en Langue Malgache et quelques Mots Français à la Mémoire de Michaux voyageur.
- (10) Série de diverses Phrases et Mots Malgaches.
- (11) Une Table de Calcul depuis 1 jusqu'à—Brasses.
- (12) Diverses Demandes et Réponses en Malgache.
- (13) Notes sur le rafin, les Parties et l'Usage qu'on en fait.
- (14) Sur la Non-Existence du Nain dit Quimosse.
- (15) Note relative à l'Arrivée à Madagascar des Agents du Directoire, Baco et Burnet.
- (16) Prophétie Turgotine.
- (17) Diverses Notes relatives à l'Histoire Naturelle—Arbres, Arbustes, Plantes, etc., de Madagascar, leurs Espèces, leurs Genres, leurs Classes.
- (18) Notes diverses sur l'Isle de France, sur les Hottentots, etc.

XV.—(Nos. 17 to 133.)¹ A large bundle of papers of a similar character: official correspondence between English and French authorities, drafts of despatches, etc. Among them are:—

- (a) 133. Treaty for Abolition of the Slave Trade between Sir R. Farquhar and Radama.
- (b) 70. Historique de Beniowsky.
- (c) 72. Note on Productions and Trade of Madagascar, réunies par M. de Chagal en 1816.
- (d) 73. Note sur Madagascar.
- (e) 83. Vocabulaires, etc. Cérémonies et Usages de Madagascar.

¹ These numbers are in red ink.

- (f) 84. Notes on relative Names of different Madagascar Tribes, North, South, East, and West.
- (g) 88. Notes sur Madagascar, (*signé*) "*Lami*," 1816.
- (h) 89. Essai sur Madagascar.
- (i) Notes sur Madagascar prises sous la Dictée de M. la Salle.
- (j) 91. On the different tribes and nations.
- (k) 124. Tableau comparatif des Instructions données par le Capitaine-Général aux différentes Personnes envoyées par lui à Madagascar, avec les Résumés de leurs Rapports et les Résultats de leurs Opérations.
- (l) 124. Instructions pour M. Chardenoux.
- (m) 125. Notes for queries on Madagascar, "par son Excellence."
- (n) 130. Prospectus for publishing Dictionary.
- (o) 130. Extraits des Registres des Arrêtés du Capitaine-Général.
- (p) 130. Essai sur l'Île de Madagascar.
- (q) 130. Instructions sommaires qu'il est convenable d'adresser aux Agens du Gouvernement à Tamatave, et à Foulpointe, Isle de Madagascar.
- (r) 130. Instructions pour M. Rondeaux aîné, Commissaire Civil à l'Isle de Madagascar, signed "R. T. Farquhar."

It appears that all these documents were collected by Sir R. Farquhar for the purpose of obtaining information to complete the publication of the great dictionary of the Madagascar language prepared by De Froberville.

XVI.—Printed. "Catéchisme abrégé en la Langue de Madagascar pour instruire sommairement ces Peuples les inviter et les disposer au Baptême." Printed by the Propaganda at Rome.

XVII.—"Memoir and Notice explanatory of a Chart of Madagascar by Lislet Geoffroy. London: J. Murray. 1819."

Cartography.

The earliest map of Madagascar in the British Museum, says Mr. Sibree, is an extremely curious specimen of cartography. The outline of the island is so different from the reality that it would hardly be recognised but for the name "S. Lorenzo," marked upon it. In the catalogue the date is given as 1570, but Mr. Sibree is inclined to think it of earlier date. It was published at Venice, 1560. 1570 (?).

"Another map, also Venetian, dated three years earlier, 1567. is far more correct in outline, and the principal bays, capes,

and rivers can be recognised, and are tolerably accurate, as far as regards the coast line." It is entitled "Isola di San Lorenzo" Opera di G. Gastaldo. F. Berteli exc.

In the following list of maps those which are to be found in the books mentioned in the preceding list of works are omitted. The list has been taken from the works of M. Barbié du Bocage and Mr. Sibree. Those added are interpolated by the present compiler.

Date.	Title of Map or Plan and Author.	Authority, Remarks, etc.
1602	Thresor de Chartes.	An atlas of maps, with descriptions of the different countries. This map is copied by Hieronymus Megiserus—(Sibree).
1655	Carte de Madagascar. Par SANSON.	Le tracé de l'île est complètement informe—(Barbié du Bocage).
1666	Carte de Madagascar. Par DUVAL.	Elle est un peu meilleure que la précédente quant au dessin des côtes—(Barbié du Bocage).
1667	Carte de Madagascar. Par SANSON fils.	Elle est presque aussi mauvaise que celle de son père—(Barbié du Bocage).
?	Carte de Madagascar. Par GROS-SIN.	Vide Soc. Geog. Paris, May 4, 1883.
1726	Carte manuscrite de Madagascar. Par ROBERT.	La carte qui accompagné l'ouvrage de Rochon (see p. 230) en est la reproduction.
1801	Carte de Madagascar. Par REINECKE.	Weimar. Très-défectueuse.
1818	Plan du port de Tintingue, levé par l'état-major du "Golo," sous le commandement de M. le baron de Mackau.	} Sur la même feuille. Ces deux plans ont été publiés par ordre du roi sous le ministère de M. le Baron de Portal. Dépôt général de la Marine—(M. Barbié du Bocage).
,	Plan du Port-Louis, située en l'île Sainte-Marie, côte de Madagascar, levé par l'état-major du même bâtiment.	
1822-26	Admiralty Chart, Africa. Sheet V. General Chart. Cape Corrientes to Juba islands, including Madagascar, Comoro, Zanzibar Is. etc., under the direction of Captain W. F. Owen and officers of H.M.S. "Leven," and H.M.S. "Barra-couta."	Capt. W. F. Owen was assisted by Capt. A. T. F. Vidal, Lieuts. W. Mudge, G. Boteler, R. Owen, E. Owen Johnes, Messrs. Rogier Arlett-Durnford, Badgley, Robinson, Duncan, Bowen, and Mercer, midshipmen.
1827	Carte de Madagascar. Par WEILAND.	Weimar. Carte très-médiocre—(M. Barbié du Bocage).
1829	Plan de la baie de Vohemar, levé par les officiers de la gabare "L'Infatigable," commandée par M. Dupont.	} Sur la même feuille. Dépôt général de la marine—(M. Barbié du Bocage).
,	Plan de l'entrée de la baie de Vohemar, levé par les officiers de "L'Infatigable."	
1833	Plan de l'entrée de la baie de Vohemar, levé par les officiers de la corvette "La Nièvre," commandée par M. Garnier.	

Date.	Title of Map or Plan and Author.	Authority, Remarks, etc.
1829	Plan de la baie de Tamatave, levé par M. Fournier (Martial), Capitaine de corvette, par ordre du Contre-amiral Goubeyre.	Dépôt général de la marine—(<i>M. Barbié du Bocage</i>).
1833	Plan de la baie de Diégo-Suarez dans l'île de Madagascar, levé par M. L. Bigeault, Lieutenant de vaisseau, et les officiers de l'état-major de la corvette "La Nièvre," sous la direction de M. Garnier, Capitaine de frégate, commandant cette corvette.	Publiée par ordre du roi sous le ministère de l'Amiral Rosamel. Dépôt général de la marine—(<i>M. Barbié du Bocage</i>).
? 1838	Carte du Canal de Mozambique et de l'île de Madagascar. Dressée par M. DAUSSY, ingénieur-hydrographe en chef, d'après les travaux du Capitaine Owen.	Publiée par ordre du roi sous le ministère de M. Ducampe de Rosamel. Dépôt général de la marine—(<i>M. Barbié du Bocage</i>).
1841	Carte d'une partie de la côte N.-O. de Madagascar comprenant Nossi-Bé, Nossi - Cumba, Nossi - Fali, Nossi - Mitsion, îles situées sur cette côte; levée et dressée d'après les ordres de M. le Contre-amiral de Hell, gouverneur de Bourbon, par M. Jehenne, Capitaine de corvette, commandant "La Prévoyante."	Publiée par ordre du roi, sous le ministère de M. le Baron de Mackau. Dépôt général de la marine—(<i>M. Barbié du Bocage</i>).
,,	Plan de la baie de Bavatoubé, située sur la côte N.-O. de Madagascar (Dalrymple Bay of Capt. Owen), levé et dressé d'après les ordres de M. le Contre-amiral de Hell, gouverneur de Bourbon, par M. Jehenne, Capitaine de corvette, commandant "La Prévoyante," secondé par MM. Passama, Cloué, Souzy, et Dufretay, officiers de cette gabare.	No. 707 Admiralty Catalogue. Publiée par ordre du roi, sous le ministère de M. le Baron Roussin. Dépôt général de la marine—(<i>M. Barbié du Bocage</i>).
1841-42	Carte de l'île Mayotte, levée d'après les ordres de M. le Contre-amiral de Hell, gouverneur de Bourbon, par MM. Jehenne, Capitaine de corvette, commandant "La Prévoyante," Protet, lieutenant de vaisseau, commandant "La Lionne," Trebuchet, enseigne de vaisseau à bord de "La Blonde," commandée par M. Trebuchet, Capitaine de corvette.	Publiée par ordre du roi, sous le ministère de M. le Baron de Mackau. Dépôt général de la marine (<i>M. Barbié du Bocage</i>).
1842	Carte de la côte N.-O. de Madagascar, dressée par M. BERARD, Capitaine de vaisseau.	Dépôt général de la marine—(<i>M. Barbié du Bocage</i>).
1846	Carte de l'île de Madagascar, divisée en 19 provinces, et comprenant les îles Comores et Bourbon. Par J. BLUMENTHAL, géographe.	Paris. Cette carte ne paraît pas présenter toute l'exactitude désirable—(<i>M. Barbié du Bocage</i>).
1848	Plan de la baie de Rigny, levé à bord du brick "Le Ducouédic," commandé par M. Guillain, Capitaine de frégate.	Publiée en 1855, sous le ministère de M. le Chasseloup - Laubat. Dépôt général de la marine—(<i>M. Barbié du Bocage</i>).
1849	Plan du Port Leven (côte N.E. de Madagascar), levé par M. Bolle,	Publiée par ordre de l'Empereur sous le ministère de M. Théodore

Date.	Title of Map or Plan and Author.	Authority, Remarks, etc.
	Captaine de frégate, commandant la corvette "L'Artémise," assisté des officiers de ce bâtiment. Dressé par M. A. LEFEBVRE, Lieutenant de vaisseau.	Ducos. Dépôt général de la marine—(<i>M. Barbié du Bocage</i>).
1850	Madagascar from original drawings, sketches, and oral information, etc. By J. A. LLOYD, F.R.S.	Arrowsmith, London. "Cette carte renferme de précieux documents sur l'intérieur de l'île.
1853	Carte de la partie septentrionale de Madagascar. Dressée par M. J. DE LA ROCHE-PONCÉ.	Paris.
1860	Map of Madagascar.	London. Stanford.
1862	Sketch of route from Tamatave to Antanànarivo. By Lieut. S. P. OLIVER, Royal Artillery, with section.	Lithograph by author in map room Royal Geographical Society—(<i>Capt. S. P. Oliver</i>).
"	Fenerive - Foule Point anchorage. French survey.	No. 686 Admiralty Catalogue of Charts.
1863	Tamatave, from survey. By M. GERMAIN.	No. 688 Admiralty Catalogue.
1865	Carte de Madagascar; Dressée d'après les documents les plus récents. Dediée a Sa Majesté Radàma II. Par ROBIQUET, hydrographe.	Paris. Cited by Sibree.
1867	Sketch - map of the country 20 miles around Antanànarivo, Madagascar. By JAS. SIBREE jun., L.M.S.	London. Accompanying Chronicle of the London Missionary Society. Very slight and imperfect—(<i>J. Sibree</i>).
1870	Central Madagascar. By Mr. JUKES.	London. A small sketch - map accompanying Mr. Jukes's pamphlet, <i>Country Work in Madagascar</i> , and <i>Chron. L.M.S.</i> —(<i>Sibree</i>).
1871	Esquisse d'une Carte de l'île de Madagascar. Par M. ALFRED GRANDIDIER.	Paris. Illustrating M. Grandidier's paper. Paris Société de Géographie Bulletin, Août 1871.
1872	Anoulahine Riv. Par GRANDIDIER.	Do. Feb. 1872.
1873	Madagascar, southern portion :— Cape St. Mary to Cape St. Vincent and Matatani.	No. 760 Admiralty Catalogue.
"	Cape St. Andrew to Cape St. Vincent, and Antongil Bay to Matatani.	No. 759 Do.
"	Hastie Road and Port Choiseul.	No. 682 Do.
"	MS. map of the central portions of Imérina. By JAMES CAMERON.	Antanànarivo. Showing stations and districts of the L.M.S.—(<i>Sibree</i>).
1874	Looké, Leven, Andràva, and Vohèmar Bays.	No. 679 Admiralty Catalogue.
"	Ngôncy Road, Vnengabey Bay.	No. 680 Do.
"	Murderer's Bay to Cape St. Vincent.	No. 693 Do.
"	Majàmbo Bay. Radàma Island, etc.	Nos. 702-705 Do.
1875	Map of the District under the care of the Friends' Foreign Mission Association. By J. S. SEWELL.	Accompanying the Annual Report for 1875—(<i>Sibree</i>).
"	Tang-Tang Harbour.	No. 685 Admiralty Catalogue.
"	St. Lucia Bay, Fort Dauphin anchorage. Ytapère Bay. French survey.	No. 689 Do.
"	Map of Lake Itàsihànaka. By WM. JOHNSTON.	Antanànarivo. Frontispiece to <i>Antanànarivo Annual</i> , 1875.

Date.	Title of Map or Plan and Author.	Authority, Remarks, etc.
1875	Boyanna Bay.	No. 698 Admiralty Catalogue.
"	The Central Provinces of Madagascar. By JOSEPH MULLENS, D.D.	London. Illustrating Dr. Mullens's work, <i>Twelve Months in Madagascar</i> —(<i>Sibree</i>).
"	Sketch-map and sections showing routes across Central Madagascar. By Messrs. SEWELL and PICKERSGILL.	Antanànarivo. Accompanying Mr. Sewell's pamphlet, The "Sakalava"—(<i>Sibree</i>).
1876	Sketch-map of North-east Madagascar. By J. A. HOULDER, L.M.S.	Antanànarivo. To illustrate Mr. Houlder's pamphlet, "North-East Madagascar"—(<i>Sibree</i>).
"	Sketch-map of part of South-east Madagascar. By JAMES SIBREE jun., L.M.S.	Antanànarivo. To illustrate Mr. Sibree's pamphlet, "South-East Madagascar"—(<i>Sibree</i>).
"	Sketch-map (manuscript) of the Eastern Ibàra country. By G. A. SHAW, L.M.S.	Antanànarivo. To illustrate Mr. Shaw's paper in <i>Antanànarivo Annual</i> , 1876.
1877	West Central Madagascar. Map of the District under the care of the Friends' Foreign Mission Association. Surveyed by WM. JOHNSTON.	Antanànarivo—(<i>Sibree</i>).
"	Sàrintàny Madagascar; nataòny. By WM. JOHNSTON, F.F.M.A.	Antanànarivo. Nalainy tàmy ny àny Grandidier, ary nahitsiny tàmy ny àny Cameron, sy Mullens, etc. etc.—(<i>Sibree</i>).
"	Part of Madagascar from the latest surveys. By JOSEPH MULLENS, D.D.	To accompany papers in Journal Royal Geographical Society 1877.
"	West Central Madagascar. By JOSEPH MULLENS, D.D., from sketch-maps of Messrs. GRANDIDIER and SEWELL.	Journal Royal Geographical Soc. 1877, comprises Ménabé and Rivers Manambolo and Tsiribihina.
"	South-East Madagascar and the Ibàra Country. By JOSEPH MULLENS, D.D., from the surveys of Messrs. Sibree, Shaw, and Richardson, L.M.S.	Royal Geographical Society Journal, 1877.
"	Sketch-Map of Route from Ambòhimandroso to St. Augustine's Bay. By Rev. J. RICHARDSON, L.M.S.	Antanànarivo. Lithographed by A. Kingdon from a copy by Rajémisa, to illustrate pamphlet by the Rev. J. Richardson.
1878	Minow Islands with Diamond Bay.	No. 708 Admiralty Catalogue.
"	Makambytra Bay.	No. 699 Do.
1879	Bembatooka Bay.	No. 701 Do.
"	General Map of Madagascar. By JOSEPH MULLENS, D.D. On six sheets. Scale, 10·3 miles = 1 inch.	London. Weller, Red Lion Square.
"	British Sound, Anchorage west of Cape Amber, Port Ambaravane.	No. 676, Admiralty Catalogue.
"	MS. Map of Route from Mojangà to Antanànarivo, Madagascar. By Vice-Consul PICKERSGILL.	Scale, 10 miles = 1 inch. Drawn by Rajémisa.
1880	Carte de la province d'Imerina, à  Par A. GRANDIDIER.	Paris.
"	Barren Islands.	No. 696 Admiralty Catalogue.
"	Nareenda Bay and Luza River, with Port Mazambo.	No. 704 Do.
1881	Madagascar, southern portion Cape St. Mary to Cape St. Vincent and Matatana.	No. 760 Do.
"	Tamatave.	No. 688 Do.

Date.	Title of Map or Plan and Author.	Authority, Remarks, etc.
1881	Passandava, and adjacent bays ; places Bararata and Nos-Beh anchorages ; and Mameska island.	No. 706 Admiralty Catalogue.
1882	Africa, General Chart Delagoa Bay to Cape Guardafui, including Mozambique Channel and Madagascar island, with the off-lying islands and reefs.	No. 597 Do.
„	Map of South-eastern Provinces of Madagascar. By W. DEANS COWAN.	Proceedings Royal Geographical Society, September 1882. Unreliable.
1883	Carte hypsométrique d'Imérina. Par A. GRANDIDIER, à $\frac{1}{500000}$.	Paris. Reproduced, vol. i. p. 220.
„	Madagascar, Northern portion ; Cape St. Andrew to Antongil Bay, with the Comoro Islands.	No. 758 Admiralty Catalogue.
„	Cape St. Andrew to Cape St. Vincent, and Antongil Bay to Matane.	No. 759 Do.
„	St. Mary island, channel, and port.	No. 683 Do.
„	Missions de la Compagnie de Jésus à Madagascar.	Toulouse. Anonym. Lithograph Salettes.
1884	Carte de Madagascar. Dressé par A. GRANDIDIER en 1872 à l'échelle de 1 : 6,000,000 or 82.1 geographical miles to the inch. Revue en 1884.	Paris. Dulau. Price 2s.
„	Esquisse d'Imérina. Par A. GRANDIDIER.	Paris.
„	Carte des Environs de Tanànarivo (Madagascar). Par le Père ROBLET, S.J.	Échelle au $\frac{1}{100000}$ to illustrate Histoire de Madagascar, par Le Père de la Vaissière, de la Compagnie de Jésus.
1885	Map of Valafôtsy. By R. BARON, F.L.S. To accompany "Notes on the Geology of the Interior of Madagascar" in the <i>Antanànarivo Annual</i> of 1885.	Scale, 10 miles = 1 inch.
„	Map of West Ankàratra, showing the course of the river Antsesika and the position of the <i>Katavothra</i> . By WILLIAM JOHNSON, F.F.M.A.	Scale, 5 miles = 1 inch. See chapter vii.
„	Madagascar, d'après les travaux d'Alfred Grandidier. À $\frac{1}{500000}$. Dressé par VUILLEMIN.	Paris. Andriveau-Goujon, editeur.
„	Catalogue of Maps in the British Museum.	2 vols.

Histoire Physique, Naturelle, et Politique, de Madagascar publiée par Alfred Grandidier. Volume I. Géographie Physique et Astronomique. Atlas—Ire Partie. 8e fascicule. Imprimé, par autorisation de M. Le Garde des sceaux à L'Imprimerie Nationale, Paris. MDCCCLXXIX. (Issued 1885.)

Planches.

1. Madagascar et les îles Comores d'après Edrisi (1153).
- 1a. Carte de Madagascar d'après la Mappemonde de Hereford (1300).
- 2, 3. Madagascar d'après le Globe de Martin Behaim (1492).
- 4, 5. Carte de Madagascar d'après Juan de la Cosa (1500).

Planches.

6. Carte de Madagascar d'après Pilestrina (1511).
7. Cartes de Madagascar d'après : 1o Ruich (1508), 2o Bordone (1528), 3o Roselli (1532), 4o Antonio Salamanca (1532), 5o Munster (1544), 6o Tramezini (1554), et 7o Forlani (1570).
8. Cartes de Madagascar d'après : 1o Diego Ribero (1529), et 2o Andrea Vavassore (xvie siècle).
9. Madagascar d'après la carte de Henri II. (1542).
10. Cartes de Madagascar d'après : 1o Sébastien Cabot (1544), et 2o Homem (1558).
11. 1o Madagascar d'après un Globe du milieu du xvie siècle; 2o Madagascar d'après un Globe Espagnol de (1530 à 1540); 3o La Baie d'Antongil, par Gysbert (1599).
- 11a. Carte de Madagascar d'après Ferando Berteli (1567).
12. Madagascar d'après Gysbert (1599).
13. Cartes de Madagascar d'après : 1o Mercator (1569), 2o Ortelius (1570), et 3o Mercator, édition de Hondius (1607).
14. Carte de Madagascar d'après Sanuto (1588).
- 14a. Carte de Madagascar d'après F. Cauche (1651).
15. Carte de Madagascar d'après Sanson (1655).
- 16, 16a. Madagascar d'après Flacourt (1656).¹
- 17.² Carte de Madagascar par Thornton (vers 1700).¹
18. Carte de Madagascar d'après Danville (1749).
- 19, 20. Carte de l'île de Madagascar par Bellin (1765).
21. Carte de Madagascar par d'Après de Manevillette (1770).
- 22, 23. Carte de l'île de Madagascar d'après Beniowsky (1776).
24. Cartes de Madagascar d'après : 1o Delisle (1722), 2o Brué (1828), 3o Lapie (1831).
- 24a. Carte de Madagascar d'après Lislet-Geoffroy (1819).
25. Carte de Madagascar d'après Owen (1825).¹
26. Madagascar d'après B. F. Leguevel de Lacombe (1840).¹
27. Carte de Madagascar d'après Guillaïn (1843).¹
- 28, 29. Carte de Madagascar d'après Bona Christave (1865).¹

Note.—The above are facsimiles reduced to uniform size (*not scale*). Reproductions a Pilinski & Fils. Imp. Barousse à Paris.

Madagascar et l'Île de la Réunion. Assemblage des Feuilles 47 (Nòsy-Bé), 51 (Quilimané), 52 (Antanànarivo), 56 (Tullear), 57 (Ambàhy), de la Carte d'Afrique au 2,000,000. Publié par le Dépôt de la Guerre en 1885, Etant Chef du Service Géographique le Colonel Perrier. Imp. Lemercier et Cie, Paris. Tirage de Novembre 1885. Dressé et dessiné par le Chef de Bⁿ du Génie, Régnauld de Lanoy de Bissy.

N.B.—The sketch map of route from Mojangà to Antanànarivo by Vice-Consu W. Clayton Pickersgill has since been engraved by Stanford to accompany Captain Oliver's account of the French operations in Madagascar, published in vol. xxx. *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution*, 1886. Scale, 20 miles = 1 inch. By permission of the Council of the Institution this map has been reproduced in the present volume at p. 443.

¹ Phototypies, Ateliers de Reproductions Artistiques. 15 Quai Voltaire, Paris.

² On Thornton's Chart, Youngowle, mentioned by Drury, is marked outside Môrondava.

APPENDIX.

IN the catalogue of the works written by Daniel Defoe, compiled by Mr. William Lee (*Life of Daniel Defoe*, vol. i. p. xlv. No. 205, is "The Life, Adventures, and Piracies of the famous Captain Singleton: Containing an account of his being set on shore in the Island of Madagascar, his settlement there, with a description of the place and inhabitants. 8vo. Title and pp. 344. 1st Edition, 4th June 1720.

No. 200. "The King of Pirates; being an account of the famous enterprises of Captain Avery, the Mock King of Madagascar; with his rambles and piracies, wherein all the sham accounts formerly published of him are detected. In two letters from himself, one during his stay at Madagascar, and one since his escape from thence."

Mr. Lee writes (p. 448, vol. i.) :—"With the single exception of the *Memoirs of Captain George Carlton*, no book has given me so much concern, on the ground of authorship, as *Madagascar: or Robert Drury's Journal during Fifteen Years' Captivity on that Island*, etc. etc. This volume was first published on the 24th May 1729, and is in many respects one of the most interesting accounts that appeared between the date of *Robinson Crusoe* and the death of Defoe. Madagascar was a centre, around which much of our Author's genius in *fictional* writing turns; and, although surrounded by savage human beings, the isolation of the English boy Drury is perfect. Many parts of the book, on Religion and the Original of Government, are avowedly the work of an editor; and there are occasional turns of humour resembling Defoe, but the language rarely does so.¹ It is certain that there was a Robert Drury—that he

¹ Drury was a porter at the India House (Hughes's *Letters*, 2d edit., London, 1773, vol. iii. p. 88): this pretended *Journal* of his is clearly, for the most part, a fiction probably of Defoe. (MS. note in 2d edition, London Library.) M. Blanchard writes: "La veracité du narrateur a été affirmée; pourtant, à quelques égards, le doute est légitime. Drury prétend qu'il était esclave. Un Européen réduit en esclavage! c'est impossible, disent ceux qui connaissent les Malgaches; on tue l'Européen peut-être, on ne le place jamais dans une condition infime." M. Blanchard adds; "Les procédés de la guerre chez les Malgaches dont Flacourt nous a instruits sont décrits dans tous les détails par Robert Drury." Here, undoubtedly, M. Blanchard strikes the key-note. The author of the clever fiction of Drury's captivity has taken his descriptions of the country, manners, and customs of the people, etc., from Flacourt. Flacourt's map is borrowed without recognition, and a few of Drury's names of places inserted—(*S. P. O.*) See *Antanànarivo Annual*, No. ix. 1835. Art. 2. Robert Drury's *Madagascar*: Is it a fiction? by Capt. S. Pasfield Oliver, late R.A.

had been a captive as stated—that he wrote a large account of his adventures—that he was seen, questioned, and could give any information required—after the publication of this book. In the latter part of his life Defoe had many imitators; I think one of them very ably edited Drury's manuscript. Possibly Defoe may have read it and inserted some sentences; but, as I am in doubt even of that, I cannot place the book in the list of his works."

Regarding the *Voyage à Madagascar et aux îles Comores*, par M. B. F. Leguevel de Lacombe (1840), M. Carayon is quoted by M. Emile Blanchard as follows:—"En 1840 parut un *Voyage à Madagascar et aux îles Comores* qui a été beaucoup lu et fréquemment consulté. Des peintures de l'intérieur de la grande île Africaine attachaient autant par la vivacité du coloris que par la nouveauté du sujet. Le livre sembla désigné comme un guide précieux pour les explorateurs. Ainsi le méfait devait être reconnu; ceux qui lurent les pages trompeuses en présence de la nature dont ils croyaient posséder le tableau fidèle frémissaient d'indignation—le peintre ne s'était jamais écarté de la côte orientale de plus de quelques kilomètres. Avec des renseignements, la plupart du temps fort inexactes, qu'on obtient des indigènes et un peu d'imagination, on passe aisément aux yeux des gens crédules pour un homme intrépide. Toute défiance est nécessaire et légitime à l'égard des voyageurs qui, sans avoir rapporté des observations précises ou des collections de plantes et d'animaux—témoignages toujours irrécusables—déclarent avoir visité des régions avant eux inconnues. Les auteurs qui ont composé l'histoire des événemens survenus dans l'île de Madagascar à l'aide des documens administratifs n'ont pas même songé à la nature et aux ressources de la contrée dont on a tant de fois rêvé l'exploitation."

M. Grandidier's great work, "The Physical, Natural, and Political History of Madagascar."

After two voyages undertaken under the auspices of the French Government, the first in 1857, in South America, and the second in India, in 1862, M. Alfred Grandidier was, in 1865, commissioned for a third time to visit Madagascar for the purposes of research in the geography, ethnology, and natural history of the island. The results of this last exploration are in course of publication by MM. Hachette.

A great deal has been written about Madagascar, and the maps which have been published of that island are numerous; but although the configuration of the coast-line is well known by the careful surveys of Captain Owen, R.N., the geographical information founded on native reports of the interior, or furnished from casual sketches of individual travellers, has never been accurately delineated, and possesses no scientific value. Nothing had been accomplished in the way of topography—(*Tout était à faire en topographie*). Researches in natural history, in this savage country, are more easily made than geodesical observations; nevertheless, in spite of the beautiful and rich collections brought to Europe by various explorers, there yet remained many novelties to discover, and many interesting facts to elucidate.

M. Alfred Grandidier has made three successive journeys to Madagascar: the first in 1865, the second in 1866, and the last from 1868 to 1870. The efforts which he made on the north-east coast in 1865, in order to penetrate into the heart of the country, were useless; the Hóva

governors opposed him by insurmountable obstacles. The following year he visited the southern region, thinking that, in spite of the rapacious and superstitious character of the inhabitants, he would not find the same obstacles as on the eastern coast; he has been able, in fact, to traverse part of the vast plains which form the south of the island, and to rectify the numerous geographical errors on the west coast. On his third voyage his efforts were at last rewarded; in 1869 and in 1870, he traversed the island three times from west to east, through its entire width, from the Bay of Bombétouke to Tamatave, passing through Tananarivo, from the mouth of the Mouroundava to Makanoro, and lastly from Matseroka ($21^{\circ} 31'$ lat. S.) to Mananzarina. Several excursions to Lake Itasy, to the Alaotra lake in the province of the Antsihanakas, to the sources of the Mangoro, to the top of Ankaratra, the highest mountain of Madagascar, enabled him to complete his studies in this curious island, having also visited 2000 kilomètres of coast.

His astronomical and geodetical observations are composed of 188 latitudes, the greater number of which are taken by means of a numerous series of circummeridian altitudes of 28 longitudes, some fixed by lunar distances or zenith distances, others by occultations of the stars by the moon, and of 1500 determinations with the theodolite as much for the hydrography of the river Saint Augustine as for the maps of the provinces of Imèrina and of Antsihanaka. In those countries where the superstitions of the natives and their mistrust of strangers did not allow of his taking openly horizontal angles, M. Grandidier has made a survey of all the routes with a compass, minute by minute. His itineraries extend over a surface of about 5500 kilomètres.

From 1868 to 1870 he kept a register where are recorded, three times a day, observations of the barometer, thermometer, and hygrometer (wet and dry bulb), and in nineteen different places he determined the magnetic co-ordinates.

In natural history M. Alfred Grandidier has discovered more than fifty kinds of vertebrates, not to mention insects, molluscs, and plants, many of which are entirely new to science, and he has studied with care the races which have accumulated and crossed in Madagascar, taking measurements on the living specimens and collecting all details relating to the manners, language, and traditions of the different tribes.

The numerous collection of Lemuridæ, consisting of skins, skeletons, preserved in spirit, which he has brought back from his travels, has modified the opinions of naturalists as to the place which these animals should take in the series of existing forms; the complete study he has made of them with the collaboration of M. Alph. Milne Edwards enables one to appreciate in every detail the anatomical differences, as well as osteological and embryological, myological, angiological, and splanchnological, presented by this curious order. The other Malgache mammifera will also be the objects of important researches.

The history of the birds is completed. The reptiles, fish, insects, and mollusca will be treated of in publications in which the anatomy of all these creatures will be studied as well as their zoological relations.

The palæontology will comprehend the description and the representation of extinct species discovered by M. Grandidier, as well as his theories upon the secondary formations, the existence of which he has been the first to establish in Madagascar.

The botany will be treated like the other branches of natural history, with all the remarkable developments necessary to so curious a flora. To the remarkable types already described in previous publications, and which are to be examined in a more complete manner, will be joined a number of others yet unknown, which will throw a new light on the vegetable geography of this island. The history and the different applications of useful plants will also occupy a large place. This last part will contain at least 200 engravings.

This short summary of the labours accomplished by M. Alfred Grandidier at Madagascar, in the different branches of science, is sufficient to show how interesting to savants and naturalists will be the work now in course of publication, and of which nine volumes and a half have appeared.

L'Histoire physique, naturelle, et politique, de Madagascar que publie M. Alfred Grandidier, comprendra environ 30 volumes grand in 40 raisin :—

1. Géographie physique et astronomique, 1 vol. avec cartes et dessins, par M. A. Grandidier.
2. Météorologie et Magnétisme, 1 vol., par M. Grandidier.
3. Ethnographie, Anthropologie et Linguistique, 2 vols. avec planches, par M. A. Grandidier.
4. Histoire politique, coloniale, et commerciale, 1 vol., par M. A. Grandidier.
5. Histoire naturelle des Mammifères, 6 vols. (3 de texte, et 3 de planches), par MM. Alph. Milne-Edwards et A. Grandidier.
6. Histoire naturelle des Oiseaux, 4 vols. (1 de texte et 3 de planches), par MM. Alph. Milne-Edwards et A. Grandidier.
7. Histoire naturelle des Poissons, 1 vol. avec planches, par M. le docteur Sauvage.
8. Histoire naturelle des Reptiles, 1 vol. avec planches, par M. A. Grandidier.
9. Histoire naturelle des Crustacés, par M. Alph. Milne-Edwards ; Histoire naturelle des Insectes, par MM. Kunckel d'Herculais, Lucas, Mabille, Oustalet, de Saussure ; et Histoire naturelle des Annélides, par M. L. Vaillant, 6 vols. avec planches.
10. Histoire naturelle des Mollusques terrestres et fluviatiles, 2 vols. avec planches, par MM. Fisher et Crosse.
11. Histoire naturelle des Plantes, 4 vols. avec planches, par M. H. Baillon.
12. Géologie et Paléontologie, 1 vol. avec planches, par MM. Milne-Edwards, A. Grandidier, et P. Fisher.

Tous les animaux propres à Madagascar (mammifères, oiseaux, poissons, reptiles, insects, mollusques, etc.), seront représentés en chromolithographies ou en gravures coloriées ; le nombre de ces planches sera de 500 environ. Les détails d'anatomie seront lithographiés à deux ou plusieurs teintes, gravés, ou même, quand il sera besoin, photographiés ; le nombre des planches noires sera de 600 à 700, soit un total de 1200 planches environ pour tout l'ouvrage.

Cet ouvrage est publié par livraison de 5 planches avec le texte cor-

respondant pour les volumes d'histoire naturelle, et par livraison de 7 feuilles de texte avec tableaux, cartes et dessins, suivant les besoins, pour les quatre premières parties, sauf pour le chapitre de l'histoire de la géographie de Madagascar qui étant accompagné de nombreux fac-similés d'anciennes cartes, paraîtra par livraison de 5 planches comme les volumes d'histoire naturelle. Il paraîtra toujours plusieurs livraisons à la fois, de manière à former un ensemble. Il n'est mis en vente que 150 exemplaires. Le prix de la livraison est fixé à 10 francs pour les souscripteurs à *l'ouvrage complet*, auxquels 75 exemplaires sont exclusivement réservés ; pour ceux qui souscriront à une des douze parties, le prix sera porté à 15 francs pour la sixième partie, à 20 francs pour la huitième et la neuvième, et à 12 francs 50 cents pour les autres. Libraire HACHETTE et Cie, Boulevard Saint-Germain 79.

To foregoing list of Maps may be added the following :—

1595. Delineatio orarum Maritimarum Terrae vulgo indigetatae Terra de Natal. . . .
Insulæ Sancti Laurentii. . . . Affbeeldinghe der Custen des landes
genaempt Terra do Natal.
1700. Isle of Madagascar. By H. MOLL. London.
- 17?? Insula S. Laurentii. Par COVENS et MORTIER.
1753. Carte réduite de l'Océan Oriental, qui contient . . . l'isle Madagascar, etc.
1782. Chart of part of the East Coast of Madagascar, from the river Yvondron to
Mananzari, laid down in 1768 by M. LE CHEVALIER GRENIER. A. Dal-
rymple. London.
- „ Chart of East Coast from Mananzari to Port Dauphin Bay. Laid down from
observations made in 1775-1776 by Mons. MENGAUD DE LA HAGE. Pub-
lished by M. d'Après de Mannevillette. A. Dalrymple. London.
1784. Chart of the East Coast from Vohemar Bay to Cape Amber. A. Dalrymple.
London.
- „ Chart of the North-West Coast of Madagascar, from a MS. at the British
Museum by C. WILDE, 1650. A. Dalrymple. London.
- „ Chart of do., from MS. by Mr. WHITE. Do. do.
1843. Carta de la Costa Oriental de Africa con la Isla San Lorenzo ó Madagascar con
las de Borbon, Francia y Rodriguez. Madrid.
1875. Kart over Madagaskar udarbeidet . . . af M. U. ANKER (Östligt Tversnit
af Madagaskar). Kart over den Noroke Missionsmark i Vakin Ankaratra
eller Nord Betsileo. Bergen.

All the above are in the British Museum.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE FRANCO-MALAGASY WAR.

"Hinc concussa fides, et multis utile bellum."
(*Lucan.*)

Origin of the Madagascar question—The main points in dispute—The Laborde inheritance—The "Toale" affair—The historic rights of France to the north-west province—M. Baudais appointed Consul—Indictment of the Hóva Government—Sàkalàva chiefs prohibited to hoist the flag of Madagascar—Commandant Le Timbre's address—Excitement at the Capital—M. Baudais quits Antanànarivo—Removal of the flags by the French—Protest by the Malagasy Government—Despatch of Embassy to Europe—American subject murdered—Consul Pakenham's report—Embargo on the steamer "Antanànarivo"—Ratification of treaty with the United States—H.M.S. "Dryad"—Arrival of Admiral Pierre—Hostile French operations—Bombardment of Mojangà—Expulsion of the French from Imèrina—Rejection of the ultimatum—Capture of Tamatave—The Shaw affair—Death of Consul Pakenham—Explanations requested by Lord Granville—Statement in Parliament by Mr. Gladstone—Death of the Malagasy Queen—Accession of Ranavàlona III.—Release of Mr. Shaw—Death of Admiral Pierre—Return of the Ambassadors—Bombardments on the east coast—Coronation of the queen—Debate in the Chamber of Deputies—Consul Graves and Vice-Consul Pickersgill—General Willoughby—Admiral Miot succeeds Admiral Galiber—Repulse of French reconnaissance—The Madagascar committee—Publication of the red-books—Credits voted by the Chamber and Senate—Blockade—Conference—Occupation of stations in Pàsindàva bay—Occupation of Vòhimàro—Storming of Ambaniho—H.M.S. "Tourmaline"—Effect of the red-books—Deputation of the Society of Friends to Paris—Publication of M. Saillens's brochure—M. de Lanessan's second report—Debate—Credits voted with a diminished majority—Decisive repulse of Admiral Miot—M. Maigrot's mediation—Mission of M. Patrimonio—Recall and Disestablishment of M. Baudais—Armistice—Negotiations resumed—Conclusion of treaty—Announcement of the terms of peace in the Chamber—Explanatory letter—Visit of the French envoys to the capital—Debate and Report on the ratification of the treaty—Hesitation to proclaim the treaty in Madagascar—Occupation of Diego-Suarez—Appointment of French Résident-Général—Settlement of claims and payment of the indemnity.

Map.—Mojangà to Antanànarivo, by Vice-Consul Pickersgill.

Appendix A.—Conferences at Paris.

Appendix B.—Diplomatic documents.

Appendix C.—Instructions to Admiral Pierre.

Appendix D.—Ultimatum of 1st June 1883.

Appendix E.—The Pierre-Johnstone correspondence.

Appendix F.—Funeral of Ranavàlona II. and Coronation of Ranavàlona III.

Appendix G.—Description of the Palaces.

Appendix H, I, K, etc.—Diplomatic documents.

Appendix L.—Treaty of Peace, and appendix.

Appendix M.—Notice of French reservation at Diego-Suarez.

CONCLUSION.—General Map of Madagascar at end of volume.

Subject of chapter. IN the following pages are recorded, first of all, the main points in dispute between the French and Malagasy Governments which led to the late Franco-Malagasy war, and subsequently the military operations and civil negotiations which have happily resulted in the conclusion of, it is to be hoped, a lasting peace.

Origin of misunderstanding. The ancient origin of the grave misunderstanding between the representatives of the two countries has been traced in the first chapter of this compilation, in connection with the claims of the Imperial French Madagascar Company, which were settled by the payment of eighty-six barrels full of silver dollars in 1865. This transaction left behind a subacid and scarcely veiled animosity between the parties concerned which has borne bitter fruits. It is sincerely to be wished that the indemnity now in course of payment may be collected without undue pressure on the unfortunate people, already sufficiently taxed, that all bitterness of feeling may the sooner die out.

Strict impartiality observed. It may be noted that, although the compiler has taken pains to present the facts as impartially as possible, without favour or unnecessary comment,¹ nevertheless, the suppression of the French official reports has obliged him too often to give the Hóva version of events only, but whenever possible the French versions have been followed. In all instances the authorities are quoted that due account may be taken of the proportion of reliance that may be duly accorded to individual statements. The facts are mostly left to speak for themselves.

Reign of Ranavàlona II. 1868-78. During the first decade of the reign of Ranavàlona II. trade increased steadily, and the prosperity of the country was only broken by the visitations of severe epidemics which swept over the island. At intervals various complaints were preferred by the foreign traders on the coast, which the prime minister and his Government strove to redress when brought to the notice of the council at Antanànarivo; but doubtless the conduct of

¹ For instance, in the much-vexed question as to the rights and wrongs of the Pierre-Johnstone case, where the correspondence has been suppressed, it is impossible for outsiders to judge. Under such circumstances it is permissible for the writer to point out that from the approval of the Admiralty, the verdict of the British Government is given unreservedly in favour of Captain Johnstone.

many of the old Hóva governors at distant stations was aggravating and obstructive. Nevertheless, so long as M. Laborde was alive no serious disputes took place between the foreign consuls and the Madagascar Government. Indeed, latterly M. Laborde was more Hóva than the Hóvas themselves, although thoroughly under the influence of the Jesuit mission.¹ 1868-78.

In December 1878 M. Laborde died at Antananarivo, and with the appointment of M. Cassas as his successor commenced a series of complaints of the ill-will shown by the Malagasy authorities against the French portion of the foreign residents. There is no doubt that the French Catholic Mission considered itself aggrieved at the preference undoubtedly exhibited, and not unnaturally, by the prime minister and the queen's court for the work promoted by the London Missionary Society. It should be borne in mind that during M. Laborde's lifetime the French and English consular authorities seem to have acted in perfect concord, and it was not until some considerable time afterwards that the relations between the consulates were slightly strained; for it must be confessed that Mr. Pakenham's sympathies were thoroughly French, and it is much to be regretted for the sake of the Hóvas that they were so pronounced. Death of Laborde. Concord of French and English consulates.

At the end of August 1879 Raiminàharàvo, chief secretary of state for foreign affairs, resigned his office, and an able officer of the 15th honour, Ravoninàhitriniaivo, was appointed by the Malagasy Government to succeed him. In the first Red Book² the correspondence opens with the notification of this appointment to M. Cassas, who had a few days previously opened a correspondence with the prime minister relative to a 1879. August. Resignation of Raiminàharàvo.

¹ M. C. A. Giraudeau writes to the *Journal du Commerce Maritime*, Paris, Nov. 25, 1878 :—"M. Litzler se voyait à chaque instant arrêté et embarrassé par son manque d'expérience. Il n'osait, en outre, agir ni avec la plus grande circonspection, craignant toujours de n'être pas approuvé par son supérieur, M. Laborde, le consul de France à Tananarive. Ce dernier en effet, est devenu, paraît-il,—je ne fais que répéter ce qui m'a été dit à Tamatave—après un séjour de quarante ans à Madagascar, plus Hóva que les Hóvas eux-mêmes, et, se laissant aller à une douce indolence, il ne s'occupe guère des affaires de son pays. Sa seule préoccupation est de ne pas outrepasser ses pouvoirs, et aimant toujours mieux rester en deça qu'aller au delà de ses attributions, il laisse souvent traîner en longueur des affaires importantes, dans lesquelles il serait nécessaire, au contraire d'agir promptement et avec énergie." (See *La Question de Madagascar*, par J. Brenier, 1882, p. 50.)

² The first Red Book, published in July 1882, contains the correspondence between the minister for foreign affairs of Madagascar and the Commissioners of the French Republic, 1879-1882.

1879.
Corre-
spondence
of M. Cas-
sas.

Complaint
of incivil-
ity.

Sept. 2.
An inter-
view de-
manded.

I. *The
Laborde
Inherit-
ance.*

property which the heirs of the late M. Laborde claimed to possess in the capital. M. Cassas took this opportunity to declare that his Government had sent him to explain to the Malagasy cabinet all the dissatisfaction it felt at the conduct exhibited towards the French by the Hóvas, and that efficacious measures would be taken to secure for his countrymen the strict observance of the treaty by the active presence of a French squadron on the coast. The commissioner for the Republic also complained that the former minister, Ranimàharàvo, had dared to address in writing the secretary of the French consulate as "A. Campan," without any title, an incivility which could not be overlooked.

On the 2d September 1879 M. Cassas demanded an interview with the minister in order to discuss the validity of the claims made by the heirs of M. Laborde; and the French statement of the case on which these claims were founded may here be given, as the non-liquidation of the Laborde inheritance was the first of the three grievances preferred by France against the Government of Madagascar.¹

"M. Laborde, consul for France, died at Antanànarivo on the 27th December 1878; and by his will he designated as his sole heirs, sharing equally, his nephews, M. Edouard Laborde and M. Campan, the latter the secretary of the consulate at Antanànarivo. All his landed property included in the inheritance was described at length in the despatch of the 4th of October 1881. With regard to each property the title-deeds are indicated, and these titles are indisputable and perfectly valid. The value of these properties has been estimated at 217,400 dollars (about £43,480), but this sum is far from representing their real value; for one of them alone, the concession of Sòatsimànampiovàna,² would be worth more than a million (*frances*) to a company who would undertake the working of its rich mineral wealth. I should, moreover, allude to the sum of 10,200 dollars (about 51,000 francs = £2000), the value of several other plots of ground, for which, however, the legal titles of ownership are not in the possession of the heirs.

"The following procedure was employed by the Hóva

¹ Yellow Book, 1881-1883 (No. 2), M. Baudais to M. Gambetta, 1st December 1881.

² Sòatsimànampiovàna; see appendix to *The True Story of the French Dispute*.

Government to prevent the two nephews of M. Laborde from 1879. realising any portion of their inheritance for upwards of three years. It was very careful not to dispute all at once the said inheritance. After the death of their uncle, the heirs, who possessed no fortune of their own, desired to lay out part of the property situated in Ambòhitsoròhitra (a suburb of Antanànarivo), and to build on it a branch house of business. The Government allowed them to commence the buildings for some months, after which they prohibited the continuance of the works, declaring that they had no right to build upon the land in question. At this time the right of ownership was not disputed, but for no assigned reason the building alone was forbidden. Protestation was made, but it was necessary to submit to these exigencies, and the house remained uncompleted. Moreover, molestations became so frequent, and of such a menacing character, towards M. Campan, that, fearing for the safety of his family, he was obliged to separate them from him, and send them to Réunion, where they have stayed for two years. The heirs then found a purchaser for the piece of ground situated on the Place Andohàlo, at Antanànarivo, as well as for the buildings standing on the premises; including the house of the consul, the office of the consulate, and various outbuildings occupied by the families Laborde and Campan. The price was 100,000 francs (£4000), and the sale was arranged. It was the Catholic mission which became the purchaser; and it was agreed that possession of the premises should be taken on the 1st September 1879. The prime minister meantime declared that the heirs of M. Laborde were not the owners of the soil, which could not be sold. He sent to the purchaser and informed him that if he took possession of the ground he would dispute the ownership. Père Cazet, the *préfet apostolique* of the mission, comprehended the imprudence which he would commit in concluding the purchase, and the contract was rescinded by mutual consent. The prime minister pretending (a year after the death of M. Laborde, and for the first time) that the landed properties did not belong to the inheritance, M. Cassas, who had arrived in the meantime, offered to exhibit to him the title-deeds proving the ownership." ¹

The momentous interview took place at the French consul-

¹ See despatch of M. Baudais to Gambetta, Yellow Book, Affairs of Madagascar, 1881-1883, No. 2. One of these other proofs consisted of a statement in

1879.
Sept. 3.
Exhibition
of docu-
ments.

ate on the 3d of September, as the regulations of the French Government do not permit the removal of such authentic original documents from the consular office. The text of one of these documents exhibited to Ravôninàhitrinariño, who was accompanied by Ramaniraka and Razanakombàna, was as follows :—

“ANTANÀNARIVO, *le 7 Alahamady*, 1864.

“Radàma II., by the grace of God King of Madagascar and defender of the laws of the country. The ground of M. J. Laborde, Consul of France, at Ambòhitsoròhitra, *azy mainty molàly*. We, Ministers for Foreign Affairs, give this deed to M. J. Laborde as witnesses that this land is his *mainty molàly*.

(Signed) “CLEMENT LABORDE, WILLIAM MARKS,
“RAMANIRAKA, RAZANAKOMBANA.”

The second of the two documents was in similar terms, merely substituting Ambòdin’Andohàlo for Ambòhitsoròhitra. According to M. Cassas he called upon Ramaniraka and Razanakombàna to verify their signatures to these documents as attesting witnesses; but Ravôninàhitrinariño states that before permitting them to answer he expressly asked M. Cassas whether he would accept their answer as the truth; upon which he was silent.

Surprise of
the secre-
tary of
state.

At the very first sight of these papers, when exhibited, the Malagasy secretary of state professed to be greatly surprised by the figures 1864, the date of the year in which they were supposed to be written, for Radàma II. died in 1863; and Rasohèrina, his successor, commenced her reign in that year. Ravôninàhitrinariño wrote: “I wish you to know, Mr. Commissioner, that M. Clement Laborde was entrusted by Radàma II. with the seal of the Foreign Office. At the death of the latter he did not return the seal to the Government, and when it was sent for he refused to give it up. Nor was it until a long time afterwards that, in consequence of the remonstrances of the Government, he gave it up. You can judge from that what M. Clement Laborde could do with it if he wished.” The minister concluded with an expression of regret that a solution of their disputes could not be arrived at,

Forgery
attributed
to Clement
Laborde.

M. Laborde’s own handwriting, which conclusively showed that the land was not his. He writes—

“Je déclare avoir acheté la case de Razàkamànana pour la somme de 110 piastres (*dollars*), et non l’emplacement.—En foi de quoi, etc.,

(*Signé*) “C. J. LABORDE.

“ANTANÀNARIVO, *ce 2 Mars* 1835.”

and suggested on the part of his Government that the affair should be submitted to the arbitration of a third power.

1879.
Sept. 5.
Arbitration
requested.

M. Cassas was indignant at the accusation that M. Clement Laborde had made a criminal use of the seals of the Foreign Office, scouting the idea of forgery, and argued that the deeds of ownership were signed and sealed during the lifetime of the king. He wrote: "Without wishing to offend, allow me to say that your strange proposal shows your manifest ignorance of diplomatic usages. I have been sent here expressly to treat directly with the Hóva Government in all matters concerning the French subjects residing in Madagascar, and with full powers to terminate them according to my discretion. Should you renew your singular request, I shall be obliged to consider it as a rupture between our two Governments brought about by you, since it will imply the non-recognition of my official position and the powers I derive from it."

Sept. 13.

The correspondence continued between the Government of Madagascar and M. Cassas, the latter energetically protesting against the flagrant violation of the treaty of 1868 by the obstruction placed by the Malagasy authorities in the way of the free transmission of the Laborde property to the claimants; and the French consul, after complaining that the prime minister would not reply personally to his letters, as he did to those of his English and American colleagues, departed from Antanànarivo in high dudgeon, and betook himself to Tamatave at the end of 1879.

December.
M. Cassas
quits the
capital.

According to the French Yellow Book, M. Cassas addressed, on the 9th of January 1880, an exhaustive report to M. Gambetta, fully exposing the positions of French affairs in Madagascar; but in June he received an answer, far different from what he had expected, from the home authorities, by the arrival of a French man-of-war, "La Clochette." The captain of this ship, on reaching Tamatave, lost no time in disavowing the warlike proclivities of M. Cassas, and announced the peaceful intentions of the French Government; indeed, at the official dinner, given according to custom by the governor of the port, Captain Vallon declared "that all that the French Government required was the maintenance of the *status quo*, that France desired to preserve peace and the existing friendly relations at any price." M. Cassas indignantly protested, announcing in reply that so long as he should represent France in Madagascar he should not fail to vindicate with energy all their rights as

1880.
January 9.

June.
Arrival of
Captain
Vallon.

1880. often as they appeared to him to be disregarded. Very soon
Removal of afterwards M. Cassas was removed from his post and sent to
M. Cassas. Hong-Kong, being replaced by M. Theodore Meyer.

1881. M. Meyer arrived in Madagascar on the 6th April 1881,
April 6. and previous to his coming there was published at Antanànarivo
in a grand kabàry, held on the usual kabàry ground at Ando-
hàlo, the new code of laws drawn up by the Government of
The Hóva Ranavàlona II. The promulgation of this code, which included
code of the famous law No. 85, took place on the 29th March, and
laws. the French consul subsequently insisted that the publication of
this law opposite the doors of the French consulate was a
studied insult to the French. As the French consulate faces
Andohàlo, any public gathering on the Andohàlo ground must
be opposite to the consulate.

September. M. Theodore Meyer appears to have suggested a com-
Compro- promise between M. Campan and the Government of Rainilai-
mise nearly àrivotny, but no correspondence is published by the Malagasy
arrived at. Government referring to this attempt to arbitrate between the
disputants, and it is probable that no official letters passed
between the parties. According to the account subsequently
given by M. Baudais, this tentative proposal of M. Meyer failed,
because M. Campan would not abate his terms below 300,000
francs, while the prime minister considered that the sum of
250,000 francs would be ample compensation for a claim
which he disavowed. As from this it would appear that only
a difference of 50,000 francs separated the disputants, it is
remarkable that the good intentions of M. Meyer were frus-
trated.¹ He was transferred from Madagascar to Singapore in
October, and was succeeded by M. Baudais, who found the
Laborde affair still a *lis pendens*.

April. The second subject of dispute between the French and the
II. The Malagasy Government arose out of what has been termed the
"Toale" affair. The French gunboat "La Decidée" arrived at
"Toale" Mojangà in April 1881, and the officer commanding, Lieut.
F. Buisson, hearing that a French vessel had been plundered
and part of its crew massacred during the previous month at
Màrambitsy, at once addressed a letter to the Hóva governor of

¹ "Les négociations prenaient une assez bonne tournure quand, suivant nos traditions diplomatiques, M. Meyer fut nommé consul à Singapore et remplacé par M. Baudais. Ce déplacement subit fut immédiatement interprété dans un sens défavorable. Les ministres anglicans et les autorités malgaches proclamèrent que le Gouvernement Français n'avait pas été assez fort pour appuyer son représentant, et qu'il avait dû le rappeler" (Brenier, *op. cit.* p. 53).

Mojangà requiring satisfaction for the outrage. This letter is important in considering the French claims of protectorate over the Sàkalàva tribes, as it plainly shows that at that date the instructions of the Government to the naval commander-in-chief of the station recognised the Hóva sovereignty over the coast of Ibòina, including Mojangà; it is therefore given *verbatim*: "The inhabitants of Ibòina, subjects of King Bakàry, who is himself the subject of Her Majesty the Queen of Madagascar, have assassinated the master of the dhow 'Toale,' a French vessel, and have stolen the goods landed from that vessel for purposes of trade at Marambitsy. This crime has certainly been committed by the subjects of Bakàry, for in addition to the information I have received, the inhabitants have taken flight on the arrival of the gunboat 'Decidée' in the roadstead of Ibòina. It remains, therefore, only to make the facts known to you and to desire you to take all requisite measures to afford all the satisfaction which the commander-in-chief of the station has a right to exact. A canoe laden with goods was abandoned by the inhabitants when they caught sight of us, and I took possession of it, and now forward it to you, as it may afford you assistance in tracking the criminals, for I am satisfied that the goods found in it belonged to the 'Toale.' Hitherto the 'Decidée' has always been able to report the excellent relations which have existed between us, and I am convinced that, on this occasion again, you will show that you uphold the Hóva flag with a high and firm hand as a sign of civilisation in the Great African Island, and the enemy of all acts of brigandage and piracy. I believe that the commander-in-chief will be here within a month, and that by that time you will have arrested the offenders."

1881.
April 20.
M. Buis-
son's com-
plaint.

In this letter we have the unprejudiced opinion of a French naval officer that during the cruise of his vessel on the north-west coast the Hóva authorities had conducted themselves in a friendly spirit towards the French, and upheld the Hóva flag in the interests of civilisation. It is necessary to emphasise the upholding of the Hóva flag, as subsequently the hoisting of the Hóva flag in this neighbourhood was made the subject of complaint by the French commissioner.

The Hóva
flag on the
N.W. coast.

M. Buisson reported the outrage to Captain Vallon, and also sent notice of it to M. Meyer at Antanànarivo. Immediately upon the latter communicating with the Malagasy Government the prime minister sent explicit orders to the

1881.
Independent inquiry
instituted.

governor of Mojangà to cause an inquiry to be made forthwith, and reparation exacted and chastisement inflicted on the convicted malefactors. This message to the governor of Mojangà was despatched in May, and shortly afterwards Captain Vallon, commanding the French squadron in the Indian Ocean, arrived at Mojangà and instituted an independent inquiry as to the rights of the outrage at Marambitsy. The results were communicated to the minister of Ranavàlona II., through the commandant of Tamatave, in June; and again in August another demand for satisfaction was addressed to Ramàsy at Mojangà by Captain Vallon. No reparation having been made by September, M. Meyer again addressed the foreign secretary on the subject. He reminded the minister that the Malagasy Government had promised, four months previously, to punish by force the people of the Ibòina coast unless the assassins were delivered up and the plunder restored. He quoted the minister's own words to the effect that if the governor of Mojangà had not at his disposal sufficient force to destroy the rebels (note the word rebels as implying Hóva rights of sovereignty), he, Ravòninàhitrinariivo, would be proud to proceed himself at the head of a force and inflict chastisement. Four months had elapsed and France had not yet obtained satisfaction, whilst the minister, said M. Meyer, knew well that the insignificant forces at the disposal of the governor were inadequate for the due punishment of the *rebels*. The commissioner of the Republic next proceeded to demand instant reparation from the Government of Madagascar. "The time has now come to hold you to the promise you gave to France; you can only redeem it by making the promised expedition. *The Sàkalàva people must be chastised*; and in order that they may learn the value of the lives of the four French subjects, it is necessary that four of the principal offenders shall expiate by death the outrage perpetrated by them at Marambitsy. This is the first satisfaction which I have the right to exact in the name of the Government of the Republic for the insult offered to the flag. As to the practical object of our claim, I would have you observe, Mr. Minister, that France cannot wait indefinitely the results of an expedition which is not yet even organised. The price of blood must be paid within the shortest time. Commandant Vallon fixes it at 400 oxen in good condition. I do not wish, on account of the good relations existing between the two Governments, to increase this valuation,

Chastisement of the
Sàkalàva
required.

evidently too little, for the life of a French subject cannot be assessed at the value of a hundred oxen, as it would form a dangerous precedent. I have the honour to request, by way of compensation; the Government of the queen to pay in advance into my hands the amount of this indemnity, converted into money, at the rate of fifteen dollars for each ox, their value as estimated at the custom-house, amounting to the sum of 6000 dollars (£1500), which will be remitted through me to the widows and orphans of the poor victims. This is the second satisfaction which I claim as the price of blood shed on this occasion. Again, according to a return furnished by the commandant of Mayotta, the value of the goods plundered amounts to 3740 dollars (£748). I request the Government of the queen to deposit this amount in my hands. By complying at once with these two requests *the Government of the queen will prove to the civilised world that she knows how to make her authority respected as well upon the west as upon the east coast; in one word, throughout the extent of the kingdom: for, I repeat, the Queen of Madagascar should not allow that such crimes should be perpetrated within her territory.*" M. Meyer went on to say: "We have not, as you know, done justice to ourselves, nor have we undertaken any reprisals against the offending subjects of the queen; it is her task to chastise them; but meantime it is just that pecuniary reparation should be made by her Government." Throughout it is evident that at this period—viz. the 18th September 1881—the French consul had no knowledge of any protectorate such as was afterwards claimed by his successor. Meanwhile the officer who had been sent down from Antanànarivo to Mojangà to prosecute inquiries relating to the occurrence at Marambitsy had returned to Imèrina, but was detained sick at Ambòhimànga, the summer residence of the court. When the chief officers of the state accompanied the queen to Ambòhimànga, the ministers were enabled to obtain the report of their envoy, and to hear personally from him the true circumstances of the case. The affair, as reported by the Hóva commissioner, differed *in toto* from that as represented by the French naval officers, and appeared in quite another light. Instead of the Sàkalàva being the aggressors, the Hóva envoy reported that the dhow, hailing from Mayotta, was engaged in smuggling firearms into the country, and that upon being called upon to desist, the foreign Arab crew had fired upon the Sàkalàva, who

1881.
Malagasy
version.

returned their fire in self-defence. It is best to give the circumstantial account of Ravònàhitrinariavo to M. Meyer: "On the 23d Àlakaòsy 1881, the governor of Mojangà and the soldiers of the garrison resident in the neighbouring villages received orders to march against the Sàkalàva, and should it appear that they had really committed any crime, arrest the offenders who had committed murder, and restore the plundered goods. But, some time after the latter was despatched, a letter was received from Bèkiròndro, dated 1st Àlakaòsy 1881, followed by others of later date, saying that these Arabs had sold firearms at Andòka. The men sent by Bèkiròndro, wishing to stop the traffic, were fired upon by the Arab-French subjects; Jongòà, a Malagasy subject, fell dead, and then only did the comrades of Jongòà return the fire; consequently the governor of Mojangà informed me of this, and the expedition was immediately put a stop to. . . . I declare, Mr. Commissioner, that I in no way seek to exculpate the Malagasy subjects, if the wrong which they have committed is shown clearly; but I inform you of this, that we may examine well into the circumstances of the affair; that is, the conduct of the Sàkalàva and of the Arabs as it is above reported; for we only seek the truth in this business. From examination of the above report it appears that: (1) The Arabs introduced merchandise at a place where the Government of Madagascar has not yet established a custom-house. (2) They sold firearms; whereas, according to our treaty, the introduction of these articles into Madagascar is prohibited; the right of doing so is reserved to the Queen of Madagascar alone. (3) The officials, despatched by Bèkiròndro to warn them against such acts, were received by musket-shots, by which one was slain, named Jongòà. It appears from this that the Arabs not only violated the treaty, but were also the first to fire and cause bloodshed. . . . Notwithstanding the account given by Bèkiròndro, which I have quoted, and the facts thus disclosed, I have no wish to act hastily in this affair, and therefore I shall send officers who will endeavour to bring this unfortunate transaction to a happy termination."

Such was the state of the dispute as to the "Toale" outrage, when M. Meyer left the capital in October 1881.

The third, and by far the most serious section of the Madagascar question, however, was that which dealt with the historical claims of France to exercise sovereignty over the north-west coasts of Madagascar territory (see vol. i. chapter i.

III. *The French claims to sovereignty over the N. W. coast.*

pp. 70, 71, etc.) In June 1881 Mr. Parrett and Mr. Pickersgill, missionaries of the London Missionary Society, made a short tour through the north-west coasts, and they were much pleased to find that the Sàkalàva openly declared themselves subjects of Ranavàlona II., as they had been warned that the contrary was the case. Whilst, however, the name of the queen and also that of Ràinilaiàrivòny were held in great respect, there was no lack, says Mr. Pickersgill, of complaints against the Hóva officials. As has already been said, certain lands and privileges had been granted by Radàma at the time of the conquest, and these the Hóva governors had regularly been encroaching upon. Messrs. Parrett and Pickersgill asked the Sàkalàva why they did not complain; and the answer was, that the Hóva governors refused them permission to go up to the capital, as the complaints were against their officials, and their appeals would not be listened to. Messrs. Parrett and Pickersgill then suggested that the aggrieved chiefs should accompany them to Antanànarivo, and this suggestion was cheerfully accepted. The people of Ampàsिमèna expressed their loyalty to the sovereign of Madagascar, and King Tsimihàro claimed to be one of her *ambàniàndro*, and declared that Nòsy-Mitsio, the island on which he was residing, belonged to Ranavàlona.

1881.
June.

Accepting the offer of the missionaries' escort, three of the most important among the chieftaincies despatched envoys, consisting of an adviser or councillor and a relative of the chief. These embassies were heartily welcomed by the Malagasy Government, one of the results of their visit being an acknowledgment of their right of direct communication with and access to the Queen of Madagascar. In token of their allegiance, the queen's Government gave the representatives of the Sàkalàva chiefs proper white flags, the Malagasy ensigns, to be hoisted at their chief towns and ports on the coast, and this assertion of national right on the part of the Malagasy gave umbrage to the French colonial authorities at Nòsy-Bé and to the newly-arrived French commissioner at the capital. Old Tsimihàro, of Nòsy-Mitsio, very naturally declined to receive or hoist the Hóva flag, since he was most accessible to the French authorities at Nòsy-Bé, and, indeed, in receipt of an annual subsidy from the French Government of 1200 francs (*Diplomatic Documents*, 1881-1883).

In August 1881 M. A. Baudais, the newly appointed

1881.
August.
M. Baudais
leaves
Paris.

French consul for Madagascar, and commissioner of the French Government, left Paris to take over the duties of his post at the court of Antanànarivo. He had just received his commission at the hands of M. Gambetta, who then directed the foreign relations of the Republic, and he was armed with special instructions to carry out vigorously an active policy in accordance with that spirit of colonial enterprise which the then French minister seems to have initiated during his tenure of power, so soon to terminate never to return. With the arrival of the commissioner in November at Antanànarivo another phase of the pending diplomatic discussions appears to have been inaugurated. M. Baudais was prepared to take up the several disputes left unsettled by his predecessor with zeal, in accordance with the instructions of his chief, and he lost no time in bringing affairs to a crisis. In his first despatch to M. Gambetta, dated 16th November, he writes:—"It appears that there have arrived in the province of Imèrina certain Sàkalàva chiefs or their envoys. It is said that after long negotiations with the Sàkalàva chiefs, who are under our protectorate, at Nòsy-Bé, and its dependencies, and of whom one, Tsimihàro amongst others, receives an annual subsidy from France, these chiefs have come or have sent proxies to visit the court of Ranavàlona. It is added that the queen is about to send and take possession of the territories submitted, and there to unfurl her flag. As soon as this news reached me I immediately despatched a courier to warn the commandant of Nòsy-Bé of what was about to take place. I added in the letter which I addressed him that had I known where to find a ship of war on the station I should have hastened to make the same communication to its captain.

"The report was true. The Sàkalàva chiefs have come, and their interview took place at Ambòhimànga, the present residence of the queen, and a sacred village, to which the entrance of foreigners is forbidden. The Malagasy Government has not lost an instant, and to those who know their slowness in coming to a decision it is a proof the more that all was arranged beforehand.

Nov. 8.

"On the 8th November the envoys returned (without passing through Antanànarivo), accompanied by troops under arms, and carrying four Hóva flags. Two of them are destined to be planted in Nòsy-Fàly and Nòsy-Mitsiò, the two last on other points of the coast, in the vicinity, no doubt, but which

have not been indicated to me exactly. Now we have indisputable rights over Nòsy-Mitsio and Nòsy-Fàly. 1881.

"In 1840 Tsìmihàro, then taking refuge on the west coast, from whence he came each month to draw at Nòsy-Bé the pension which the French Government made him, ceded to France *all his rights over Ankàrana* and over the islands which depend on it, Nòsy-Mitsio and Nòsy-Fàly included. The Hóva Government never dared take possession of them, and in Ankàrana has never held but a few insignificant posts, occupied by so-called garrisons, which only exist on paper. At Vòhimàro there is a garrison of eight men, at Diego-Suarez of six, at Anòrontsànga of from fifteen to twenty. That is all.

"It is only by great trouble that I have been able to procure the information which I forwarded to you. All means have been tried to keep the matter secret. The prolonged and unusual stay of the queen and her court at Ambòhimànga is irrelevant to this. Every one of whatever rank follows the queen when she is absent, and remains with her. To absent the court, therefore, is to deprive Antanànarivo of all news. It was agreed to keep complete silence as to all these attempted acts of possession. Since the month of May these affairs have been in train, and it is only six months afterwards, on the 2d November, that the representative of France here has been informed, and then only by personal inquiry."

The queen, it appears, returned to her capital on the 24th November, and M. Baudais was received in audience on the 1st December. Nov. 24.

On the 13th December M. Baudais pointed out to M. Gambetta that a certain law (No. 85 of the new code), by which landed property reverted to the state of Madagascar, had been promulgated at a kabàry held at Andohàlo, in front of the French consulate, on the 29th March 1881 (see *ante*, chapter i.), and that the publication of this law, which completely annulled article 4 of the treaty of the 8th August 1868, had been purposely hastened, so as to appear eight days before the arrival of M. Meyer in Madagascar. M. Baudais remarked in his despatch that the fact of the rights of the proprietors having been acquired before the appearance of this law was no safeguard, this notable law declaring that "the land shall revert to the state." If this was permitted the French landed proprietors would be despoiled of their purchases, and M. Baudais Dec. 1.
Dec. 13.
Law 85 of the new code annuls article 4 of French treaty.

1881. desired the minister to insist on the abrogation of this law, No. 85, as contrary to the treaty. At Antanànarivo, said the consul, the Hóva Government has found a means to force, when it wishes, the French to quit the capital. Indeed previous to the promulgation of law 85, prohibition had been made *viva voce* to the inhabitants, under severe penalties to sell land to the French, so that none of the latter were able to become proprietors.

Desire of
the queen
to maintain
a good un-
derstand-
ing with
the French.

M. Baudais proceeds, "In the address to the queen I assured the Hóva Government of the pacific intentions of France and of her firm resolution to carry out the treaty which bound the two nations. In reply it was stated 'that the great desire of the queen was to maintain the good understanding between France and Madagascar, and to respect the treaty as it ever had been' (comme il n'avait jamais cessé de l'être). This language was surprising when it is known that ever since 1878 there had been a continual attack against the treaty, which every day had been more grossly violated. As to religious liberty? It no longer existed since the law 270 (also promulgated on the 29th March 1881) prohibited change of faith. Respect of nationalities? The minister could judge from M. Baudais's reports and those of his predecessors of the fashion in which they (the French) had been treated, and of the inutility of the efforts made by them to obtain justice. The right of property? The law 85 abolished it entirely. This," wrote M. Baudais, "is what the Hóva Government call respecting the treaty."

Serious
representa-
tions made
by M.
Baudais.

M. Baudais believed "that the moment had arrived when serious representations should be made, backed up by the presence of several men-of-war, to the Hóva Government, and to demand of them, among other things, the immediate withdrawal of the law 85 (d'exiger le retrait de la loi 85)." ¹

1882.
Jan. 26.

On the 26th January M. Gambetta was defeated in the French Chamber, in consequence of which the ministry re-

¹ M. Baudais ends his despatch thus:—"Je pense Monsieur le Ministre que la France ne se contenterait pas de la réponse faite de vive voix à M. Meyer, faisant remarquer que cette loi violait le Traité en défendant aux Malgaches de vendre. 'Oui c'est possible,' lui dit-on, 'mais si elle défend aux Malgaches de vendre, elle ne défend point aux Français d'acheter.' Si vous ne paratagez pas mon avis, Monsieur le Ministre, je crains bien que la France, dans un avenir très rapproché, ne se voie forcée de recourir à des moyens plus énergiques encore, à moins qu'elle ne veuille consentir à voir ses nationaux pillés et chassés honteusement de ce territoire.

"TANNANARIVE, le 13 décembre 1881.

(Signé) BAUDAIS."

signed, and M. de Freycinet became minister of foreign affairs. 1882.

In his despatch of the 3d February 1882 M. Baudais reported that the commandant of Nòsy-Bé, M. Seignac, had interviewed the Sàkalàva chiefs who had been to Ambòhimànga and returned to the coast, who stated that they had not gone to the capital to make their submission to Queen Ranavàlona, but to beg the queen to remove from their coast the military posts which she had then established, and to complain of the annoyances to which they had been subjected by the presence of these garrisons. They seemed to have met with a gracious reception in Imèrina, but on their return found that they were expected either to recognise the suzerainty of the queen or leave the country. Up to the date of the despatch the Hóva Government had remained silent on these projects, and evidently counted upon the secret being well kept, that this act of possession should be accomplished without stir, and only come to the knowledge of the French commissioner when the transaction was concluded.

Feb. 3.
Sàkalàva chiefs expected to recognise the suzerainty of the queen.

Meantime the commandant of Nòsy-Bé, whilst waiting orders from the minister of marine, prohibited the Sàkalàva chiefs from hoisting the Hóva flag, or permitting it to be planted in Nòsy-Mitsio or Nòsy-Fàly. M. Baudais also had to report events of importance as imminent on the west coast to the south of Mojangà. It appears, according to his statement, "that at this period the Government of Madagascar sought to establish, in an effective manner, on the west and south-west coasts, their rule, which hitherto had been purely nominal (*fictive*). The natives of the interior, knowing that such a project would be their ruin, had formed an alliance among themselves, and the warriors of Bàly and that neighbourhood were assembled to repel the threatened aggression. They formed a corps amply sufficient to keep off the Hóvas, that is, so long as they remained united."

Commandant of Nòsy-Bé prohibits the Sàkalàva chiefs from hoisting the Hóva flag.

The Hóva gave as the reason of this expedition, that a demand for protection had been addressed to them by Bèravòny, Queen of Màmambìtsy, against the depredations to which she had been subjected at the hands of her neighbours of Sòalàla. This was merely a pretext, for, on the contrary, Sàfiambàla, Queen of Sòalàla, daughter of Andriantsòly, and consequently heiress of all his rights, suzeraine of Sòalàla, Màmambìtsy, and Màmòtia (all the tribes surrounding the bay of Bàly), objected

Tribes near Bàly resist aggressions of Hóvas.

1882.

to her niece, Bèravòny, Queen of Màmrambity, alienating any portion of her territory.

M. Baudais
authorised
to concert
measures
with
authorities
at Nòsy-Bé.

In a despatch, dated 2d March, M. de Freycinet informed M. Baudais that Admiral Jauréguiberry, the minister of marine, had also received communications confirming the presence of Hóva emissaries in the Ankàrana country, and that doubtless the chiefs of the north were being tampered with by the Government of Queen Ranavàlona. At the same time, the minister for foreign affairs did not think that the state of affairs so far would justify the adoption of energetic measures. Under the circumstances he authorised M. Baudais to place himself in communication with the executive officers at Nòsy-Bé, and concert such measures as might be necessary to reserve efficaciously the rights which the French treaties with the native chiefs granted over the dependencies of Nòsy-Bé, as well as over the coasts comprised in those arrangements.

March 28.
"Le For-
fait" or-
dered to
cruise in
Madagas-
car waters.

On the 28th March M. de Freycinet reiterated his instructions to M. Baudais, and impressed upon him afresh that it was the firm resolution of the Government of the Republic not to put up with, directly or indirectly, any derogation of the position taken up by the French in Madagascar. M. Baudais was further enjoined to keep in close communication with Commandant Le Timbre of "Le Forfait," which vessel was ordered to protect the interests of France in Malagasy waters.

April 25.
Dissatisfac-
tion of M.
de Frey-
cinet at the
situation.

In another despatch, of the 25th April, M. de Freycinet expressed to M. Baudais his sense of dissatisfaction at the situation, and foresaw that the Hóva Government must shortly be brought to a more exact appreciation of their international obligations. On receipt of the above despatch, unless the situation had become modified in a sense conformable to the legitimate exigencies of the case, M. Baudais was instructed to recall again to the attention of the Hóva Government the existing state of affairs, consequent on the former treaties concluded with the Sàkalàva chiefs (in 1840). The silence preserved on the subject at Antanànarivo was sufficient to show that the Government of Ranavàlona knew the character of the negotiations with the Sàkalàva chiefs; but these precautions had been rendered useless by the vigilance of the French agents. M. Baudais was required to insist upon the Hóva authorities renouncing these projects which had called forth the just protestations of the French. A certain energy of attitude might possibly exercise a certain influence over the

disposition of the Hóvas in dealing with the question. The presence of several men-of-war in Malagasy waters would doubtless impress the Hóvas as to the interest attached by the French Government to the situation taken up by them on the north-west coast of Madagascar.

On the same date a despatch of M. Baudais relates an interview that officer had with the prime minister on the receipt of the communication from M. de Freycinet of the 2d March. This interview, by desire of the French consul, was private. The French commissioner commenced by expressing how regrettable it was that the Government of Madagascar seemed to pay no attention to the declarations of M. Meyer or of his own, declarations of which the frankness left no doubt as to the spirit in which they were tendered. M. Baudais went on to observe that in spite of the lofty speeches (*paroles pompeuses*) of the Hóva Government, the treaty of 1868 was violated, and that the law 85 was the absolute negation of their mutual conventions, and that this law must be withdrawn. As to the attempts on the islands, dependencies of Nòsy-Bé, France was determined to maintain intact the rights which the treaties assured her on the north-west coast and adjacent islands. These communications were received by the minister in significant silence, and he feigned to ignore the existence of such treaties. M. Baudais informed M. de Freycinet that firmness was insufficient with the Government of Antanànarìvo, and that it would be necessary to exact that which was due from them, and that a vessel of war stationed at Tamatave would cause respect for the French flag, and prevent arbitrary acts on the part of the Malagasy.

In a despatch addressed to the prime minister, Raïnilai-àrivòny, dated 29th April 1882, the French commissioner expressed himself to the following effect. He stated that the French Government saw with regret that the treaty of 1868 was unceasingly trampled on in practice, notwithstanding the protestations and pompous phrases of the Hóva Government. He complained that none of the French grievances had met with any redress during the previous five years; for instance, the liquidation of the Laborde inheritance had been treated in a spirit of bad faith by the Malagasy officials; the affair of the "Toale" dhow had not been satisfactorily settled, and, in short, the treaty impugned in many important points. Again, not content with indirectly breaking their treaty engagements with

1882.
M. Baudais requested to recall the attention of the Hóva Government to the existing state of affairs. Interview of French consul with the prime minister at Antanànarìvo.

April 29.
Complaint of M. Baudais.

1882.

the French, the ministers of Ranavàlona II. had not hesitated to make an open breach of the treaty by the promulgation of a law relating to property, known as law 85; whilst, last but not least, M. Baudais drew the attention of the prime minister to a fact yet more serious than the preceding ones—the assumption of authority by the Hóvas over the north-west provinces, which had been secured to France by treaties many years previously. Rainilaiàrivòny was informed that the presence of a French squadron off those coasts indicated the importance France attached to her rights of protectorate, and finally the Malagasy Government was solemnly warned that France had decided to exact all her rights and enforce them with the utmost rigour. All the grievances of France against Madagascar were thus recapitulated at length in this despatch, which formed, in fact, a species of indictment against the Government of Ranavàlona II.

Stormy
interviews.

Several rather stormy interviews took place between Rainilaiàrivòny and M. Baudais, and the latter addressed the despatch of the 29th April, in which he recapitulated the grievances of which France had to complain. He informed the prime minister of the probable eventuality when the settlement of all these questions would be taken in hand by the commandant of the squadron on the station, then at Nòsy-Bé, who would quickly obtain prompt satisfaction. The French consul observed: “The tone of the answers to my letters, a tone always disingenuous, and in no way relevant to the particular object of my communication, causes considerable obstruction in the settlement of all the questions. This must cease, and it will form the subject of a special letter which I shall address directly to the foreign minister. If this style of reply to my letters is continued, I shall be forced to communicate with your excellency only by *notes*, which, in their character as *notes*, will necessarily be couched in a tone far more peremptory than that which I have been accustomed to employ, and will, in consequence, render the relations between our two Governments far less easy.”

May.

M. A. le Timbre, commanding “La Forfait,” and commandant of the naval division in the Indian Ocean, arrived in Tamatave roads early in May, and on the 5th May this officer was received by the governor of Tamatave. His speech on the occasion is given below.¹

¹ “Écoutez bien mes paroles, car je veux qu’elles soient recueillies et rap-

After the interview recorded above, Rainilaiàrivòny requested M. Baudais to send him a note on the subject of his communication, and this was forwarded to him on the 29th April.¹ On the 3d May the prime minister announced to M. Baudais that Ravoninahitriniarivo, minister for foreign affairs,

1882.
M. Baudais's
despatch of
May 13.

portées au premier ministre. Je voulais venir à Tamatave vous faire une visite de courtoisie, mais les rapports que j'ai reçus du Consul de France m'obligent à vous entretenir d'affaires sérieuses. Un traité conclu entre deux nations civilisées est un pacte loyal, que les deux parties s'engagent à observer et à respecter. Si l'une d'elles ne tient pas ses engagements, l'autre a le droit et le devoir de l'y forcer. La France n'a jamais failli à ses obligations ; il en a été de même pendant quelques années du Gouvernement de la reine, puis tout à coup, cette ligne de conduite s'est modifiée. Monsieur le Consul de France me rend compte que, depuis quelque temps, les violations du traité de 1868 ont été nombreuses ; des Français ont été molestés, tracassés dans leurs opérations commerciales ; les clauses relatives à la possession sont chaque jour enfreintes à l'égard de nos nationaux. M. Baudais a protesté énergiquement à Tanànarive ; on ne lui a pas répondu ou on ne lui a donné que des fins de non-recevoir et les choses en sont restées en l'état. La France veut vivre en paix avec tout le monde et en particulier avec le Gouvernement de la Reine, pour lequel elle professe une vive amitié, mais elle veut être respectée, elle veut que les traités qu'elle a signés loyalement ne soient pas violés. La France patiente, mais les plaintes, les réclamations s'accumulent ; un moment viendra où la mesure sera comble et alors elle réclamera autrement que par des moyens de conciliation la justice qui ne lui aura pas été rendue.

Speech of
M. le Timbre.

"Si elle me confie ce soin, soyez sûr que je remplirai mon devoir avec vigueur, et que les satisfactions que j'exigerai et que j'obtiendrai seront d'autant plus étendues, que ces réclamations auront été plus graves et plus nombreuses. Les ordres de mon pays seront exécutés dans toute leur rigueur. Dernièrement, en agissant par intimidation et par pression auprès des chefs de la côte nord-ouest, placés cependant sous le protectorat de la France, vous avez voulu planter votre pavillon sur différents points. Vous avez échoué à Nòsy-Mitsio et à Nòsy-Fàly, parce que vous avez trouvé devant vous des chefs dévoués à la France ; mais sur deux points de la baie de Pàsindàva vous avez réussi à imposer votre pavillon à deux chefs faibles et sans caractère. Croyez-vous par hasard que ce pavillon, donné ainsi d'une manière sournoise, ait quelque valeur ! Détrompez-vous ; du reste un de ces pavillons a déjà disparu, il en sera de même de l'autre et il faut que vous l'enleviez. Je ne veux plus le retrouver, quand je retournerai sur cette partie de la côte. Il y a quelques jours, j'étais à Mojangà. Le gouverneur m'a dévoilé franchement tous vos projets ; vous voulez renouveler à la côte ouest ce que vous avez fait au nord. Ces projets ne se réaliseront pas, je vous le garantis, tant que je serai dans ces mers ; j'y veillerai, je ne vous perdrai pas de vue ; j'aurai toujours un bâtiment à vous surveiller et à la moindre alerte j'accourrai. Cette fois je ne fais qu'un court séjour sur la rade de Tamatave, mais je reviendrai bientôt, et il faut qu'à ce moment, notre situation se soit modifiée ; il faut que M. le Consul de France m'annonce qu'il a obtenu satisfaction à ses justes demandes. Mais, je vous le répète, la France n'a qu'un désir, celui de vivre en paix avec le Gouvernement de la Reine. Ce que je vous ai dit est un avertissement et n'a pour but que d'empêcher que les relations de bonne amitié qui doivent exister entre nos deux pays ne viennent à se rompre. Dites-le bien au premier ministre."

¹ Yellow Book, 1881-1883, pp. 24-27.

1882.
Popular
excitement
in Antan-
anarivo

was charged to deal with the French commissioner. On the same evening reports were spread through the capital of the French claims, and crowds assembled in Andohalo (a large open space on which the French consulate is situated). M. Baudais remonstrated with the Government on causing popular excitement, and demanded an interview with the foreign minister. This took place on the 12th at the consulate. The *Succession Laborde* was the subject entered upon:—"M. le Ministre," said M. Baudais, "will you, for once and for all, in good faith, inform me if the Hóva Government will give up to the heirs the free disposal of the property which incontestably belongs to them?" "The land, all the land, belongs to the queen," answered Ravòninàhitrinariivo. "The heirs Laborde only possess the buildings. We are willing to *consent* to let them remove these buildings, or live in them, *so long as the queen does not require the land. But they cannot dispose of the ground, which is the queen's, as is all Madagascar without exception.*" It was impossible to deny more explicitly the rights of property. "This," said M. Baudais, "is the complete negation of article 4 of the treaty of 1868." "Not so," replied Ravòninàhitrinariivo, "this article 4 says that the French may acquire all description of property, personal and landed, *in conformity with the laws and regulations of the country.* Now, the laws and regulations object to the land belonging to any person but the queen. The law 85, which you ask us to withdraw or to modify, does not violate the treaty. It prohibits, following the usages most ancient in our country, every Malagasy subject to sell or pledge land, but it does not forbid the French to buy." This was the identical answer made to M. Meyer in the previous June. M. Baudais next reaffirmed the French rights accorded by their treaties over the north-west coast of Madagascar, and added that these treaties had been ratified on the 5th March 1841 (see chapter i.) Ravòninàhitrinariivo feigned, like the prime minister, to be ignorant where to find these territories, upon which M. Baudais produced a map supplied by the commandant of Nòsy-Bé, on which was marked the territory placed under French protectorate. At the end of his despatch reporting the above, M. Baudais fears that his representations were of little avail, notwithstanding their firmness, and adds, "On nous croit impuissants et incapables de rien faire par nous-mêmes."

M. Baudais
reaffirms
the French
rights over
north-west
Madagas-
car.

May 13.

On the 13th May M. Baudais received a letter from the

Hóva Government, which merely repeated the substance of 1882. the interview of the previous day. As to the demand to retire their flag from the points on the north-west coast, the Hóva Government would neither reply yes nor no, but contented themselves with protesting that Madagascar is the possession of the sovereign. M. Baudais again asked for an interview, but the minister for foreign affairs replied that any personal interview would be useless, and that communication in writing would be preferable. M. Baudais insisted, upon which Ravoninahitriniarivo consented to meet him, on condition that no important points were to be discussed. Hoping to bring the Malagasy Government to reason, and desirous of obtaining a more satisfactory response than the protestation of the 13th May, M. Baudais met the minister on the 16th May at the palace of Tsiàzompaniry. Meantime the French consul had received the text of the address of M. le Timbre, read by him to the governor of Tamatave on the 5th May, and which address had caused considerable sensation at the capital. M. Baudais at once perceived that the tone of the official reception was cool in the extreme. He contented himself, in speaking of the north-west coast, to repeat what he had already said twenty times, that France only demanded what was just, viz. to preserve intact her position on the coast, and that the Republic could not for an instant admit that the Hóvas should, unknown to it, plant their standards on territory under its protection. M. Baudais read to the minister the address of Commandant le Timbre, of which they apparently already had cognisance. The minister, having listened to M. Baudais in silence, simply said that he had nothing to add to his reply by letter of the 13th May. Three times this reply was repeated, and the consul, taking this as a formal refusal to respond to his demands, retired from the *séance*, and wrote the letter given below¹ to the Madagascar Government. In this letter the French consul gave the Hóva Government twenty-four hours

Address
of M. le
Timbre at
Tamatave
causes sen-
sation at
the capital.

¹ "ANTANÀNARIVO, le 16 Mai 1882.

"MONSIEUR LE MINISTRE—Dans mon entrevue du 25 avril 1882 avec le premier ministre, j'ai dû lui faire part des instructions de la France de conserver intacts tous les droits que lui donnent à la côte ouest les traités signés avec les populations Sakalaves. Le 12 mai, au consulat, j'ai de nouveau affirmé les droits de la France et vous ai prié de retirer votre pavillon des postes où vous l'aviez fait placer.

"Le 5 mai, le commandant de la station de la mer des Indes a chargé le gouverneur de Tamatave de transmettre au gouvernement de Tanànarive la même

1882.
May 18.

to reply to his demand that they should strike their flag on the territory under French protection. The reply of the minister is given below.¹ It was delivered to M. Baudais at 11 A.M., and was a formal refusal to haul down the Hóva flag on the west coast, and a denial of the French rights on that shore.

The population of Antanànarivo were made aware of what

invitation. Par votre lettre du 13 mai, vous déclarez que ces territoires sont à la reine Ranavàlona II. Vous protestez mais ne répondez pas. Hier, je vous ai demandé une entrevue que vous avez cherché à éluder et que vous ne m'avez accordée qu'à la condition que cette question de la côte ouest ne serait pas abordée. Enfin aujourd'hui j'ai fait mon possible pour vous amener à la traiter ; vous vous y êtes refusé. Les ordres de mon Gouvernement sont formels, monsieur le ministre ; je dois vous demander si vous êtes disposé, oui ou non, à retirer votre pavillon des territoires où celui de la France a seul le droit de flotter. Votre lettre du 13 mai n'est pas une réponse. Il m'en faut une.

"J'ai donc l'honneur de vous avertir que, si dans les vingt-quatre heures, c'est-à-dire, si demain 17 mai, à midi précis, je n'ai point reçu une réponse catégorique, je considérerai ce silence comme un refus formel de votre Gouvernement.

"(Signé) BAUDAIS."

Yellow Book, 1881-1883, pp. 28, 29, 35. See also *The True Story*, p. 83.

¹ "ANTANÀNARIVO, le 17 Mai 1882.

"MONSIEUR LE COMMISSAIRE—Par votre lettre du 16 vous me demandez si mon Gouvernement est disposé à retirer le pavillon des territoires commandés par Binao et Monja, que vous dites appartenant à la France.

"En réponse, voici ce que je vous dis : Dans la lettre que je vous ai écrite le 16 du présent mois, en réponse à votre dire que ces territoires sont à la France, je vous ai déclaré que la possession de Madagascar par ma souveraine est incontestable. Je puis vous avancer comme témoignage le Traité d'amitié entre mon Gouvernement et le votre en 1868. Ce Traité a été signé par le Consul de France et Commissaire spécial du Gouvernement français et ratifié par l'Empereur des Français. Je vous dis aussi, Monsieur le Commissaire, que les navires des commerce qui y vont nous payent les droits de douane, que perçoivent nos officiers placés dans ces endroits. J'ai en ma possession des lettres du Consul de France adressées à notre ancien fonctionnaire pour les affaires étrangères relatives à des plaintes d'un sujet français qui faisait le commerce dans ces postes. Il y est clairement spécifié que la France sait que ces territoires nous appartiennent.

"Vous dites aussi que c'est par des Traités signés avec la populations Sakalaves que vous les possédez. Je vous declare que mon Gouvernement proteste. Si ces traités avec les Sakalaves avaient été faits antérieurement au traité de 1868, ils sont annulés par le Traité passé entre nous, qui leur est postérieur, et vous n'ignorez pas qu'après ils ne pouvaient avoir lieu.

"Vous ajoutez que ma protestation contre la possession par vous de ces territoires n'est qu'une simple négation, mais pas une réponse. Je vous dis que l'opinion que je vous ai remise sur cette affaire est une réponse.

"Vous m'en demandez une sur les affaires dont nous nous sommes entretenus au Consulat, car vous supposez que la lettre que je vous ai écrite le 13 du présent mois n'est pas une réponse.

"Par cette lettre, Monsieur le Commissaire, j'ai répondu clairement aux questions dont il s'agissait au Consulat.

"RAVONINÀHITRINIARIVO."

was going on, and assembled in groups, which were harangued by emissaries of the Government, and the whole city was disturbed. On the 19th large crowds were gathered together, but M. Baudais was perfectly safe. His conduct was freely criticised by the people, but no violence would have been offered him, and the mob was dispersed by the Government. Accordingly, M. Baudais judged it convenient to descend to the east coast, took leave of the minister of foreign affairs, and in an audience with the prime minister explained that it would not be consonant with his dignity to remain longer at the capital. M. Baudais reached Tamatave on the 29th May, leaving M. Campan at Antanànarivo in charge of the consulate, where the French flag was yet flying.

1882.

May 19.
Indications
of popular
hostility
towards the
French at
the capital.

During the night of the 5th June a placard was posted on the door of the French consulate menacing death to M. Campan, the chancellor, signed "*Foloalindàky*" (i.e. "one hundred thousand men," meaning the army).¹ This atrocious placard was torn down by the orders of the prime minister, and M. Baudais, on learning of the outrage at Tamatave on the 11th June, sent orders to M. Campan to strike the French flag and come to Tamatave. The French consul also warned the French inhabitants of the capital that he advised them to come down to the coast, and at the same time (the 12th June) advised the prime minister at Antanànarivo that he would hold the Hóva Government responsible for the safety of the French citizens in Madagascar. On the 12th June "*La Forfait*" was despatched to the west coast, her commandant, M. le Timbre, acting in perfect concord with M. Baudais; they agreed that, as the friendly representations of the consul had been of no avail, and they were ordered by their respective ministers (M. de Freycinet and Admiral Jauréguiberry) to *use all means in their power* to assert French rights, therefore, in face of the response of the 16th May to the effect that all Madagascar without restriction belonged to Ranavàlona II., it was agreed as indispensable that the Hóva flags should disappear as quickly as possible at the various points of the west coast where they were then flying. In consequence, it was decided that M. le Timbre should proceed in "*La Forfait*" to the west coast, and himself remove the flags, take possession of them, and interdict the raising of others in their place.

June 5th
and 6th.
M. Baudais
leaves An-
tanànarivo
for the
coast.

June 12.

¹ "There is good ground for believing that this was a concocted plot, as the threat was unquestionably written by a pupil of the Jesuits" (*J. R.*)

1882.
June 14.

On the 14th June the director of a coffee plantation belonging to a French firm (M. Roux, de Fraissinet et Cie), near Maintinàndry, was murdered; but it does not appear that this occurrence had any connection with political affairs.

June 16.

On the 16th June M. le Timbre anchored "La Forfait" before Ampàsिमèna, the village of Queen Binào, in Pàsindàva Bay (see chapter i.) The instructions of the minister of marine, Admiral Jauréguiberry, were "de maintenir les droits de la France sur Madagascar, mais sans recourir, toutefois, à l'emploi de la force, à moins d'attaque contre son navire ou d'insulte au pavillon" (*H. d'Escamps*, p. 331). The following day at sunrise, M. le Timbre, accompanied by the civil commandant of Nòsy-Bé, M. Seignac-Lesseps, went on shore unarmed, and only accompanied by two men. They went

June 17.
The Hóva
flag re-
moved from
ports on the
north-west
coast.

straight to the house over which the Hóva flag was flying; no resistance was offered, and the Hóva flag was taken down and handed over to M. le Timbre. Meanwhile a boat from "La Forfait" landed one or two carpenters, who felled the flagstaff and cut it in pieces in sight of the villagers. This act accomplished, the party re-embarked on board the "Forfait," and proceeded to the mouth of the river Sàmbiràno, which MM. le Timbre and Seignac-Lesseps ascended in a gig, followed by a whale-boat. At five miles in the interior they landed and directed their steps to Bèhàramànga, a village about one kilomètre from the bank of the river. The Hóva flag was pulled down and taken away in the same manner as at the former village, and within a short time the small expedition was on its way back to Nòsy-Bé. The Malagasy Government informed M. Baudais on the 21st June that the "Toale" indemnity would be ready at Mojangà, where the governor would hand it over to a French officer; and the sum of 9740 dollars was duly paid to M. Compristo, commanding the "Pique" gunboat. "La Forfait" returned to Tamatave by the 25th June, bringing the two flags taken at Ampàsिमèna and Bèhàramànga.

June 21.
Payment
of the
"Toale"
indemnity.

June 25.

July 1.

Meantime at Antanànarivo the Government decided to despatch an embassy to Europe, and announced their intention to M. Baudais.

July 4.

M. le Timbre's report of the removal of the flags from the villages on the north-west coast was forwarded to the Hóva Government, who protested against that act, on the 4th July, and also against the embargo which had been placed on the

Malagasy vessel, the "Antanànarivo," at Tamatave, by the 1882.
captain of "La Forfait."

Mr. Pakenham, the British consul, at once telegraphed to Earl Granville—"Tamatave, July 1882. Hóva Government have protested against the seizure of Hóva flags by the French commodore at Pàsindàva, on the mainland. Hóva embassy to be sent to England and other Powers. French commodore has put embargo on Hóva ship 'Antanànarivo.' 'Forfait,' with commodore, still at Tamatave, and other French war-vessels expected."

Hóva Gov-
ernment
protest
against
seizure of
their flags.
Embargo
placed on
Hóva ves-
sel.

The embassy, which left the capital of Madagascar for the coast on 20th July, was composed as follows: (1) Ràvoninà-hitrinarivo, 15th honour, officer of the palace and the secretary of state for foreign affairs; (2) Ràmaniraka, 14th honour, officer of the palace (a good French and English scholar); (3) Moses Andrianisa, Malagasy creole of Mauritius, school-master of the palace; (4) Mark Rabibisòà, lately a scholar under the French mission, French interpreter; Mr. Tacchi, editor and proprietor of the *Madagascar Times* (interpreter).

July 20.
An em-
bassy is
despatched
to Europe
by the
Hóva Gov-
ernment.

On the 22d July Earl Granville, on receiving the telegram of Mr. Pakenham (see *ante*), before mentioned, transmitted a copy to Viscount Lyons, H.M.'s ambassador at Paris, with a view of inquiry into the matter. Lord Lyons communicated with M. de Freycinet, on the 26th, respecting the proceedings of the French commodore on the west coast of Madagascar; but M. de Freycinet was unable to give any information at the moment, and the critical position of the French ministry at this period obliged Lord Lyons to postpone any recurrence to this subject.

July 22.

On the 29th July the French Chamber rejected a vote of credit for the protection of the Suez Canal, and in consequence the ministry resigned. Earl Granville requested Lord Lyons, on the 4th August, to take an early opportunity of asking for an exposition of the views of the newly-constituted French ministry regarding the recent proceedings of their forces on the coast of Madagascar. M. Duclerc, the new minister for foreign affairs, promised, on the 10th August, to examine the matter without delay; and on the 14th transmitted a note on the operations in Madagascar by the French naval and consular authorities. On the 10th August M. Duclerc instructed M. Baudais to observe an entire reserve pending the result of the negotiations with the Hóva envoys, on their way to Paris; and

July 29.

August 10.

1882. on the 18th he particularly charged the French consul not to put any impediment in the way of the departure of the Malagasy mission. At the same time M. Duclerc ordered M. Baudais to hand over the charge of the consulate at Tamatave to M. Raffray, vice-consul, and to come to Paris at once to assist in the negotiations.

M. Baudais ordered home.
August 18. Embarkation of envoys. On the 18th August the Malagasy envoys (who had arrived at Tamatave on the 1st) embarked on board the "Touareg" for Mauritius, where they experienced a civil reception whilst waiting for the mail steamer to convey them to Europe. Meantime the commandant of Nòsy-Bé reported that the Madagascar Government had in no way ceased their agitations in the north-west coast. No notice apparently had been taken of the removal of the flags from Bèhàramànga and Mâhavànona; but, though not daring to replace them, the Hóva Government had deputed an eighth honour officer to offer lambas of investiture and rings, tokens of royalty, to Queen Binào; she, however, had refused to receive the envoy, and given notice to M. Seignac-Lesseps at Nòsy-Bé, who sent "La Pique" (gunboat) to Ankify. Here the officer commanding the "Pique" had assembled a kabàry, at which he interdicted the Hóvas from taking any proceedings towards the tribes under French protectorate. This they promised to do, but as the gun-vessel could not remain indefinitely at Pàsindàva, it was to be feared, said M. Baudais, that the Hóvas would recommence their attempts.¹

August 21. On receipt of M. Duclerc's reply, Earl Granville wrote to Lord Lyons asking his excellency to ascertain, if possible, to what treaties M. Duclerc alluded as ceding to France the protectorate of certain territories on the north-west coast of Madagascar. In the absence of Lord Lyons, the Hon. E. R. Plunkett communicated with the president of the council on the 28th August, begging to be informed what were the treaties to which his excellency had alluded in his note of the 14th August.

Sept. 25. At the end of September M. Baudais, who was still at Tamatave, reported to M. Duclerc that everything was quiet in

¹ When leaving Tamatave for Réunion at the end of August, Commodore le Timbre called upon Consul Pakenham and expressed a hope that the Hóvas might be induced to abstain from any act likely to lead to a conflict with the French. Whereupon Mr. Pakenham advised Rainilaiàrivòny, as a friend, to order the Malagasy authorities on the north-west coast to remain perfectly quiet, and not offer any provocation to the French, pending the result of the embassy to Europe; and orders to that effect were sent by the prime minister.

the island during the annual fête of the *fandràna*, which was celebrated with due solemnity on the 30th August. Meantime the Hóva Government, he wrote, was more and more decided not to yield on any point; but, on the contrary, it affirmed its sovereignty over the entire island; and a violent article to this effect had been published in the *Madagascar Times*, which was supposed to be the organ of the palace.

1882.
Hóva Gov-
ernment
more de-
cided not
to yield on
any point.

The Hóva envoys from the Queen of Madagascar arrived at Marseilles on the 30th September, and their arrival was formally announced by the consul for Madagascar and the Hon. Mr. Plunkett on the 2d and 3d October. On receipt of this news, on the 4th October, Earl Granville wrote as follows to Mr. Plunkett:—

October 2.

“FOREIGN OFFICE, 7th October 1882.

“SIR—In my despatch to Lord Lyons of the 21st August I stated that Her Majesty’s Government would be glad to ascertain what were the treaties to which M. Duclerc alluded in his note of the 14th August, as ceding to France the protectorate of certain territories on the north-west coast of Madagascar. I have now to state that Her Majesty’s Government are anxious to receive, at as early a date as possible, a definite statement on this point from the French Government.

October 7.
Identical
attitude of
British and
French
policy
hitherto
maintained

“Her Majesty’s Government recognise the Queen of Madagascar as absolute monarch of the whole island, excepting Mayotta and Nòsy-Bé, on the west coast, which are now occupied by the French; and, as at present advised, they are unaware of any treaty stipulations in virtue of which the French Government could properly claim territorial jurisdiction over any part of the mainland of Madagascar.

“The understanding between Great Britain and France has hitherto been that the two Governments should maintain an identical attitude of policy in Madagascar, and act in concert in the matter; and Her Majesty’s Government would view with regret the advancement, on the part of France, of any territorial claims which might be calculated to disturb that understanding.

“Her Majesty’s Government has received intelligence that a special mission from the Queen of Madagascar has arrived in France, which will be accredited to Her Britannic Majesty as well as to the Government of the French Republic, and they would be glad to be in a position to offer their good offices, if acceptable, with a view to the restoration of the *status quo*, and of amicable relations between the French and Hóva Governments.

“I have to request that you will make a communication in the above sense to the French Minister for Foreign Affairs.

(Signed) “GRANVILLE.”

Two American traders, Messrs. Emerson and Hulett, arrived *viâ* Natal at Mòrondàva on the west coast, during the cool season of 1882, and after travelling in the interior, with the purpose, as it is believed, of prospecting for minerals, journeyed

Sept. 9.

1882. south to Nòsy-Vé (Sandy Island), in St. Augustine's Bay (see chapter v.) Here they procured the services of Théodore Parent as guide and interpreter, who had previously been in the employ of Messrs. H. and T. M'Cubbin, an English firm. These travellers left Tolia on the 9th September with the purpose of proceeding into the Antanòsy country. On the following day about noon they arrived at a watering-place, where they rested for some time; and here they met a number of Bàra and Màhafàly tribesmen, who were apparently on their way to the coast, to sell the cattle accompanying them at St. Augustine's Bay. These natives appeared quite friendly, and nothing apparently occurred to excite their hostility. On resuming their journey the American party had proceeded about half a mile, and were in the vicinity of some trees and bushes, when, without the slightest warning, shots were fired from an ambush, and Mr. Emerson, who was slightly in advance, fell dead immediately, whilst out rushed about forty or fifty men (the same Bàra and Màhafàly natives seen at the late halting-place), armed with spears, who attacked the travellers; whereupon the Antanòsy bearers threw down their burdens and flew to the bush, one African being speared to death. Mr. Hulett, who happened to be a little way behind, went after one Antanos bearer who was carrying his revolver, but he was afraid to give it to Mr. Hulett, and advised him to run or he would certainly be killed; as they were alone, and whilst altercating, a party of the natives came on them, throwing spears, wounding both Mr. Hulett and the Antanos in the legs; they were therefore obliged to run; after going some distance the Antanòsy dropped the revolver, which Mr. Hulett recovered, and, although much exhausted, turned upon his pursuers, who thereupon went into the bushes and returned to the main body. Mr. Hulett says that the last time he saw M. Parent he was surrounded by the natives, who were menacing him, whilst he was apparently attempting to expostulate with them; but the Antanòsy says that he saw him (M. Parent) get a spear-wound in the right side. Mr. Hulett, seeing that his feeble resistance would be of no avail, went off into the bush with the Antanòsy (named Cravat), and they hid themselves till about midnight, when they went back to see if they could find the bodies of their comrades, but could not do so in the dark, so then they made the best of their way towards the beach. On arriving next morning at a village they had passed before on the journey
- Sept. 10.
- Murder of an American prospector near St. Augustine's Bay by Sàkalava.

up, they hired some people to carry them to Tolia, where they arrived on Monday evening, the 11th instant, and where they then were, both very ill in consequence of the wounds. Mr. Hulett believes that had it not been for the Antanòsy (Cravat) he also would have been killed. On the news arriving at Nòsy-Vé, on Tuesday, Mr. Allan, an employé of Messrs. H. and T. M'Cubbin, went to Tolia and hired about twenty men, with whom he proceeded to the scene of the murders; and having found and recognised the bodies of Messrs. Emerson and Parent and the African, mutilated with spear-wounds, and both arms of M. Parent either cut or torn from the sockets and carried away, they buried them on the spot, as they were in an unfit state to bring to Tolia, Mr. Allan leaving some marks so that he would again know the spot, the burial taking place on the morning of the 15th instant.

Mr. Plunkett communicated the note of Earl Granville¹ to M. Duclerc on October 12, but no answer, giving the required information as to what treaties were alluded to, appears to have been received, as none is published in the Parliamentary paper (Africa, No. I., 1883).

Meantime a commission consisting of M. Decrais, Directeur Politique, and M. Billot, directeur du contentieux at the foreign department, and Admiral Peyron, had been appointed by the French Government to confer with the Hóva embassy; and the first conference took place on October 17. For an account of these conferences see Appendix A at the end of this chapter.

Mr. Pakenham wrote from Tamatave on the 24th October, stating that Commodore le Timbre had removed the embargo on the "Antanànarivo" on the 9th of the same month; and on the 26th the British consul notified the murder of an American citizen on the 10th September near Tolia, St. Augustine's Bay. Consul Pakenham added: "I fear that French consular authority in Madagascar must be held, at least morally, responsible for this outrage, inasmuch as they have prevented the Hóva Government from sending troops by sea to the west coast of Madagascar, and thus left all foreign

¹ Earl Granville pointed out to Lord Lyons, on the 31st October, that Mayotta and Nòsy-Bé, inadvertently described in his despatch as being *on* the west coast of Madagascar, should have been more correctly described as being *off* the north-west coast, and that therefore the reservation in regard to them would not affect the mainland, Mayotta lying about 180 miles from the nearest point of Madagascar. (Nòsy-Bé, however, is but at a short distance, in sight of Madagascar.)

1882. traders there at the entire mercy of unprincipled Sàkalàva chiefs, who have seized the opportunity to throw off even nominal allegiance to the Queen of Madagascar. In conclusion I desire most respectfully to express my opinion that so long as the French consular authorities in Madagascar pursue their present mistaken policy of morally supporting rebellious Sàkalàva chiefs on the west coast, so long will the lives and property of foreign residents there be exposed to great danger ; and that the only remedy to this state of things is to be found in the establishment and consolidation of Hóva authority in those parts."

Nov. 25. The Madagascar committee. Whilst the Malagasy envoys were yet in Paris, an influential committee of gentlemen interested in Madagascar drew up a memorial which was presented to Earl Granville on the 28th November.

Nov. 26. Conferences abruptly terminated. Towards the end of November the conferences at Paris between the French Government and the Hóva plenipotentiaries were suddenly broken off, and the ambassadors proceeded in great haste to London by the mail train on the evening of the 26th November. At the request of Earl Granville, the following *note verbale* was addressed by Lord Lyons on the 30th November to the French minister for foreign affairs in the terms of his lordship's despatch :—

Nov. 30.

" Her Majesty's Government are informed that the Embassy from the Queen of Madagascar to France have arrived in London, and that they are likely to put themselves in communication with Earl Granville. Lord Granville is therefore anxious to receive some communication from the French Government on the subject of its present attitude with regard to Madagascar, as some guide to the language to be held by him to the ambassador. Great Britain and France have the same interests in Madagascar, and have hitherto acted in concert in all matters affecting their relations with the Hóva Government. Her Majesty's Government attach great importance to the continuance of the good understanding, to promote which it is desirable that no cessation should take place in the system of frank intercommunication which has hitherto been adopted by the two Governments to their mutual advantage.—*Paris, November 30, 1882.*"

Dec. 2. Ambassadors of Ranavàlona received by Earl Granville.

The First and Second ambassadors of Ranavàlona II. were received by Earl Granville in the Foreign Office at 3 P.M. on the 2d December 1882. The envoys presented the following address :—

" YOUR LORDSHIP—It is with pleasure that we, the Ambassadors of Her Majesty Ranavàlomanjàka, Queen of Madagascar, have set foot on the shores of England, and come to present to your Lordship the expres-

sion of our respect and esteem for a country to which we are so deeply indebted. 1882.

"We have the honour to transmit to your Lordship the credentials which accredit us as Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Court of Her Most Gracious Majesty Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, and Empress of India.

"The Queen, our Mistress, in confiding this mission to us, bids us express our feelings of gratitude to a great nation which has ever been the firm friend of Madagascar, and we can assure your Lordship that the object of our present visit is to consolidate and cement those friendly relations which have always existed between our respective Governments.

"The first object of our visit to England is to solicit through your Lordship an audience with Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, in the name of our Sovereign Ranavàlomanjaka.

"We also come to lay before Her Britannic Majesty's Government the unfortunate relations now existing between our Government and that of France.

"Lastly, the object of our mission is to propose a revision of the Treaty between Great Britain and Madagascar, whereby we hope to facilitate the commercial relations between our respective subjects, and to settle more definitely any questions upon which there may now exist diversity of opinion."

M. Duclerc wrote from Paris on 3d December to M. Tissot, Dec. 3. ambassador at St. James's, the following note which was communicated by the latter to Earl Granville:—

Translation.

"MONSIEUR—I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a copy of a note which the English ambassador placed in my hands the 30th November last on the subject of the departure of the Hóva mission for England. Relying upon the common interests of the two countries in Madagascar, and upon the agreement which has inspired their policy on other occasions towards the Government of Antanànarivo, Her Britannic Majesty's Government would like to obtain in regard to the attitude observed by the Government of the Republic with the envoys of Queen Ranavàlona, some particulars on which to regulate its own language towards them.

"We cannot fail to appreciate the feelings which have suggested this communication, and we are fully disposed to answer them in the same spirit of friendly frankness. My letter to Lord Lyons of the 14th August, the text of which I communicated to you on the 16th of the same month [see p. 297], has already informed the English Cabinet of the nature of the difficulties which have arisen lately between us and the Court of Imèrina, as well as the reservation we made at the first notice of the resolution taken by the Hóva Government for carrying out in Paris, through the agency of a special mission, the settlement of the pending questions.

"To give a proof of our desire of conciliation, and without abandoning the traditional rights of which the French Government has always reserved the principle, we were careful in the recent conferences to limit the discussion to two points, determined by regular conventions, one of which, at least, interests to the same degree the relations of England with Madagascar. The *pourparlers* have not, unfortunately, given the

1882.

results which one would have expected from the disposition by which the representatives of Queen Ranavàlona seemed at first animated. After the notification which was made to them of the private treaties concluded in 1840-41 between France and the independent chiefs of the north-west coast, the Hóva delegates had consented to take, in the name of their Government, the engagements which we required from them, touching the taking away of flags, garrisons, and custom-houses unlawfully established in the territories placed under our protectorate. We consequently consider as definitely settled this first point, which is of vital interest for our insular establishments in that neighbourhood, and which, moreover, concerns exclusively the relations of the two countries.

It is on the question of the right of property, and on the interpretation of the clauses of our treaty of 1868, which secures the benefit of it to our countrymen, that the conferences had to be broken off. We, however pushed our concessions to the farthest limit, in showing ourselves disposed to accept any combination which, while respecting the principles proclaimed by the Hóva Government in the name of its public law, would have ensured our countrymen the guarantees resulting from the treaty. These conciliatory dispositions having encountered an absolute resistance, we have not seen our way to adhere, in so far as it concerns us, to other propositions tending to compromise the maintenance of rights claimed legitimately not only by France, but also by Great Britain, and by other powers which have made treaties with the Government of Antanànarivo.

Such has been our attitude with regard to the Hóva envoys. To judge from the declarations which Lord Granville has had the opportunity to make recently, this attitude would be quite in accord with the feelings with which the British Government would be disposed to treat this question. We should be, consequently, very glad that the language held by the English Cabinet to the representatives of the Hóva Government touching the observance and the interpretation of the respective treaties should be of such a nature as to leave them in no more doubt about the views of Her Majesty's Government than about ours.

I shall be obliged if you will communicate these explanations to Lord Granville, leaving you to complete them verbally on points of fact, with the aid of the particulars which I have transmitted to you. You will on your part be good enough to let me know exactly any information which may be given to you about the conferences held in London.—Accept, etc.

(Signed)

DUCLERC.

Dec. 4.
Subjects of
complaint
on the part
of France
against Ma-
dagascar.

M. Tissot read the above to Earl Granville at the Foreign Office on 4th December, and in further explanation briefly recapitulated the subjects of complaint on the part of France against Madagascar. These were originally:—(1) The refusal of the Malagasy Government to respect the engagements contracted by the treaties of 1862 and 1868; and in particular article 4 of the latter treaty, granting to French citizens the right of acquiring landed property. (2) The encroachment of the Malagasy Government on the territories of the north-west coast, in regard to which the native chiefs have signed conven-

tions with France, dating from 1840 to 1843. The Hóva flag 1882.
had been hoisted, and military and customs stations established
opposite Mayotta and Nòsy-Bé. The French Commissioner
at Antanànarivo had presented a note on the 29th May last
on these points. This had been met by a complete refusal;
and by hostile demonstrations against the French Com-
missioner, who had taken refuge at Tamatave. The French
naval force of the station had then removed two flags improp-
erly hoisted on the north-west coast. The Malagasy Govern-
ment having announced the despatch of an embassy, operations
had been suspended. Thereupon had followed the conferences
at Paris. The Malagasy envoys had recognised to a certain
extent the rights which France had acquired by treaty on
the north-west portion of the coast. They had, however,
refused to agree to the claims of France with regard to the
right of acquiring real property. They would concede no
more than the right of making twenty-five years' leases, renew-
able only with the queen's authorisation. Thereupon the
conference had been broken off." Earl Granville expressed no
opinion on the despatch of M. Duclerc, or upon the explana-
tions with which M. Tissot accompanied its communication;
but he took the opportunity of mentioning to M. Tissot the
possible danger to Europeans in Madagascar, and the hope of
the English Government that, for this reason among others,
the French Government would take no precipitate action in
regard to the differences with the Hóva Government.

Such was the French statement of the case against Madagascar. On the following day, the 5th December, Lord Granville received the statement of the Hóva envoys, which recapitulated their grievances against the French Government. The Malagasy ambassadors personally presented the above paper on the various points which they had recently discussed with the French Government. In the course of the conversation which ensued, Earl Granville asked their Excellencies whether, as regarded the most important point in dispute, the French claim to protectorate over the north-west coast, any concessions had been offered or considered by either side in the course of the negotiations. The Hóva ambassadors stated in reply that a verbal suggestion had been made to them on the part of the French Commissioners, that as regarded that point the French Government would be satisfied if, to save the dignity of France, the Hóva Government would withdraw their

Dec. 5.
Statement
of Mala-
gasy
envoys.

1882.

custom-houses from Dalrymple Bay, opposite Nòsy-Bé, for a time, upon the understanding that they should be free to garrison the coast again in a few years' time ; that the Hóva ambassadors had expressed their willingness to agree to such a compromise, which was to be reduced to definite terms in writing by the French Commissioners. When, however, the written agreement was presented to them, their Excellencies perceived that not only was all mention of the provision for the re-establishment of the garrisons omitted, but that the document contained an assertion of the French right of protectorate, not only over the north-west coast, but over the whole island. Such an admission would have been in the eyes of the Hóva ambassadors an act of high treason, and they consequently declined to entertain it—a resolution from which it was impossible to depart.

As regarded the purchase of land by foreigners, it appeared that, although the Hóva ambassadors did not consider themselves empowered to concede the acquisition of freeholds, they would be ready to consent to a system of perpetual leases, renewable every twenty-five years, which would be as effective for attracting foreign capital to their country, and give the necessary fixity of tenure. This was one of the points in regard to which they were anxious to effect a revision of the existing treaty between Great Britain and Madagascar, and their Excellencies stated that they had just concluded a treaty with the United States of a very friendly character, which they hoped might be accepted as a basis for further treaties, inasmuch as, next to England, the United States had the largest and most varied interests involved in the peace and prosperity of their country. Their Excellencies added that they would be happy to consider very favourably any modifications of that treaty which might be considered by Her Majesty's Government as desirable for British interests.

Lord Granville supposes that with a little moderation and goodwill all misunderstanding can be settled.

It seemed to Earl Granville, after comparing M. Duclerc's despatch with the written statement and conversation of the ambassadors, that, although there had evidently been a complete misunderstanding at the time on the important point of the reparation which was to be made to France, both the fact of some sort of compromise having been discussed, and the absence of any decided difference as to the views then entertained by the embassy and the great power with whom they had had to deal, led him (Earl Granville) to suppose that this

was a matter which might, with a little of the goodwill and 1882.
moderation indicated in M. Duclerc's despatch, have been at once settled. The concession, in its existing state as to the tenure of land, while it was probably intended to meet the prejudices of the natives, was one which would be quite satisfactory to Her Majesty's Government, and would probably recommend itself to the favourable consideration of the French Government. It was also remarked by Earl Granville that the ambassadors did not request any provision (which had previously been the case) as to the necessity of the queen's consent to the making of leases.

On the 8th December M. Duclerc warned M. Raffray at Dec. 8.
Tamatave that the minister of marine was taking measures in concert with him to enforce the security of the French establishment in Madagascar, and to defend their rights.

On the 11th December Lord Granville received the Dec. 11.
following communication from the Malagasy ambassadors:—

“LONDON, 9th December 1882.

Blue Book
No. 40.

“MY LORD—We have had the honour of submitting to your Lordship's friendly consideration an outline of our difficulties with France, and now desire to lay them before you in fuller detail, in order that our case may be thoroughly understood.

“1. *With regard to the demand of France concerning Protectorate.*—M. Duclerc told us that we had insulted France by placing flags on the north-west coast, and that she had intended to assert her rights by force, but on hearing by telegram of our embassy, had postponed her advances for a while. Next we had two interviews with the commissioners, MM. Decrais, Peyron, and Billot, who declared that France would on no account give up her asserted protectorate over the north-west, but we on our side contested that France had no such right. After this we waited a month before business was resumed by the commissioners. Our subsequent communications were made through our own consuls, MM. Roux and Rabaud, and MM. Revoil and Baragnon (the latter two gentlemen, of whose exact relation to the French Government we are ignorant), who advised us to make some concession to the national pride of the country with which we were dealing, such as the removal for a few years of the custom-house officers and flags which had been lately placed on the north-west, in the districts under Binaò and Mònja, in connection with which the present difficulties arose, and we were given to understand that such a concession on our part would result in a withdrawal of the French claims to a protectorate. On the strength of our expressed willingness to concede this point, a document was drawn up by the commissioners, and sent to us to be signed as an ultimatum. Our refusal was made for the following reasons:—(1) Nothing was said about our removal of the custom-houses and flags being only for a few years. (2) Recognition of the French protectorate on the north-west was insisted on. (3) They asserted general rights over the whole of Madagascar, which was the first intimation we had of any such claims.

1882.

"2. *Concerning Purchase of Land by Foreigners.*—The commissioners charged our Government with violation of the treaty of 1868 by forbidding the subjects of Madagascar to make absolute sales of this kind of property. We denied most emphatically having broken any agreement with France in the recent revision of our laws. According to our ancient laws and customs, foreigners cannot maintain a fee-simple title to land in Madagascar. We have constantly denied their rights to do this, and assert that no such privilege is granted in the treaty referred to.

"Article IV. of French treaty: 'Les Français à Madagascar jouiront d'une complète protection pour leurs personnes et leurs propriétés. Ils pourront, comme les sujets de la nation le plus favorisée, et en sa conformance aux lois et règlements du pays, s'établir partout où ils jugeront convenable prendre à bail, acquérir toute espèce de biens meubles et immeubles, et se livrer à toutes les opérations commerciales et industrielles qui ne sont pas interdites par législation intérieure.'

"In the ultimatum above referred to the French agreed to accept leases of ninety-nine years, and in order to come to terms on this matter we announced ourselves prepared to grant leases of twenty-five years, renewable twice in similar periods, at the conjoint desire of owner and occupier, with Government registration at each renewal. We represented that in the present stage of our country's enlightenment it is undesirable to grant leases for more than twenty-five years at one period.

The Succession Laborde.

"3. *Respecting the Land formerly occupied by M. Laborde, late French Consul at Antanànarivo.*—He landed in Madagascar a shipwrecked sailor, and obtaining employment under Ranavàlona I. as a kind of general superintendent of works, received many favours at the hands of her majesty. He was enriched and promoted to a peerage. He married a Malagasy wife, and was regarded as one of ourselves. His nephew, a Frenchman of the name of Campan, now claims as heir, not only the houses of M. Laborde, but the ground on which they stand. The houses we consider as belonging by law to the legatee, his right to the land we deny. As a foreigner, he cannot possess it in fee-simple. Moreover, we have a statement in M. Laborde's own handwriting, which shows that the land was not his. He says: 'Je déclare avoir acheté la case de Razàkamàmana pour la somme de (110 dollars) 110 piastres, et non l'emplacement.—En foi de quoi, etc. (Signé) C. J. LABORDE. Antanànarivo ce 2 Mars 1835.' And to this is appended a Malagasy translation, also in his own handwriting, and signed in the same way. This again is followed by the signatures of three native officials, and the genuineness of these testimonies is clearly established by the fact of their being written not as separate documents, but as entries in one of our Government books.

The "Toale" affair.

"4. *With regard to the dhow 'Toale,'* the facts of the case are as follows:—A little way down the coast from Bèmbatòka Bay, on the west coast of Madagascar, are four Sàkalàva chieftaincies, which at the time of this affair¹ were at war amongst themselves. Bàly, Sòalàla, and Bòina had made an attack on Màmambitsy, the place where the notorious Mohammed-ben-Abdoolah lives, as husband of the Sàkalàva chieftainess. This Arab adventurer, his followers, and the Sàkalàva of the place were overmastered, and their town on the beach destroyed. The 'Toale,' conveying arms and ammunition, under protection of the French flag, to these

¹ March 1881.

Marambitsy people, was discovered by a party of the enemy from Boina, 1882. just as she was about to land her cargo. Of course an altercation ensued, and subsequently a fight, brought on, we have found, by the crew of the dhow firing first upon the Sàkalàva. Several of the Arabs were killed, and also several subjects of Madagascar. For this so-called outrage upon the French flag, we have been forced by M. Baudais, the French commissioner and consul, to pay an indemnity of 9740 dollars. Against this injustice we came to complain to the French Government, and intended to demand repayment of the fine, which we paid under threat of bombardment, but the subject was never discussed in France.

"5. We were also authorised to appeal for justice in the affair of the embargo placed upon the 'Antanànarivo.' By the action of Commandant le Timbre in this matter, we were prevented from sending troops to the south-west coast, where two citizens of America have since been murdered by the very Sàkalàva rebels against whom we intended to make our expedition. This, it must be understood, is a part of Madagascar not included in the 'protectorate.' The 'Antanànarivo' was even prevented by Commandant le Timbre from bending her sails, and has been detained in the harbour of Tamatave over three months, entailing upon our Government an actual loss, for which we think ourselves entitled to due compensation.

The embargo on the "Antanànarivo."

"6. We finally intended to demand that France, as a treaty power, shall cause her citizens to respect her engagements with us, and punish, or allow us to punish, those who carry on an illegal traffic in arms among our subjects the Sàkalàva.—We have, etc.,

(Signed) "RAVONINÀHITRINIARIVO, 15th Honour, etc.

"RAMANIRAKA, 14th Honour, etc."

In obedience to the instructions of Earl Granville, dated "Foreign Office, 19th December 1882," Lord Lyons addressed the following *note verbale* to the French minister for foreign affairs :—

Dec. 22.
Diplomatic
corre-
spondence.

"On the 13th of this month Lord Lyons had the honour to have a conversation with his excellency M. Duclerc on the subject of Madagascar. Having received from Lord Lyons a report of the substance of that conversation, Her Majesty's Government have noticed with pleasure the moderate and friendly manner in which the question was discussed by M. Duclerc, and they are led to hope that an amicable solution of the difficulties which have arisen between France and the Hóva Government may be arrived at.

Blue Book
No. 49.

"In a despatch, dated the 3d instant, which was communicated to Earl Granville by the French ambassador in London, M. Duclerc mentions two important points in respect to which the French and Madagascar Governments are at issue. With regard to that bearing upon certain treaty rights to which the French Government lays claim, Her Majesty's Government are glad to note that notwithstanding the impressions of the Hóva ambassador as to what passed on that point, M. Duclerc is still of opinion that the negotiations have not been broken off on the protectorate question, and that his Excellency gives an assurance of a continued disposition, on the part of the French Government, to be extremely moderate.

1882.

"On the second point, that of land tenure, both the French Government and the ambassadors are agreed that there has been a wide difference of views. It appears, therefore, to Her Majesty's Government that it is in a satisfactory arrangement of that question that a settlement of the present dispute must be looked for. The French Government asserts the right for French citizens to buy and hold land in Madagascar. The Hóva Government affirms that by the laws of Madagascar no alien can hold land in fee-simple. A similar law existed in England, and was repealed only a few years ago. There are still many cases in which, under the law of England, it is impossible to effect absolute transfers of land; and the compromise resorted to in such cases is to grant leases, which convey as nearly as may be all the advantages of a freehold. The concession of leases for twenty-five years, offered by the Hóva ambassadors, without some security for renewal, appears to Her Majesty's Government to be a most unsatisfactory substitute for the right of absolute purchase. They would not be disposed to accept such terms in any revision of the treaty between Great Britain and Madagascar; but they have reason to hope that a much more satisfactory arrangement might be made, and that the prospect of the peaceful settlement of the other questions pending with the French Government would induce the Government of Madagascar to establish by treaty such freedom of contract as regards leases as would confer upon foreigners the substantial advantages of freeholds.

"Her Majesty's Government have no desire to put themselves forward as mediators, or to press their good offices upon the French Government,¹ but they are at this moment in communication with the Hóva ambassadors, and they would be willing to use their position in order to pave the way for a more friendly resumption of negotiation at Paris between France and Madagascar.—*Paris, 22d December 1882.*"

1883.
Jan. 5.

On the 5th January M. Tissot communicated a *note verbale* from M. Duclerc to Earl Granville, dated Paris, 4th January. Its purport ran as follows:—

No. 55.

"SIR—I have the honour to send to you a copy of a *note verbale* which the English ambassador placed in my hands towards the end of December, concerning the questions pending in Madagascar between France and the Court of Antananarivo. As you will see, the English Government testify to the favourable impression which has been produced on them by the explanations exchanged during the interview which I had with Lord Lyons a few days before, and express the hope that the present difficulties may still be amicably settled. They begin by recognising with satisfaction that the negotiations carried out in Paris with the Hóva envoys have not been broken off on account of the question of the protectorate claimed by us over certain parts of the island, and that we are disposed not to depart from extreme moderation on this point. It is necessary to recall now that the rights claimed by France on the north-west coast of Madagascar are certain, and are confirmed by regular treaties. If the conferences were not broken off upon this point, it was only because the Hóva envoys

¹ This phrase, "to press their good offices upon the French Government," seems to have been misunderstood, "de prêter ses bons offices à la France dans ses différends avec les Hóvas."

engaged to concede to us the demands which we have the right and the determination to enforce. As to the right of property, the domestic legislation of the Hóva nation cannot override the engagements resulting from a convention regularly concluded. This convention is the only rule applicable to the relations between the two contracting Governments. The fact that a similar law recently existed in England may be considered interesting from an historical point of view, but not as a conclusive argument; for it is evident that the English Government, under the dominion of such a law, would never have consented to conclude diplomatic arrangements which, by conceding to foreigners the right of property, would have been in contradiction to its domestic legislation. Now, does the difference between France and the Hóva Government admit of an amicable settlement, as they are inclined to think in London? That depends entirely on the Hóva Government. Let it recognise the legitimacy of our claims, let it give us sufficient guarantees for the loyal execution of the treaty which it has concluded, we shall ask nothing more. But it is necessary that the whole world should be thoroughly convinced that the conditions expressed by us in the course of the conferences held at Paris mark the limit of possible concessions.

“On its side the English Government exactly appreciates the state of affairs when it rejects the idea of offering a mediation which the difference does not admit of. This declaration dispenses us from laying stress upon another expression in the English note. I do not know what the English Government means by ‘*to press their good offices upon the French Government*,’ but to us this expression is untranslatable in French, for the word which would be the literal translation would be absolutely inadmissible. I leave it to you to communicate these observations to Lord Granville, to whom you can read them and give a copy.—Accept, etc.,
(Signed) “DUCLERC.”

Earl Granville wrote to Lord Lyons from the Foreign Office on the 17th January:—

“The report given in your despatch of the 13th December of his Excellency’s language on this question, the tone and spirit of which were so much appreciated by Her Majesty’s Government, had led me to hope that I might be able indirectly to be of some use in bringing about a peaceable solution of the differences which exist between Madagascar, in whose welfare this country has for a long time taken an interest, and one of the most powerful and highly civilised nations in the world. I regret to say that the character of the last despatch has entirely destroyed that expectation, and my first intention was to inform the Malagasy envoys that the French Government considered the negotiations at an end. It appears, however, that this despatch was written under a complete misapprehension of an English phrase which I had used. That phrase was only intended to convey that Her Majesty’s Government, while they were ready to give their assistance in bringing about an understanding, had no desire to put forward an offer of such assistance if it were not acceptable to France. I have therefore to instruct your Excellency to ascertain whether the French Government object to my making any communication of their views to the Madagascar embassy, and if not, what they would wish the character of that communication to be.—I am, etc.,

“GRANVILLE.”

1883.
Jan. 20.
Publica-
tion of the
*Livre
jaune.*

Lord Lyons consequently sent a *note verbale* to the above effect to M. Duclerc on the 20th January, and on the 25th of that month transmitted to Lord Granville in reply the copy of a note sent by the French minister, dated January 24, 1882. This note began by stating that M. Duclerc was particularly sensible of the courtesy with which Earl Granville had defined the character of the good offices which he offered, but it went on to observe that the Madagascar envoys were fully acquainted with the claims of the French Government, and could have no illusions as to the consequences of the attitude they had chosen to take up; and it added, that this being the case the French Government did not think that it would be of any use for a fresh communication of its views being made to them by Her Majesty's Government. (This last note finishes the series of *Documents Diplomatiques, Affaires de Madagascar*, for 1881-83, which was published at the end of January 1883.)

Jan. 28, 29.

On the 28th January the French ministry under M. Duclerc (who was seriously ill) resigned, and a new ministry was formed under the presidency of M. de Fallières.

Feb. 8.

Captain le Timbre, the officer in command of the squadron in the Indian Ocean, was promoted Rear-Admiral on the 8th February, and returned home, and the squadron was made an admiral's command.

Hóva am-
bassadors
protest
against the
inaccurate
account
given in
the Yellow
Book.

The Hóva ambassadors called upon Lord Granville on the 8th February to communicate some observations which they wished to make upon the Yellow Book on Madagascar affairs which had lately appeared, and which they considered as presenting a very inaccurate account of the matters at issue between their Government and that of France, and also of the recent negotiations in Paris. Earl Granville informed the ambassadors in reply, that Her Majesty's Government took a great interest in everything which concerned the welfare of Madagascar; but as the French Government had not encouraged them to be a means of communication, it rendered it unnecessary for him to discuss for the time the details of the existing difficulties. The ambassadors then stated that, according to their latest information, the French authorities were exciting the Sàkaláva to rebel against the Queen of Madagascar, and were committing other acts of a decidedly hostile character and they asked what action Her Majesty's Government would recommend the Hóva Government to take under such circumstances. To this Earl Granville answered that the considera-

tion of the steps to be adopted must, of course, depend upon an accurate knowledge of the facts to which they alluded, and Her Majesty's Government could in no case offer an opinion upon a question which the Hóva Government must necessarily decide upon their own responsibility ; but that, as a friend to their country, he could not help expressing his earnest hope that the greatest caution might be exercised as regarded the adoption of any course which might provoke hostilities with so powerful a nation as that of France. The ambassadors said that they trusted that they might still rely upon the good offices of England, and Earl Granville assured them that they might depend upon Her Majesty's Government for not omitting any favourable opportunity for obtaining a friendly solution of their difficulty with the French Government. The conversation then turned upon the land question, and the possible revision of article 5 in the existing treaty between Great Britain and Madagascar in such a way as to avoid the objections of the Hóvas to the purchase of land, while securing the fullest possible use of it to British settlers. The upshot of this was, that upon the 12th February Earl Granville submitted for the consideration of the special envoys from Madagascar a draft declaration, with the view to amend article 5 of the treaty of the 27th June 1865. This draft met with approval, and on the 16th February the Hóva envoys attended at the Foreign Office and signed, on behalf of the Queen of Madagascar, the declaration by which article 5 of the treaty of 1865 was cancelled and a new article is substituted. The arrangement thus made was to come into force on the 1st September 1883. A copy of the above declaration was forwarded to Mr. Pakenham on the 23d February, as well as the copy of a note from the envoys, dated 27th December, in which they proposed, in addition to alterations in article 5, modifications in article 11, and a new article on the subject of the sale of intoxicating liquors. The two latter articles were reserved for future consideration, and Earl Granville requested observations from the British consul on the points involved in them. "The question of restriction on the importation of intoxicating liquors into Madagascar," said Mr. Lister, "excites considerable interest in this country." (This last note closes the correspondence respecting Madagascar in the Parliamentary Paper of 1883.)

Feb. 16.
Parliamentary
paper published.

It has already been remarked that on the 8th December

1883. M. Duclerc had warned M. Raffray, the French vice-consul at Tamatave, that the French naval authorities were preparing to take active measures against Madagascar. On the 11th February M. Fallières, minister (*par intérim*) of foreign affairs, advised M. Raffray that the Government of the Republic had issued definite orders as to the first measures to be taken which the situation rendered necessary. He now announced that Rear-Admiral Pierre had been appointed by M. de Mahy, minister of marine, commandant of the naval division in the Indian Ocean, that he had hoisted his flag on board "La Flore," and sailed from Toulon on the 15th with orders to repair as quickly as possible to the Madagascar coast. The instructions given to that officer had been drawn up in concert by the departments of the Marine and Foreign Office, and had for their object the assurance of respect for the French rights of sovereignty or protectorate over the north-west coasts. The task assigned to the navy constituted an act purely defensive, in fact a measure of police in some way, which could in no manner be construed into a military expedition in an enemy's country. The Government therefore hoped that within such limits prompt and energetic action on their part would have the effect in establishing clearly before the eyes of the Hóva the firmness and moderation of their resolutions, and dispense with any ulterior military demonstration on the east coast of the island. Beyond concerting measures of communication with the various guard ships of the squadron, M. Raffray was enjoined to preserve a discreet silence and reserve, until further orders, in his attitude towards the Madagascar authorities.

Feb. 11.
Definite
orders
issued.

Feb. 15.
Admiral
Pierre pro-
ceeds to
Madagas-
car.

Feb. 18.
Ministry
of M. Jules
Ferry.

On the 18th February the resignation of the Fallières ministry was accepted by President Grévy. On the 21st February a new French ministry was formed under M. Jules Ferry, with M. Charles Brun as minister of marine. (The instructions given by the minister of marine and by the minister for foreign affairs to Admiral Pierre and M. Baudais respectively are given in the Yellow Book, 1882-83.)

The treaty between the United States of America and Madagascar, which had been concluded at Antanànarivo on 13th May 1881, was advised to be ratified by the Senate on the 27th February 1883. On the 6th March the Malagasy envoys arrived at Washington, and the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty took place on the 12th March, and the treaty was duly promulgated by Mr. Chester Arthur, the

president of the United States, on the 13th March 1883, and of the Independence of the United States of America the 107th. The fourth paragraph of article 2 of the above treaty contains the following admission:—"4. The dominions of Her Majesty the Queen of Madagascar shall be understood to mean the whole extent of Madagascar; and United States vessels and citizens shall not aid Her Majesty's subjects in rebellion, nor sell munitions of war to them, nor bring them help in warfare, or teach the art of war to them: and the same shall apply to rebels against the heirs and successors of Her Majesty within the dominions of Madagascar."¹

1883.
March 13.
Treaty with
United
States
ratified.

On the 14th March M. Raffray reported from Tamatave to M. Challemel-Lacour that all was quiet, and that H.M.S. "Dryad," Commander C. Johnstone, had arrived at that port.

March 14.
Arrival of
H. M. S.
"Dryad"
at Tama-
tave.
March 25.

An estimate by Mr. Cameron of the *Standard* estimated the fighting strength of the Hóvas about this period at some 20,000 well-drilled troops, partly armed with breechloaders, and a horde of some 50,000 spearmen.

Lord Lyons went to M. Challemel-Lacour on the 8th April and mentioned to him that information had been received by Her Majesty's Government which showed that apprehensions existed in Madagascar as to the safety of foreigners in that island in the event of the outbreak of hostilities, and that there was a great deal of excitement and uneasiness there. Lord Lyons proceeded to say that his Government would be glad if his Excellency would give them such information as would enable them to form an opinion whether the situation was sufficiently grave to justify them in instructing their consul to warn British subjects of impending danger. M. Challemel-Lacour answered that as to the internal condition of Madagascar he had not himself received any authentic information, as the French consul and vice-consul were both absent. He proceeded to inform Lord Lyons that M. Baudais, the consul, was on his way to Madagascar with instructions (see Appendix C) to summon the Hóva Government to execute the treaties with France, and he stated quite positively than meanwhile no orders for any military operations had been given by the French Government. (See instructions given to Admiral Pierre, 17 mars 1883, note on page 349.)

April 8.

M. Baudais
proceeds to
Madagas-
car to sum-
mon the
Hóva Gov-
ernment
to execute
the treaties
with
France.

¹ Earl Granville called the special attention of Lord Lyons to this admission of the sovereignty of the Queen of Madagascar over the whole island. See No. 12 Africa (No. 1, 1884) Parliamentary Paper, Affairs of Madagascar.

1883.
April 1.
Admiral
Pierre ar-
rives at
Zanzibar
with in-
structions
to enforce
the rights
of France.

On the 1st April the French frigate "*La Flore*," carrying the flag of Rear-Admiral Pierre, arrived at Zanzibar under sail from Aden, and on the 16th the "*Beautemps-Beaupré*" arrived at the same port from Nòsy-Bé. On the 19th the admiral sailed for Madagascar taking with him the "*Boursaint*" and the "*Beautemps-Beaupré*." So far as Lieut.-Colonel Miles, British consul at Zanzibar, could learn, the number of French war-vessels in the seas on the east coast of Africa was now increased to seven. The above vessels, together with the "*Vaudreuil*" (at Tamatave), the "*Pique*," and "*Forfait*," already on the station, comprised a total effective force of thirty-one guns and 825 men. The only British man-of-war in Malagasy waters at this date was H.M.S. "*Dryad*" at Tamatave.

Garrison of
Réunion.

The normal garrison of Réunion, which furnished troops to the occupied points during the earlier operations, consists of four companies of marine infantry, and about 150 marine artillery, making a total of some 550 men; small detachments from this garrison are stationed at Mayotta, Nòsy-Bé, and Ste. Marie. Toward the end of 1882 the detachment at Nòsy-Bé had been increased by half a company, and some ship's guns were mounted in the fort. Réunion has also a native militia. Three companies were now made up out of the French garrison for employment as a land force in Madagascar.

April 30.
Arrival of
squadron
at Nòsy-Bé.

The "*Flore*," with Admiral Pierre, arrived at Hellville, the port of Nòsy-Bé, on 30th April, where the other ships of the squadron had assembled. On the 2d May M. Raffray, vice-consul of France at Tamatave, warned the French subjects on the east coast of the impending action of the naval force, but no notification was given to the British consul (see p. 320).

May 8.
Commence-
ment of
operations.

On 7th May Admiral Pierre left Hellville with the squadron; on the 8th he commenced his operations on the north-west coast; and between that date and the 15th successively shelled and dislodged the Hóva garrisons and posts from Ambòdimadiro, Ampàsिमèna, Ambaliha, Anòrontsànga, Màhilàka, Angikamalòko, Jangòà, Bèmanèvika, and various other points along the coasts of Pàsindàva Bay and the promontory of Bàvatòby. At Anòrontsànga a feeble resistance was offered, and a young Sàkalàva princess was taken away by the French, but none of the local tribes would join the invaders. Elsewhere the Hóvas retired inland on the approach of the hostile men-of-war; but on the departure of the squadron all the posts were reoccupied by the Malagasy.

On the 13th May the "Beautemps-Beaupré," having embarked the half company of marine infantry at Hellville, proceeded with the Admiral to Bèmbatòka Bay to take possession of Mojangà, the important outlet of the main artery from Imèrina to the north-west of the Ikòpa river. The naval division anchored before Mojangà on the 15th May, and the place was found to be defended by three forts, armed with thirty guns, mostly unserviceable, and defended, it was said, by 2000 men. A summons to surrender was despatched to Ramàmbazàfy, the governor, who, after vainly attempting to gain time by pardonable subterfuges, ended by sending a refusal to capitulate, and retired with the main body of the garrison somewhat precipitately for a distance, it was said, of thirty miles. Consequently at sunrise on the 16th May the naval division, moored at about 1300 mètres (1420 yards) from the shore, opened fire on the forts, which replied immediately without causing any damage to the ships. By 5 A.M. the fire of the forts was silenced, the remainder of the Hóva garrison fled, and the Hóva camp being in flames the Admiral ordered "Cease firing."

1883.
May 13.

May 15.
Summon-
ing and
capture of
Mojangà.

May 16.

[Meantime the Malagasy ambassadors, on returning from America, proceeded to Berlin, where the Federal Council of the German empire had under consideration the draft of a short treaty of amity and peace between Germany and Madagascar, which was signed on the 15th May, when the Madagascar envoys were in Berlin. It consists of three articles only:—the first giving the title of the treaty; the second ensuring to the subjects and vessels of the contracting parties most-favoured-nation treatment; and the third explaining that the treaty will come into force directly it has been ratified in Madagascar, without waiting for the exchange of ratifications. Sir John Walsham informed Earl Granville of this, and added that "in 1880 drafts of a formal treaty of friendship and of a consular convention between the German empire and Madagascar were submitted to the Federal Council by the chancellor, Prince Bismarck, on the ground that Great Britain, France, and the United States had signed treaties, but the negotiations fell through, and although when in Germany the Madagascar envoys were desirous of renewing the negotiations, the shortness of their stay at Berlin rendered such a course impossible, and therefore as a preliminary step the present short treaty with a most-favoured-nation clause was concluded."]

May 15.
Malagasy
ambassa-
dors pro-
ceed from
America to
Berlin.
Short
treaty con-
cluded with
Germany.

1883.
May 16.

The precision of the artillery spared purposely the commercial portion of Mojangà, situated on the sea face ; but at 11 P.M. a conflagration broke out in several places. The Hóva quarter was completely destroyed, but the French factory (Maison Roux de Fraissinet), situated in the centre, was untouched, as were also the greater number of American and Indian houses. The landing party occupied on the morning of the 17th the fort at the point, to the west of the town, and there safely installed themselves without any resistance from the Hóva troops, which retreated into the interior of the country. Frequent reconnaissances reassured the security of the place, of which the command was entrusted to M. Gaillard, capitaine de frégate, and commanding the "Vaudreuil." The custom-house was seized and the proceeds collected. There was not a single casualty in the French naval division, and the health of the crews was most satisfactory.

May 17.
The command and defence of French garrison occupying Mojangà entrusted to M. Gaillard.

May 18.
Agitation at Tamatave on learning news from Mojangà. The British consul and Captain Johnstone call on the governor of Tamatave to advise him to desist from any act of provocation.

The "Argo" arrived, with the news of the capture of Mojangà, at Tamatave on the 18th May ; and as soon as the intelligence became known in the town there was a certain agitation amongst the Hóva inhabitants and disquietude on the part of the European population. Already on the 16th Mr. Pakenham heard that the governor of Tamatave was placing the Hóva fort in a state of defence against any attack from the sea, and that this proceeding had very much irritated the French ; accordingly the British consul, in company with Captain Johnstone of the "Dryad," called upon him, and in a perfectly friendly and private manner advised him to desist from any act susceptible of being construed by the French into one of provocation or defiance.¹ The Hóva governor thanked the British officers and promised to give the matter his earnest consideration.²

It was rumoured (according to the *Nouveau Salazien*) that the Hóvas had conspired to massacre the Europeans—principally the French—during the night of the 18th-19th May, and consequently every one armed for defence whilst the Hóva authorities made warlike preparations inside the fort. Meantime M. Baudais, accompanied by the officers of "Le Forfait," visited the governor of Tamatave and declared that he would hold him responsible for any mischief which might occur in the European quarter of Tamatave. The night of the

¹ Vide No. 13 Parliamentary Paper, Africa, No. 1, 1884, p. 13.

² Earl Granville approved of Mr. Pakenham's advice in No. 18, p. 16.

18th-19th passed off without disturbance. In the morning the Europeans, having regained confidence, awaited the arrival of Admiral Pierre with patience. On this day, the 19th, Mr. Pakenham reported the arrival of the French transport "La Nièvre," having on board 120 marines and 30 artillerymen, at Tamatave, where Admiral Pierre, with the remainder of his division and a considerable number of troops, was hourly expected.¹

1883.
May 19.

On the 23d May Rear-Admiral Pierre telegraphed to M. Charles Brun, minister of marine, from Zanzibar:—"J'ai l'honneur de vous annoncer que j'ai fait disparaître les postes Hóva de la côte Nord-Ouest; Mojangà a été pris de vive force le 16; nous avons détruit trente canons, chassé deux mille soldats, saisi la douane. L'occupation se trouve solidement établie; je réponds de la position militaire. Nous n'avons pas de blessés.—PIERRE."

May 23.

Lieut.-Colonel Miles telegraphed to Earl Granville (received 25th May):—"Bombardment of Mojangà took place on 16th, and lasted six hours. Force then landed under cover of guns and took possession. Hóvas suffered great loss. French none. Admiral returned to Mayotta leaving garrison."

May 24.

¹ "Ordre du Jour.

"'Flore,' MOJANGÀ, 22 Mai, 1883.

"OFFICIERS ET MARINS—Par la supériorité de vos armes, vous avez, en huit jours, chassé les Hóvas de leurs garnisons et détruit toutes leurs possessions sur la côte nord-ouest de Madagascar. Vous leur avez enlevé le fort et la place de Mojangà où flotte désormais la pavillon de l'occupation française.

"Je félicite avec plaisir les canonniers de leur adresse, le corps de débarquement de sa fermeté, tout le monde du zèle et de la constance déployés dans les travaux et les fatigues des opérations accessoires.

"Vous ferez de même à la côte est, si l'obstination du gouvernement Hóva persiste à nous refuser la juste satisfaction qu'il nous doit. Si l'on osait plus longtemps se jouer des traités et méconnaître les droits de la France, vous saurez les faire respecter par la force.

"Officiers, marins, et soldats du corps d'occupation—La division navale a planté le drapeau de la France à Mojangà, j'en confie la garde à votre valeur et à votre discipline.

"À votre discipline surtout, qui constitue la supériorité de l'Européen et par laquelle soixante soldats français, s'ils savent obéir, peuvent attendre de pied ferme quelques masses de Hóvas qui ce soit, dans la position où vous êtes retranchés, et les exterminer, si elles osaient approcher de nos murailles. Le Commandant Gaillard à votre tête double votre force.

"Le présent ordre du jour sera lu aux équipages et affiché à bord de chaque navire, ainsi qu'au fort.

"Le contre-amiral, commandant en chef.

(Signé) PIERRE."

The capture of Mojangà, situated in a country where the inhabitants were (says M. d'Escamps) devoted to the French, did not in consequence appear to give rise to any difficulty.

1883.
May 12.

"M. BAUDAIS, Commissaire de le République à Madagascar, au M. le Révérend Père C. DE LA VASSIÈRE, Vice-Préfet Apostolique de Madagascar, et Supérieur de la Mission Catholique d'Imérina, à Tanànarivo.

"*Toute confidentielle.*

"TAMATAVE, le 12 Mai, 1883.

"MONSIEUR LE SUPÉRIEUR—La France est décidée à obtenir à Madagascar les satisfactions qu'elle demande depuis longtemps, et à employer pour cela tous les moyens.

"Il faut donc prévoir dès maintenant le cas où une rupture complète pourrait avoir lieu avec le gouvernement Hóva.

"Je m'empresse de vous le faire savoir, pour que vous puissiez prendre vos précautions au sujet des différents membres de la mission catholique, tant à Tanànarivo que dans les campagnes.

"Cette lettre, Monsieur le Supérieur, est toute confidentielle. J'ai craint de jeter prématurément l'émotion parmi les Français. Aussi ai-je jugé inopportun de prévenir dès maintenant ceux qui résident à la capitale, et qui sont au nombre de quatre.

"Mon intention est bien de rendre, lorsque le moment en sera venu, le gouvernement Hóva responsable de tout ce qui pourrait arriver à nos nationaux.

"Cela sera-t-il suffisant ? Vous êtes le meilleur et le seul juge de ce qu'ils ont, oui ou non, à redouter.

"Je serais heureux, Monsieur le Supérieur, que vous vouliez bien, en m'accusant réception de cette lettre, me faire savoir ce que vous avez décidé.—Veuillez agréer, etc.

(Signé) BAUDAIS."

May 21.

"M. BAUDAIS à M. le Consul PAKENHAM.

"TAMATAVE, le 21 Mai 1883.

"M. LE CONSUL.—J'ai l'honneur de vous accuser réception de votre lettre en date du 21 mai. Des complications sont possibles entre le Gouvernement de la République Française et celui de la Reine Ranavàlona II., mais *elles ne sont pas imminentes* comme vous semblez le croire.

"Quant au transport de troupes par la 'Creuse' et la 'Garonne,' c'est par vous que je l'apprends. Il n'y a dans cette nouvelle rien de fondé, encore moins d'officiel. Vous pouvez être assuré M. le Consul que lorsque le moment en sera venu, je vous notifierai la situation que nous crée l'attitude du Gouvernement Hóva. Pour l'instant, vous pouvez rassurer vos nationaux tout en les engageant à la prudence soit au point de vue de leur sécurité, soit au point de vue de leurs opérations commerciales.

"Quant à la tranquillité à Tamatave, j'ai fait une démarche auprès du Gouverneur. J'ai l'assurance qu'elle ne sera point troublée.—Agréez, etc.

(Signé) "BAUDAIS."

May 24.

The tidings of these acts of hostility were received at Antanànarivo on the 24th May with great dismay, and the missionaries have described the serious and grave condition of

affairs which was brought about in consequence.¹ The people of Imèrina seem to have resented the attacks on the north-west coast deeply; and their late disposition to meet the French

¹ "*Jeudi, 24 mai.*—Malgré les premières rumeurs de bombardement à Mojangà et Morotsanga, arrivées la veille au soir. . . . Au moment où . . . des nouvelles officielles sur le bombardement de Mojangà et de Morotsanga arrivaient au palais, et nos ennemis commençaient dans l'ombre à tendre le filet destiné à enlacer la mission tout entière, et à la traîner à la mort.

"*Vendredi, 25 mai.*—Convocation du parlement malgache. Le premier mot qui se fit entendre dans cette assemblée, après la communication des graves nouvelles du bombardement par le premier ministre, fut un cri de mort contre les missionnaires catholiques. Rânilaiàrivòny leur imposant silence. 'Nous ne sommes point des barbares, leur dit-il, pour nous porter à de telles extrémités. N'imitons pas les Français qui nous ont attaqués comme des sauvages, sans déclaration de guerre préalable, et montrons-nous un peuple civilisé. Je vais consulter la reine et savoir d'elle quelle conduite il convient de tenir envers les Français.' Quelques instants après le premier ministre rentrait au parlement: 'Voici,' s'écria-t-il, 'les paroles de notre souveraine: l'Amiral Pierre n'a donné qu'une heure à nos soldats pour évacuer Mojangà, et bombarder la place; la reine accorde jusqu'à mercredi 30 mai à tous les Français, afin de quitter Tanànarivo. Ce délai expiré, s'ils ne sont pas partis, leurs personnes seront livrées au peuple et leurs biens mis au pillage. Que chacun d'entre vous se garde cependant de toucher à quelqu'un de ces Français placés encore sous la protection de la reine, sous peine d'être tué lui-même de ma main.'

"Vers 6 heures du soir de ce même jour, vendredi 25 mai; M. Superbie, agent de la maison de commerce Roux et Fressinet, recevait un ordre d'exil adressé à tous les Français, et dont un duplicata nous fut envoyé seulement le lendemain, samedi, vers 10 heures et demie.

"Des le samedi 26 mai, à Tanànarivo nous sommes regardés comme proscrits; les officiers malgaches ayant entrée au palais ne peuvent plus nous aborder. . . . Cependant la persécution ne s'étendant qu'aux pasteurs, et la prière, disait on, n'étant pas entravée pour les fidèles, nos chrétiens peuvent en pleine liberté entrer dans l'église. Les gardiens placés à la porte ont l'ordre d'écarter toutes les personnes suspectes qui voudraient profiter des circonstances afin de nous piller et de nous maltraiter. . . .

"*Mercredi, 30 mai.*—Sur le bord du chemin que nous devons parcourir plusieurs corps de troupes avaient depuis quelques jours dressé leurs tentes. Chaque fois que j'avais visité ces camps, j'y avais trouvé toujours le plus parfait accueil. Mais les bruits de guerre exploités par certains chefs, plus sectaires que malgaches, avaient préparé ces pauvres soldats au rôle qu'on voulait leur faire jouer. Et, d'ailleurs, ne devaient-ils pas, par leurs vociférations contre les Français, qu'un ordre royal expulsait, témoigner hautement de leur vaillance future et de leur courage à toute épreuve contre les soldats de la France! Nous les voyons donc, à notre approche et au signal de leurs chefs, s'attrouper sur les bords du chemin dont ils ne laissent libre qu'un étroit passage, puis commencer tous ensemble une série de huées, d'insultes et de clameurs impossible à rendre. Quelques-uns des nôtres se voient même tirés par la barbe et frappés au visage. A ces cris, à ces mauvais traitements, les disciples et compagnons de Jésus n'opposent que le silence et la douceur de l'agneau. Qui sait si la moindre résistance de notre part n'eût pas rendu ces ignorants soldats coupables d'un grand crime.

"Vers 4 heures du soir tous les membres de la mission se trouvaient sains et saufs rendus à Ambòhimalaza à 12 kilomètres environ de Tanànarivo." (*Histoire de Madagascar*, par le Père de la Vaissière de la Compagnie de Jésus, tom. ii. pp. 436, 444.)

1883.

Dismay at
Antanà-
arivo on
arrival of
the tidings
of hostili-
ties.

1883.

May 25.
The French
residents
ordered to
leave the
capital.

terms in a liberal spirit was changed into a deep sense of the injustice committed against them, according to the *Chronicle* of the London Missionary Society. The same authority states, in its "Digest of Information concerning affairs in Madagascar" (August 1883), that "had it not been for the firm and wise action of the queen and prime minister it is probable that the French residents at Antanànarivo would have been murdered, and, in the passion aroused against the foreigner, others than the French would also have suffered. It was also rendered certain that the ultimatum of the French would be rejected. All hopes of the peaceful solution of the matter in dispute were then dissipated. Immediate steps were taken for the defence of the capital and the resistance of an invasion, which now appeared inevitable. Rainilaiàrivòny was completely the master of the situation, and the enthusiasm of the army was intense. This unprovoked attack upon the ports was looked upon as a declaration of war; and on Friday, 25th May, the French residents were ordered to leave Antanànarivo by the following Wednesday. The action of the queen in this matter deserves attention. The general wish of the officers was that they (the French) should be turned out of the capital at once, and a message to that effect was sent to the queen. The reply of her majesty, Ranavàlona, was,—'The French call us barbarians, and, if we do as you suggest, perhaps we should prove ourselves to be so. The French gave our people at Mojangà an hour's notice; we will give the French five days. We will not take their goods; and if they have any difficulty in procuring bearers, we will assist them.'—This decision was quietly acquiesced in, though not without some murmuring and discontent. Unless the prime minister had the people thoroughly in hand there would have been bloody work. At one hint from him that the people might do as they pleased the mob would have attacked and murdered the whole body of French subjects and have seized their property, and have destroyed their buildings."¹

¹ "ANDRIAMIFIDY, Sous-chef des employés dans les Affaires étrangères, à M. BAUDAIS, Consul de France, Commissaire du Gouvernement de la République à Madagascar.

"TANANARIVO, le 25 mai 1883.

"Aux Citoyens Français fixés dans l'Îmèrina.

"Voici ce que nous vous disons : Considérant les hostilités commencées par l'Amiral Pierre dans le Nord et la lettre de M. Baudais, Consul, vu le désir que nous avons de respecter vos personnes, nous vous donnons du temps jusqu'à mercredi 30 mai 1883 pour que vous quittiez le pays et repassiez les mers.

"ANDRIAMIFIDY."

The condition and prospects of the English residents 1883. demanded serious attention. In the excited state of popular feeling it was manifestly unsafe for foreigners to be residing in scattered places throughout the country. The missionaries were therefore summoned to Antanànarivo, and special guards were appointed by the Government for the protection of the persons and property of the English, Norwegian, and American citizens. A committee representing these various nationalities was formed for the purpose of watching over the interests of foreigners resident in Imèrina, of which the Rt. Rev. Dr. Kestell-Cornish, Bishop of the S.P.G. Mission, was appointed chairman.

On the 30th May the French missionaries, priests, and May 30. sisters, were provided with bearers by the Government and escorted to Ambòhimalàza, the first stage from the capital. They were accompanied by M. Superbie, a layman, and agent of the firm Roux de Fressinet et Cie. According to M. Baudais, their number, including the sisters of Saint Joseph, would be about ninety. (*Vide* Dépêche 13 Juin, No. 25 Livre jaune).

Meantime, wrote M. Baudais, the agitation increased daily Agitation at Tamatave. at Tamatave, and bands of Malagasy ordered up from the south arrived at the battery, where arms were distributed among them, and where drink was served out to them "outré mesure." M. Baudais therefore took upon himself on the 31st May to request the captain of the "Forfait" to enter the inner harbour with the "Nièvre," which had arrived from Réunion with reinforcements,¹ and to anchor as near the shore as possible, so as to be prepared for any event. These two ships were already under steam when Admiral Pierre made his appearance in "La Flore" the same day, and in the afternoon M. Baudais proceeded on board the flagship and informed the admiral of the situation; when the latter sent word to the governor that on the least signs of attack against the inhabitants he would at once open fire on the town. May 31.

The admiral and M. Baudais then concerted together to draw up an ultimatum (see Appendix D), which contained the following demands:—(1) The French were to have guaranteed to them possession of all the island north of the 16th parallel. (2) An indemnity of 200,000 dollars (£40,000) for the claims of French citizens, including the *Succession Laborde*. An ultimatum is drawn up by M. Baudais and Admiral Pierre.

¹ Reinforcements of three marine companies made up from the Réunion garrison with some artillerymen.

1883.
June 1.
Transmis-
sion of ulti-
matum
notified to
foreign
consuls.

(3) A revision of the treaty, and a voice in all matters affecting the policy of the Hóva Government. The document embodying the ultimatum was deposited, at 10.45 p.m. on the evening of the 1st June 1883, in the hands of the governor of Tamatave, who engaged to despatch it without delay to the capital. In order that there should be no misunderstanding or possible misinterpretation of its meaning, a translation was rendered in Malagasy by M. Campan, interpreter, and transmitted with the original in French. At the same time the admiral sent a letter to the governor of Tamatave informing him that from the moment of receiving the ultimatum he had no right to procure reinforcements either of men or *matériel*.

During the same evening M. Baudais notified to the foreign consuls the transmission of the ultimatum to the Hóva Government as well as the limit of time, eight days, accorded for the answer.¹ All the consuls acknowledged the receipt of this

¹ "M. BAUDAIS to Consul PAKENHAM.

"TAMATAVE, June 1, 1883.

"M. LE CONSUL—Disagreements arose last year between the Government of the French Republic and that of Queen Ranavàlona II. France, through her Representative at Madagascar, tried every means with his Excellency the Prime Minister to obtain satisfaction, but without success.

"The Government of the Queen decided, in the month of August last, to despatch a mission to Europe, entrusted with the arrangement of the difficulties. The negotiations entered into at Paris with this object led to no result. They were broken off at the end of November 1882. Henceforward, France found herself obliged to protect the position given to her by treaty in Madagascar, and she decided to resort to every means to maintain it intact.

"I have this day forwarded to the Government of Queen Ranavàlona an ultimatum indicating the conditions on which France will henceforth consent to maintain friendly relations with the Government of the Queen. I have the honour, M. le Consul, to notify to you the fact of this ultimatum having been sent. A delay has been accorded to the Prime Minister in which to accept or refuse it. This delay expires precisely at midnight on the 9th June instant, and I have informed his Excellency that should I not have received by that date and hour a satisfactory reply, hostilities would at once commence.

"I hasten, M. le Consul, to address this communication to you, that you may profit by the interval occurring between the sending of this ultimatum and the day when I should receive the answer to take such steps as you may deem necessary for securing the safety of your fellow-subjects, both on the coast and in the interior of the island.

"I beg, M. le Consul, that you will be good enough to acknowledge the receipt of this notification.—Accept, etc. (Signed) BAUDAIS."

"Rear-Admiral PIERRE to Mr. PAKENHAM.

"TAMATAVE, June 1, 1883.

"M. LE CONSUL—I have the honour to inform you that if the Government of Queen Ranavàlona II. persists in refusing any longer the just satisfaction

intimation on the following day, the British consul, M. Pakenham, alone making some observations. Admiral Pierre also advised the consuls of the approaching crisis, and offered shelter on board the ships of his division to all nationalities. Mr. Pakenham, after acknowledging the letters of MM. Baudais and Pierre, remonstrated with the former that the delay was too short to admit British subjects at a distance retiring to Tamatave.¹ The governor of Tamatave, Rainandriamampandry, 15th Honour, applied to M. Baudais for a copy of the ultimatum, which was promptly supplied to him. M. Baudais also sent a circular to all the French subjects, both to the north and south of Tamatave, on the eastern coast, warning them of the impending events, and advising them to seek shelter on board the ships of Admiral Pierre. He also wrote to the Hóva governors and commandants of the principal garrisons and ports in the north and south, holding them claimed from it by France, I shall probably be obliged to open fire on Tamatave on the 10th June instant.

June 4.
Remonstrance of
M. Pakenham.

“Events which do not depend upon myself, such as fresh defensive preparations, may even force me to attack this place before the delay fixed.

“I hasten to inform you of this, that you may take the necessary measures to insure, in case of need, the safety of your fellow-subjects.

“On board all the vessels under my orders a refuge is open to them, as well as to all Europeans who may find themselves under the necessity of seeking such shelter. I need not add, M. le Consul, that you yourself will be received on board with the greatest ‘*empressement*,’ together with the staff of your Consulate.

--Accept, etc. (Signed) PIERRE.”

“No. 40.—Consul PAKENHAM to Earl GRANVILLE.

“TAMATAVE, June 3, 1883 (received July 6).

“MY LORD—I have the honour to enclose herewith for your Lordship’s information the copies *given above* of a notification from the French Commissioner, and also of one from Admiral Pierre, who is at Tamatave on ‘La Flore,’ with four other French war vessels, to the effect that unless French demands be previously complied with, at midnight on the 9th inst. Tamatave will be bombarded.

—I have, etc. (Signed) T. C. PAKENHAM.”

¹ “Mr. Consul PAKENHAM to M. BAUDAIS, French Commissioner.

“TAMATAVE, 4th June 1883.

“SIR—In continuation of my letter to you of the 2d inst., and with reference to your letter of the 1st inst., informing me that you had forwarded to the Hóva prime minister your ultimatum embodying the terms on which the Government of the Republic had depended the continuation of friendly relations with the Government of Queen Ranavalona II.; and that the delay for the acceptance of such terms would expire at midnight on Saturday the 9th inst., and requesting me to inform British subjects that on that date, and at that hour fire would be opened on Tamatave.

“I have now the honour to submit that I have warned, as far as I am able, the British subjects, but it appears to me that the delay is too short to admit of those at any distance retiring to Tamatave.

“I desire further to represent that, in my opinion, in the event of hostilities

1883. responsible that no mischance should befall any Frenchmen within their commands.

Alarming reports circulated throughout the town, and it was said that the Government of Madagascar refused any concession, and that at the first cannon-shot fire would be set to the four quarters of the town, which consists of houses constructed entirely of wood and bamboo, roofed mostly with *ravināla* thatch. The panic quickly spread, and requests for shelter on board the ships came in rapidly at the consulate, but the means of embarkation were wanting. The people, who had to some extent returned to the town after the first alarm had subsided, again left. Very few seemed to have remained, and the native portion of the town was almost deserted.

Arrangements made for British residents to take refuge on board H.M.S. "Dryad."

The consul and Commander Johnstone of H.M.S. "Dryad" met a deputation of British residents, and, in reply to the representations and requests made by them, both Mr. Pakenham and Captain Johnstone expressed their desire to do all in their power for the English subjects; and added that it was advisable all should come into the town, and congregate as much as possible around the consulate; that although England was very solicitous for the lives and property of her subjects, yet it must be remembered that those interests in Tamatave were but a small affair compared to a war with France, and hence it behoved all British subjects to be very circumspect during the troublous times upon which they were about to enter; that in the event of hostilities, and of danger to the persons of British subjects, the "Dryad" was at the disposal of the consul, and all could take refuge in her. A standing committee was formed, consisting of Messrs. Aitken, Waterhouse, Giguel, Tessier, and Dupuy, with Mr. Shaw, L.M.S., as president. By these gentlemen steps were taken to provide shelter and provision for the indigent British subjects coming in from the country. Houses were rented for the purpose, and Mr. Pakenham consented, on behalf of the Colonial Government of Mauritius, to supply the committee with sufficient at Tamatave, the free native labourers employed at the British sugar plantations and factories of Melville, Avenir, Trianon, all of which are in the immediate vicinity of Tamatave, will desert *en masse*, whereby the current crop, estimated at two million hundredweight of sugar (£80,000) for Melville and Avenir each, and seven hundred hundredweight (or £30,000) as regards Trianon, will be entirely lost to the owners. The foregoing evaluations apply, of course, only to the standing crops of canes, and do not comprise the value of the buildings and machinery on the plantations referred to.

(Signed)

"T. C. PAKENHAM."

funds for the purpose. Permission was obtained to compel the burial of all petroleum and rum, and no difficulty was experienced in carrying out this resolution of the committee. All were advised by the committee to make preparations, so that on very short notice they would be able to embark on board the "Dryad" (*L.M.S. Digest*). 1883.

The letters of M. Baudais, viz. one containing the consul's protest against the expulsion of the French from Antanànarivo, and the last containing the ultimatum of the 1st June, reached Antanànarivo by special messengers on the evening of the 4th and morning of the 5th June respectively. The acting minister for foreign affairs, Andriamifidy replied to the first, that as Admiral Pierre had bombarded Mojangà without any ultimatum, the expulsion of the French was the consequence; and in answer to the ultimatum, the Hóva Government declined further negotiation so long as the French refused to recognise the queen as sovereign of Madagascar.¹

June 5.
The Hóva Government, in answer to the ultimatum, decline further negotiations.

M. Baudais having informed the admiral of the deficiency of transport, the latter sent to the shore the boats belonging to the squadron on the 6th June; and the embarkation of the French subjects took place on that date at certain fixed hours under the superintendence of an officer of the consulate without confusion. On the same day, at the request of Admiral

June 6.

¹ "M. ANDRIAMIFIDY, Ministre des affaires étrangères, par intérim,
à M. BAUDAIS, Consul de France.

"ANTANÀNARIVO, le 5 juin 1883.

"Votre lettre du 31 mai 1883 à son Excellence le 1er Ministre m'a été remise.

"Voici ce que je vous dis; dans ladite lettre, vous accusez son Excellence de l'expulsion des Français de la capitale avant qu'aucun ultimatum ait été adressé. En réponse j'ai à vous informer que notre désir comme cela a toujours existé est qu'une bonne amitié règne entre nous et le Gouvernement de la République française, néanmoins nous avons été réellement étonnés lorsque nous vîmes que sans aucun ultimatum l'amiral Pierre avait bombardé Anorontsangana et Mojangà. Ce bombardement a eu pour conséquence l'expulsion des Français.

"Relativement à-la responsabilité que vous faites reposer sur son Excellence, j'ai à vous répondre que cette responsabilité doit peser sur vous, non seulement à l'égard des Français, mais aussi pour les pertes qu'ont subies les Malgaches dans leurs biens, car ce sont vos propres actes qui ont donné occasion à ce qui a lieu.

(Signé) "ANDRIAMIFIDY."

"ANDRIAMIFIDY, Ministre des affaires étrangères, par intérim, à M. BAUDAIS,
Consul de France, etc.

"ANTANÀNARIVO, 5 juin 1883.

"L'ultimatum adressé au Gouvernement de S. M. la Reine de Madagascar le 1er juin 1883 a été reçu. En réponse nous avons à vous informer que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté la Reine de Madagascar a le regret de vous dire

1883.

Pierre, the French consul repeated the offer of the former officer to receive on board the ships of his division such citizens of other European countries as might wish to retire.

Com-
mander
Johnstone
lands a
party of
men as a
protection
to the con-
sulate.
Embarka-
tion of re-
fugees.

On the 8th June, at Mr. Pakenham's request, Commander Johnstone landed a party of twenty men from the "Dryad," under Lieutenant Knowles, who proceeded to the British consulate and formed a guard for the protection of the British flag and the archives from any disturbance; at the same time the British subjects were taken on board the "Dryad." Whilst embarking these British refugees, Commander Johnstone was requested by the French admiral to remove the "Dryad" beyond Tanio Point (which he did immediately) and even at that distance he embarked 183 more refugees, in all some 300 and more, men, women, and children (377 adults, 124 children).

June 9.
General
flight of
all the in-
habitants
of Tama-
tave.

Throughout the 9th June there was a general flight of all the inhabitants¹ to the ships in the roadstead; and by the afternoon, says M. Baudais, there only remained some thirty French subjects, who up to this time had energetically refused to embark with their compatriots, declaring that they would stay with their consul to the last. In the middle of the day on Saturday 9th, M. Baudais re-

qu'il ne voit aucune occasion d'entrer en négociation si votre Gouvernement ne reconnaît à sa Souveraine la souveraineté de Madagascar. Votre Gouvernement, par le traité, conclu en 1868, a entièrement connaissance de cela.

"Il a aussi été démontré en preuve par l'indemnité, qu'a réclamée la France à Marambity au sujet de l'affaire du boutre 'Toale' dans les latitudes qu'elle réclame actuellement dans l'ultimatum. ANDRIAMIFIDY."

"M. le Contre-Amiral PIERRE, à M. BAUDAIS, Consul de France, etc.

"Je vous remercie de la communication de la réponse du Gouvernement Hôva à l'ultimatum du 1er juin.

"Le considère, ainsi que vous, ce document comme un rejet formel de cet ultimatum et je vais agir en conséquence.

"Je suis heureux d'apprendre que votre embarquement et celui des Français restés les derniers à terre, s'est effectué sans incident fâcheux.

(Signé)

"PIERRE."

¹ Commander JOHNSTONE, R.N. to Earl GRANVILLE (received 8th October 1883).

"H.M.S. 'Dryad,' TAMATAVE, 16th August 1883.

"MY LORD—I have the honour to inform you that, during the attack on Tamatave on the 10th June by the French, by far the largest part of the British subjects of Tamatave and its neighbourhood took refuge afloat. I considered this such a favourable opportunity of obtaining a census of the British residents, that I caused the numbers of them in all ships other than the French vessels to be taken, and Mr. Waterhouse, of the firm of Messrs. Procter Brothers, obtained the numbers of those remaining on shore. A very few persons claiming British nationality were

ceived word from the French who had been expelled from the capital, and were *en route* for the coast; and at half-past seven in the evening there arrived the answer to the letter and ultimatum despatched by M. Baudais on the 5th June. The answer to the ultimatum (see footnote, p. 327) was a formal refusal, exacting before anything else *the recognition by France of the rights of the queen over all Madagascar*. Moreover the ultimatum had been addressed to the queen herself, writes M. Baudais, and the answer only bore the signature of a certain Andriamifidy, a young man of some twenty-five years of age, acting *par intérim* for the minister of foreign affairs (who was away in Europe as first envoy). On receiving this refusal M. Baudais immediately advised Mr. Pakenham, as *doyen* of the consular body at Tamatave, to inform him that he should retire on board “Le Forfait.” The archives of the consulate had already been embarked, and M. Baudais, accompanied with the *personnel* of his office, went on board the “Forfait,” and transmitted to the admiral the answer of the Hóva Government, giving him to understand that he considered it as a formal refusal. The admiral replied that he agreed with the commissioner in his opinion, and would take measures in consequence.

1883.
Formal refusal of the French ultimatum received at Tamatave.

During the night the “Nièvre” shifted her position from among the other shipping, and anchored off the southern reef, half a mile from Hastie Point, with a view to bringing a cross-fire to bear on the fort. (See Mr. Shaw’s note, p. 330.)

The following day, the 10th, Sunday, at 6.30 A.M., at sun- June 10.
on board the French ships. The accompanying list gives therefore a very good account of the British residents in the district mentioned.—I have, etc.

(Signed) “C. JOHNSTONE.

“A list of the British subjects of Tamatave and its neighbourhood on the 12th June 1883 :—

Where located.	Men.	Women.	Children.	
			From 10 to 15 years.	Under 10 years.
On board H.M.S. ‘Dryad’ . . .	170	56	24	51
On board the merchant vessels . . .	61	37	11	25
In Tamatave	42	11	1	12
Total	273	104	36	88

“The races were not noted, but probably one-third were Indians, about ten were Europeans, and the rest Mauritians of all shades of colour.

(Signed) “C. JOHNSTONE, Commander, R.N.

“H.M.S. ‘Dryad,’ August 16.”

1883.
Fire opened
on the fort,
of Tama-
tave.

rise, fire was opened¹ on the fort and defences of Tamatave by the following vessels under Admiral Pierre, viz. (1) "La Flore," (2) "Le Forfait," (3) "Le Beautemps-Beaupre," (4) "Le Boursaint," (5) "La Creuse," (6) "La Nièvre." The belt of trees along the shore masked the fort partially, thereby impeding somewhat the effect of the French direct fire, but little of the rampart was visible, the flagstaff alone affording a target.²

Retreat of
the Hóva
garrison.

The Hóva garrison, reported at about 500 men, commenced to retreat immediately the bombardment began, and in the space of half an hour the works were abandoned, and the country covered with fugitives bending their steps towards the intrenched camp of Manjakandrianombàna, at about eight kilomètres from the town, which had been prepared for their reception ("8000 mètres environ de nos navires et visible de leurs mouillages"), within sight of the anchorage. Others meantime retreated by the track to Ivondrona.

¹ At 6.15 A.M. "La Nièvre" left her moorings and steamed round into the south bay. As soon as she was anchored, the "Boursaint" fired the signal gun, when the French flags were run up to each masthead and the bombardment commenced. Seven (six?) vessels were engaged throwing shot and shell into and beyond the fort for an hour and a half. The first shell from the "Forfait" fell into the bazaar, and soon a column of smoke and flames showed it was on fire. Almost at the same time a shell from "La Nièvre" burst among some native huts on the south-west of the town and fired them. At 7.45 A.M. the firing ceased, and quietness reigned for a time. At about 11.30 firing again commenced, and each vessel threw a shell at intervals of half an hour (*L.M.S. Digest*).

² According to Mr. Shaw, L.M.S. :—"As soon as it was light in the morning on Sunday, June 10, those Englishmen who had stayed on shore, and who had kept watch during the previous night, knowing that the time of the ultimatum expired at midnight, and not being sure that the French would not commence bombarding immediately, saw one of the vessels of war gradually moving out of the harbour, and taking up a position on the south side of the town in the southern bay. As soon as she anchored, a signal was fired by a vessel lying close to the beach at Tamatave, which had gone out a little distance and then returned. In the interval which elapsed between her departure and her return she had *changed her name, and canvas was nailed to her bows in order to disguise her* (?). Immediately the French flag was hoisted to the mast of each vessel in the harbour and the bombardment began. No notice farther than the ultimatum was given; if the Hóva had been in the town or in the fort, it would have been all the same to the French Admiral. The Hóva flag was never hoisted at the fort, and although not a single gun was fired from any of the batteries, still the bombardment of Tamatave was kept up for an hour and a half by six large warships, which fired quickly into the town and the fort, although there was nothing in the shape of an answer given to this firing. The French had it all to themselves, and why they should have kept up the constant firing of shell over our heads into a silent fort and deserted town, passed the comprehension of all Englishmen who were ashore at Tamatave. As you may readily imagine, seeing that the

Each vessel fired a single gun every two minutes. At 7.15 A.M. Admiral Pierre slackened the fire of his division, and a gun was fired every five minutes for another hour. At 8.15 A.M. all firing ceased, as the positions of the enemy were entirely evacuated. Throughout the day the French squadron limited its fire to individual shots at long intervals, as a warning to the enemy to keep at a respectful distance; but no movement on the part of the Hóva troops gave any sign of an intention to reapproach their deserted works.

1883.
Bombard-
ment of
Tamatave.

M. Baudais reported that immediately on the first gun being fired the Hóvas, in accordance with their threats, set fire to the four quarters of the town of Tamatave. They had chosen those huts most easily ignited, and the quarter where the market was situated was entirely devoured by the flames; but the fires lit purposely close to the French consulate did not attain sufficient proportions, and the sea breeze saved the consular buildings from conflagration, yet several houses of

Conflagra-
tions in the
town of
Tamatave.

houses of the Hóvas are all built of straw and thatched with leaves, it was not very long before fires appeared in various parts of the town. An endeavour has been made, I believe, to connect those with incendiaries. As to this I am not prepared to say either yes or no; but this I am prepared to say—I saw the first shell from one of the French war-vessels ('Le Forfait') burst in the native market-place, and shortly afterwards fire and smoke were seen rising from the market. Hence I believe that the fires were not the work of incendiaries, but were caused by French shells. After the warships' guns had been firing an hour and a half, I suppose the officers thought the sailors had had enough of it for once, and that they should go to breakfast. At all events a perfect silence succeeded to the noise of the cannon—a silence rendered all the more intense after the thundering din of the guns and the whizzing of the shells over our heads for an hour and a half previously. During this time some few of us made an excursion into the interior in order to ascertain if any people were wounded, or if any stragglers, who might have wandered near the fort, had sustained injury from the shells. We had scarcely reached the vicinity of the fort before we discerned another fire which had broken out. We thought that as soon as the admiral saw this fresh outbreak he would recommence bombarding, and our prediction was fulfilled. He kept up a fire the whole of Sunday from all the warships at intervals of half an hour—that is to say, six shots were fired each half-hour during the whole of the day. On Sunday night, as you may imagine, seeing that the French were not willing to land, we, who were on shore, passed a very anxious night. We feared that, in the circumstances, the natives might return in the darkness and set fire to the native houses in the vicinity of the European houses, and we dreaded lest the whole of Tamatave might thus be destroyed by fire during the night if we dared to go to sleep. Accordingly, from Sunday night until the time when the French took possession of Tamatave, which was not until Thursday (14th), we who were on shore endeavoured to help the guard which Commander C. Johnstone (of the 'Dryad') had sent to assist the British consul. But I am happy to say that no fire took place that night, and that the natives did not return."

1883. Frenchmen in the vicinity were burnt. Eight Frenchmen who had remained on shore, says M. Baudais, exerted themselves to stay the progress of the flames. Towards dark a fire broke out again in the town and in the stockaded Hóva cantonment near the fort, but after raging some hours it was quenched by the heavy rain.

Delay in
landing.

In order that all risk might be avoided Admiral Pierre awaited the reports of his scouts before he landed any men to occupy the fort, as he had been warned of the existence of ambushades, which it was said the Hóvas had prepared lying in wait for the landing parties.¹ No signs of the enemy's presence being observable during Sunday, whilst, nevertheless, there were rumours of traps, mines, and hidden foes in and about the fort. Admiral Pierre gave orders for the disembarka-

¹ "Afin d'apporter dans mes opérations toute la prudence que vous m'avez recommandée, j'ai voulu attendre, pour occuper le fort, les rapports des éclaireurs qui devaient me renseigner sur la réalité des embuscades que l'on disait préparées par les Hóvas pour nous attendre pied à pied au débarquement. Aucun d'eux ne fut aperçu dans la journée, mais les mêmes bruits de pièges, de mines et de gens cachés me furent rapportés. J'ordonnai le débarquement pour le lendemain, au point du jour. Il fut effectué en ordre parfait. Le fort était vide : on y trouva des fusils abandonnés et une petite somme d'argent" (No. 15, Rapport de M. le Contre-amiral Pierre, 10 juin).

"On Monday, 11th June, the French landed. They were divided into three companies, one passing along the beach up to the fort, another passing through the centre of the town, and the third passing along the southern bay. As soon as one of the companies reached the fort they hoisted a signal to the 'Flore' on the flagstaff left by the Hóva. When we saw this several of us went to my (Mr. Shaw's) house, which I rented from Mr. Aitken. It was situated a mile from the landing-place, which is close to the spot where Mr. Aitken himself lived, in the house where we kept watch during the night already mentioned. We went to my house to ascertain whether the servants I had left there were still safe, for on the Saturday evening, when I left them there, I fully intended to return. But I had been advised most strongly not to return, and accordingly I remained in the town during the whole of the bombardment. We found our servants were all right, and although the bursting of some shells had done damage, their lives had been saved. In returning we made a more active search, in case there might be some wounded persons or any unburied bodies in the town. We found none, however, but the bodies of two men, who had been killed by bayonet thrusts, probably killed by the French pickets on landing under the suspicion of having set fire to the town. In the afternoon we went on board H.M.S. 'Dryad' to report to Commander Johnstone the condition of the town, and we found his decks full of British subjects. . . . On Monday night the first attempts by any natives to pillage were made. My house on that night was rifled. . . . I believe it was not done by the Hóvas but by some of the Betsimisarakas. . . . I obtained permission of the French commandant to remove my uninjured furniture, but on Tuesday and Wednesday (12th and 13th June) there were so few natives in the town who were willing to work, that it was a long piece of business to do this" (Mr. Shaw's personal narrative).

tion to take place at daybreak on Monday, 11th June. The landing was effected by a force of 600 men under Captain Billard of the "Flores," in perfect order, which, divided in three columns, advanced by the north beach, the main street of the town, and the outskirts of the village, on the fort, which was occupied in about half an hour without any opposition. The fort was found empty with only a few muskets, which had been abandoned, together with a small quantity of silver. Whilst the disembarkation was in progress the French admiral cannonaded leisurely the retrenched camp of the Hóva force at Manjakandrianombana, where the Malagasy troops had been suffered to concentrate since the previous day, and where they believed themselves to be out of range of the guns of the squadron, at 7500 mètres (8202 yards). They were, however, soon undeceived, and directly afterwards were put in motion towards the interior, to the number of from 1200 to 1500 men; and after this they did not attempt to occupy the villages in the vicinity of their camp, except in insignificant numbers, which two or three shells sufficed to disperse.¹

1883.
June 11.

The Hóva
retrenched
camp
leisurely
cannon-
aded.

The landing of the French took place at 5 A.M. on Monday, 11th June, and their entry into the fort was quite unopposed. ("Détail piquant: nos braves marines, en entrant dans le fort, n'y ont trouvé qu'une poule et ses poussins gardés par un chat"—*Journaux de la Réunion*.) According to M. d'Escamps's information, 400 sailors and 400 soldiers of marine infantry composed the force which occupied Tamatave Fort. On entering, signals were hoisted at the flagstaff to notify the circumstance to the commander-in-chief.

Landing of
the French.

¹ "En même temps que s'effectuait le débarquement, je faisais canonner méthodiquement le camp retranché de Manjaka-Ombana, où j'avais laissé se masser depuis la vieille les Hóvas, qui se croyaient à l'abri de notre artillerie à 7500 mètres. Ils furent bientôt dé trompés et se mirent aussitôt en retraite vers l'intérieur au nombre de 1200 à 1500, et depuis il n'a reparu dans les villages du camp retranché que de petits groupes, que deux ou trois obus suffirent à disperser. Considérant Ivondron, première étape de la route de Tanànarivo. Comme le point de ralliement des fuyards, j'ai envoyé, le lendemain matin 12, le 'Forfait' et la 'Nièvre' canonner ce village. J'ignore encore le résultat de cette attaque, car le village et les chemins de retraite sont masqués par le couvert des arbres, mais on n'a revu depuis que des Hóvas isolés aussi loin que s'étend la vue.

"Ce même jour, 12 juin, 'Le Beautemps-Beaupré' et 'Le Boursaint,' partis de Tamatave pendant la nuit, attaquèrent au point du jour Fénérive, mirent les Hóvas en déroute immédiate et détruisirent leurs habitations ainsi que le fort et la douane. Mahambo éprouvait le même sort dans l'après-midi, et, le lendemain 13, les deux navires et 'La Nièvre,' que j'avais envoyée les renforcer, rentraient à Tamatave après avoir détruit Foul-pointe de la même manière." (*Rapport idem.*)

1883.
June 12.
The village
of Ivondrona
shelled.

Fènoarivo,
Mahambo,
and Foule
Point
shelled.

The admiral, looking upon Ivondrona (the first stage of the route to Antanànarivo) as the probable rallying-point of the fugitives, sent, on the morning of the 12th, "La Forfait" and "La Nièvre" to bombard that village. At the time of his report he could not ascertain the results of this attack, for the village and the paths of retreat were masked by the cover of trees; but subsequently no Hóvas remained, beyond one or two solitary individuals, as far as could be seen in the distance. On the same date "Le Beautemps-Beaupré" and "Le Boursaint" had left Tamatave during the night, in order to attack at day-break Fènoarivo, put the Hóva troops to rout immediately, and destroyed their dwellings as well as the fort and custom-house. Mahambo experienced the same fate in the afternoon, and the next day (13th June) the same two ships, with "La Nièvre," which had come up from the south to join them, returned to Tamatave, after having destroyed Foule Point in the same manner (*M. d'Escamps*, see preceding page).

The battery
at Tama-
tave taken
possession
of and held
by the
French.

The fort of Tamatave is a solid circular work of coral and lime cemented together, the walls of which are some twenty feet thick and eighteen feet high, with casemated galleries roofed with stout timber, and bomb-proof. Outside the main work is an *enceinte* consisting of an outer earthwork through which are pierced entrances, leaving a fosse between the main citadel and the exterior envelope, altogether forming a work of considerable strength if properly armed and held by trained soldiers. At the time of the bombardment this work was merely armed with small smooth-bored guns of obsolete type, honeycombed, and only used for saluting purposes. This work was now placed in a proper state of defence by the French sailors and marines; and the thick woods which formerly kept the work under cover were cut down, so that the fort was now plainly visible from the anchorage; good accommodation was found and fitted for the garrison, and the admiral expressed himself satisfied with the position held by his force on shore.

"Although signal flags were hoisted at the battery, the French standard was not formally installed until Thursday, the 14th June.¹ Hence, as there were no police or sentries

¹ "Le fort de Tamatave a été mis en très bon état de défense, les logements y sont vastes et sains. Les travaux qui en dégagent les approches sont déjà très avancés, l'installation de la garnison est complète, et c'est une position dont je répons. Je n'ai fait hisser le pavillon et je n'ai pris officiellement charge de l'ordre public que le 14, afin de faire face à tout avant d'entrer en rapports avec une population cosmopolite." (*Rapport idem.*)

except those at the fort, the town was at the mercy of all 1883.
marauders and incendiaries. The Englishmen on shore formed themselves into a vigilance watch, in communication with the guard of marines from the 'Dryad,' at the consulate, during the nights from Sunday to Wednesday. In consequence, no fires occurred in the town, nor were any houses near the consulate pillaged; but, farther off, broken doors and windows, with furniture, books, and papers scattered about the court-yards and gardens, told a different tale" (*L.M.S. Digest*).

On Wednesday, 13th, the admiral sent the following despatch by the "Beautemps-Beaupré" to the minister of marine, which reached Zanzibar by cable on the 18th and Paris on the 19th, at which date it was published in the papers: "Les Hôvas ont rejeté l'ultimatum; Tamatave et sa douane sont pris. Foule-pointe, Mahambo, Fénérive sont détruits; nous n'avons pas de blessés. La position est solide; les Hôvas se sont enfuis; l'opération principale est terminée. J'ai dû proclamer l'état de siège à cause de la population mêlée." June 13.

On the same day the following order of the day was published and promulgated to the French on shore and afloat at Tamatave. June 14.

"Ordre de Jour.

"'FLORE,' TAMATAVE, le 14 juin.

"OFFICIERS, ÉQUIPAGES, ET SOLDATS—Un arrogant ennemi avait osé défier nos armes, en refusant à la France les plus légitimes satisfactions.

"Dans l'espace d'un mois, vous avez pris et détruit tous les établissements Hôvas sur le littoral des deux côtes de Madagascar.

"Vous occupez Tamatave et Mojangà, sources principales de la prospérité commerciale et financière de l'ennemi et vous vous y maintiendrez contre toute attaque.

"Ces résultats sont dus à l'activité de la division navale. Je l'en félicite.

"Il reste à chasser l'ennemi de quelques retraites où il s'est retranché à l'intérieur des terres. Vous saurez l'y atteindre.

"*'La Creuse,'* qui n'est restée avec nous que quelques jours, nous laissera le souvenir de sa promptitude à surmonter toutes les difficultés, pour nous faire part de toutes ses ressources. Elle a dignement occupé sa place au feu, témoignant ainsi que c'est à la manière de servir qu'on reconnaît le véritable bâtiment de guerre et nos pas à la coque.

"De nombreux militaires passagers sur ce transport et ayant accompli leur temps de service colonial, se sont proposés pour renforcer les garnisons de l'occupation, en renonçant à leur retour en France.

"Honneur aux braves soldats qui font volontairement ce sacrifice au drapeau de la patrie. *'La Nièvre'* à rivalisé d'ardeur avec la division navale.

1883. "Officiers, équipages, et soldats, au nom de la France, dont vous soutenez les droits, je vous remercie tous.

"Le contre-amiral, Commandant-en-Chef,
"PIERRE."

June 14.

On the same date Rear-Admiral Pierre notified to Mr. Pakenham the formal possession of Tamatave by the French, and that the town was placed in a state of siege, *i.e.* under martial law.¹ The above proclamation and accompanying decrees were published and posted in various conspicuous parts of the town of Tamatave, on Thursday, 14th June; after which promulgation the consuls ceased to exercise their functions, under protest. M. Raffray was appointed mayor and Captain Billard installed commandant of the town.

Meantime Mr. Shaw, a missionary of the L.M.S., had been removing the furniture from his house, but on the Wednesday (13th June) a certain portion of his property still remained. His dispensary was a large one, and contained a great number

¹ "M. LE CONSUL—I have the honour to notify to you that I have taken possession, in the name of France, of the forts, town, and custom-house of Tamatave, which have fallen into our power by the force of arms. This new state of things naturally causes the consular magistracy with which you were invested under the Hóva Government to cease to have force in so far as regards Tamatave.

"But the influence attaching to your high intelligence, your consummate experience, and the services you have rendered while in this country, is not on this account diminished; and while authority in Tamatave continues to be vested in me, I shall always receive with cordiality and interest any communications that you may privately address to me.

"At the same time I give you notice of the annexed proclamation, by which the town and its suburbs are declared to be in a state of siege, and consequently subject to the special laws applicable in such circumstances.—Accept, etc.,

(Signed) "PIERRE."

"*La Proclamation, ci-jointe.*

"Nous, Contre-amiral PIERRE, Commandant-en-Chef la Division Navale Française de la Mer des Indes.

"Vu les lois des 10 Juillet 1791, 24 Décembre 1811,
et 9-11 Août 1849.

"Vu la présence de l'ennemi à portée de canon—

"Déclarons en état de siège la place de Tamatave et son territoire soumis à nos armes. En conséquence, les lois précitées des 10 Juillet 1791, 24 Décembre 1811, et 9-11 Août 1849, y sont applicables et, pour que les étrangers n'en ignorent, nous rappelons ici les principales dispositions de ces lois, savoir: les pouvoirs de l'autorité militaire, les perquisitions domiciliaires, l'expulsion des personnes, et la compétence des tribunaux militaires.

"Toute publicité sera donnée à la présente déclaration.

"A bord de la 'Flore,' Tamatave, le 14 Juin 1883,
(Signé) "PIERRE."

"Pour copie conforme le Chef d'État-Major,
(Signé) "J. RALLIER."

of bottles of medicines, some of which, of course, were poisons. On the Wednesday night, however, the commandant of the fort sent word to Mr. Aitken, Mr. Shaw's landlord, that he would place a picket in the house; and to the surprise of Mr. Shaw, on arriving at his house on the morning of the 14th, he found his dispensary had been burst open, and a number of articles taken out and broken, some abstracted, and not a few bottles of claret made away with. Among the decrees now promulgated in the town was one stating that all Europeans having in their employ any natives—"any persons of Asiatic or African descent"—were to send in their names to the newly appointed mayor of Tamatave, and sign their names, guaranteeing that they would conduct themselves properly during their residence in Tamatave.

1883.
Dispensary
of Mr.
Shaw
broken
into.

Mr. Pakenham had been in delicate health for some time, and his increased duties and anxieties of late, combined with the actual noise and disturbance attendant on the bombardment and capture of the place, completely broke him down. He was taken seriously ill on the afternoon of the 15th, when he was found by Staff-Surgeon W. J. Rankin, of H.M.S. "Dryad," to be suffering from great pain over the kidneys and lower part of the abdomen, with frequency of micturition. He also had diarrhoea. Although active in his intellect, he was at last so evidently incapable of completely carrying out his duties, that Commander Johnstone stationed Lieut. Knowles, R.N., of the "Dryad," near him, to act as his assistant or secretary, in order that no British subject might lack the advice and attention due to him. On the occupation of Tamatave, and consequent expiration of the consular functions, Commander Johnstone still kept Lieut. Knowles there, not only to act with Mr. Pakenham in assisting British subjects privately, but also to guard the consular records and property.

June 15.
Lieutenant
Knowles,
R.N., de-
puted to
act as
secretary to
Mr. Paken-
ham.

On Saturday morning, 16th June, the mayor of Tamatave came to Mr. Shaw at Mr. Aitken's house, and said that he had received a communication from the latter, offering himself as security for certain native men and women servants. Mr. Shaw was then desired to go to the fort, where the commandant would give him the required passports. On proceeding to the fort Mr. Shaw was placed in arrest by the commandant, and kept in confinement till the evening, when he was marched under an armed escort to the landing-place, and embarked on board "La Nièvre" with Mr. Aitken, and two clerks belonging

June 16.
Arrest and
confinement
of
Mr. Shaw,
L.M.S.

1883.
June 17.

to the latter. On the following day Mr. Aitken and his clerks were released, but Mr. Shaw was detained as a prisoner, in close confinement, on board "La Nièvre."

June 18.

On this day the condition of Mr. Pakenham was somewhat improved, but owing to his getting a chill on that forenoon, urgent symptoms again supervened, and he gradually sank, never finally recovering. Commander Johnstone obtained

June 19.

from him on the 18th a commission as vice-consul for Madagascar, and also a commission as acting consul, in case of his being incapable of performing his duty. Mr. Pakenham received the last rites of the Roman Catholic Church, which he (it is stated) joined at this date.

Lord Lyons telegraphed from Paris to Earl Granville the publication on the afternoon of the 19th June of the capture of Tamatave in the French newspapers. This telegram reached Earl Granville on the 20th, and on the 21st he wrote to Lord Lyons, requesting the latter to mention to the French Government that M. Raffray, the acting French consul, had neglected to warn his British colleague at Tamatave of the impending danger. (See p. 342.)

June 21.
Arrest of
Mr. An-
drianisa,
native
secretary to
Mr. Pakenham.
June 22.
Mr. Pakenham ordered to
quit Tamatave.

As Mr. Pakenham was in a dying state, Commander Johnstone commenced having his papers removed on board the "Dryad," and sealed them up until the representatives of Mrs. Pakenham could attend to assist in examining them. On this date Andrianisa, the native secretary of the British consul, was arrested by orders of the commandant of Tamatave, who also ordered Mr. Pakenham to leave the town within twenty-four hours of formal notice to quit.¹ Staff-Surgeon Rankin reported

¹ Earl GRANVILLE to Viscount LYONS.

"FOREIGN OFFICE, 10th July.

"Her Majesty's agent at Zanzibar telegraphed 10th July 1883 that H.M.S. 'Dryad' had arrived there from Tamatave, and had brought intelligence that Mr. Pakenham, Her Majesty's consul in Madagascar, died at Tamatave on the 22d June; that the French admiral had ordered him to quit Tamatave within twenty-four hours, although he was dangerously ill; that he died seven hours before the time expired; that the commander of the 'Dryad' had embarked the consular archives; that the French admiral had stopped communication between British ships of war and the shore, and had refused to hold any written communication with the commander of the 'Dryad'; that Tamatave had become practically a French town; and that no consular flags were flying there. Her Majesty's Government hear, moreover, that Mr. Consul Pakenham's secretary and Mr. Shaw, an English missionary, had been put in prison by the French authorities."

"Le consul Anglais Pakenham est mort; nous lui avons rendu de grands honneurs. Le secrétaire du consul Anglais étant un Hóva, fils de l'ancien

to Commander Johnstone that Mr. Thomas Conolly Pakenham, Her Britannic Majesty's consul for Madagascar, died in his house at Tamatave on the morning of the 22d June at 1.10 A.M., of Bright's disease of the kidneys, after having been in a comatose state for twenty-four hours. The deceased had suffered from kidney disease for a long time; he also had fatty degeneration of the heart and enlarged liver, the latter being the result of repeated attacks of remittent fever and ague, for he had been in Madagascar for a period of twenty years. During his illness he had been frequently attended by Dr. Jack, the surgeon of the "Dryad," and everything was done that could conduce to his comfort. His death took place seven hours before the twenty-four hours' delay given to him to quit the town had expired. He was interred on the 23d June, according to the rites of the Roman Catholic Church, which (reports Commander Johnstone) he is supposed to have joined on the 19th of the same month, although he was before a member of the Church of England. The French took part in the funeral, but his coffin was carried by men of H.M.S. "Dryad" alone. The manner in which Lieut. Knowles carried out the duties assigned to him by Commander Johnstone met with the entire approval of the latter officer, who records that, "had he been less diligent, great risk might have been incurred of the consular records falling into improper hands."

1883.
Death of
Mr. Paken-
ham.

June 23.

The French expelled from Antanànarivo by orders of the Government, and who had left the capital on the 29th May, finally arrived at Tamatave on the 23d June.¹ The bearers who accompanied them on their journey had received orders (reports M. Baudais) to go no farther than the village of Maròmby, situated twenty-five leagues from Tamatave (see Route I. chapter iv.); but M. Baudais had sent people to meet them, so that the women and children were carried in flanjans from thence, and the admiral sent also an escort of 100 marines and a 4-pounder gun as far as Ivòndrona to bring them in. The men, for the most part, had to walk, and arrived at Tamatave distressed by fatigue, and robbed *en route*

Arrival of
French ex-
pelled from
Antanànarivo at
Tamatave.

Gouverneur de Tamatave, avait été arrêté comme dangereux, mais il a été relâché sur parole. Le missionnaire Shaw est accusé de tentative d'empoisonnement sur nos soldats. Les indices sont très graves. L'instruction se poursuit.

(Signé)

"RALLIER, Capitaine de vaisseau,
"Commandant 'La Flore' et Capitaine de
"Pavillon du Contre-amiral Pierre."

¹ Livre jaune, "Affaires de Madagascar," 1884, No. 29, p. 47.

1883.

of what small articles of value they had in their packages. On the same day (23d June) a vessel arrived from Mâhanôro, having on board refugee French subjects from the coast in that vicinity, from which they had been expelled by decree of the Hóva Government. Prohibition had been made in these parts to sell anything to the French, who had to embark without permission to take any provisions, leaving their plantations, their houses, stores, and merchandise at the disposal of the Hóvas, who, in certain places, had commenced to pillage under the very eyes of the authorities, and before even the proprietors themselves had departed. This measure of expulsion applied equally to all the French inhabiting Madagascar, wherever their residence, at Mananjàra, Mahèla, Mâhanôro, Fènoarivo, Foule Point, etc. The English (adds M. Baudais), in all places, were respected as to their persons and properties.¹

The English inhabitants respected by the Malagasy. The Malagasy envoys receive a safe-conduct from the French Government.

Meantime in Europe the Hóva envoys were about to return home. The Malagasy ambassadors were admitted to an interview with M. Jules Ferry, the president of the council of ministers, at Paris on the 18th June, when a note was communicated to them indicating the basis of negotiation which would be admitted by the French Government.² On the 24th the president of council received the envoys, who took leave of him, and promised a safe-conduct from the French Government. This safe-conduct was subsequently remitted to them.

¹ "Les Anglais sont, en tous lieux, respectés dans leurs personnes et leurs propriétés. La crainte manifestée en novembre dernier par le consul de Sa Majesté Britannique, affirmant que ses nationaux couraient dans toute l'étendue de Madagascar les plus grands dangers, si on en venait aux hostilités, n'était donc pas justifiée, comme j'avais l'honneur de vous le dire à cette époque. Le Gouvernement Hóva affecte de couvrir de sa protection les résidents Anglais. C'est ainsi que les Gouverneurs de province ont pris soin de signifier à nos nationaux le décret d'expulsion en présence des sujets Anglais réunis à cet effet."

June 21.

On the 21st June the following proclamation was issued :—"Considering the attempts made by certain officers of H.B.M.S. 'Dryad' to impede the course of justice, and to obstruct the action of the authorities, by substituting themselves for private individuals, in questions that do not concern them personally ; Considering the interference which Commander Johnstone, of H.B.M.S. 'Dryad,' believed himself to be authorised to exercise, in requiring the military authorities to render an account of the execution of their orders ; Decreed that access to Tamatave is forbidden to all foreign sailors, soldiers, and officers.

(Signed) "BILLARD."

² "NOTE.—Indiquant les bases d'arrangement communiquées aux Envoyés Hóvas par le Président du Conseil dans l'entretien du 18 Juin 1883.

"PARIS, le 22 juin 1883.

"1. Le Gouvernement Hóva devra s'engager à n'occuper aucun territoire, à

After Mr. Shaw had been in close confinement on board "La Nièvre" for ten days, on 25th June the Donald Currie steamer "Taymouth Castle" put into Tamatave with a missionary party bound for Madagascar from England, having left Dartmouth on the 25th May. Mr. Shaw's wife was on board this packet. Acting on advice given, she sought an interview with Admiral Pierre, and went on board the flagship "La Flore" for this purpose. But she received a refusal to each of her requests—viz. that she might come and stay with Mr. Shaw, or that she might have a short interview with him, or that she might stay on shore until something was decided about him. Further, Mr. Shaw was not allowed even to be on deck as his wife was rowed past "La Nièvre." He was permitted to write to his wife, but compelled to write in French, and to leave the letters open; several of these letters were not delivered, but all Mrs. Shaw's letters were delivered to him, although not until the "Taymouth Castle" had gone away.

1883.
June 25.
Arrival of
the "Tay-
mouth
Castle" at
Tamatave.

The following momentous incident is thus recorded in Major Cooke's War Office *précis*:—"The 'Taymouth Castle' steamer, commanded by Captain Hay, arrived at Tamatave from Natal on the 26th June, and immediately after anchoring was boarded by a French officer and compelled to deliver over to him all the mails for Tamatave. French sentries were placed on board to prevent all communication with the shore, the mails were not landed until the following afternoon, and only half an hour was allowed before the outward mail was taken off. This outward mail was first overhauled on board

June 26.
Account
given in
War Office
précis.

n'exercer aucune action dans la région qui fait l'objet des arrangements conclus par la France en 1841 et 1842 avec les Sakalaves, et qui comprend Mojangà.¹

"2. Des garanties formelles assureront à nos nationaux, en ce qui concerne le droit de posséder des immeubles, les avantages qui leur ont été reconnus par le traité de 1868.

"3. Une somme, qui ne saurait être moindre qu'un million, sera attribuée au Gouvernement Français, qui se réserve de l'affecter au règlement des indemnités dues à ses nationaux.

"Il convient d'ajouter que le Commissaire de la République française à Madagascar a reçu des pouvoirs étendus, et qu'en présence de la situation créée aujourd'hui par la résistance du Gouvernement Hôva, il est impossible de préciser ici des modifications que le développement même des événements pourra l'amener à apporter au programme qui lui a été tracé en termes généraux, lors de son départ."

¹ "Vous prendrez soin que le port Mojangà et son territoire soient particulièrement mentionnés; notre souveraineté n'y est pas moins certaine, mais vous savez qu'elle a été contestée." (M. Jules Ferry à M. Baudais, Paris, 19 juin 1883.)

1883. the admiral's ship and then put on board the steamer. The admiral further demanded that the commander of the 'Dryad' should send his despatches for the British Admiralty on board his flagship previous to their being sent on board the 'Taymouth Castle.' To this, however, Commander Johnstone refused to submit, and, by private arrangement with Captain Hay, he succeeded in placing his despatches on board the English packet without active opposition. As the French men-of-war were cleared for action by way of menace, the 'Dryad' was kept with steam up and her crew at quarters ready for any emergency."

June 26. It appears from a telegraphic despatch of Admiral Pierre, hereafter quoted in the Chamber of Deputies, that a night attack on the French lines in the vicinity of Tamatave was repulsed, without loss to the French, on this date.

June 30. On 30th June Mr. Shaw was examined by an officer from the flagship, who informed him that he was accused of having tried to poison French soldiers; these last, it appeared, had drunk some of Mr. Shaw's claret, and been ill in consequence. On the 4th July Mr. Shaw was transferred to "La Flore."

June 30. Examination of Mr. Shaw on board "La Flore."

Sir J. Pope Hennessey despatches the "Stella" from Mauritius to deport refugees.

When the "Taymouth Castle" reached Mauritius the governor of that colony, Sir J. Pope Hennessey, made arrangements to send the "Stella," under Commander Crawford, to fetch off as many Mauritians and British subjects from the east coast of Madagascar as were desirous of coming to Mauritius, and with this object he wrote (Blue Book No. 63) to Admiral Pierre to give Commander Crawford every facility, "consistent with the service in which you are engaged, for removing or relieving Mauritians, or other British subjects who have been placed in a position of danger or distress by the accident of war." Sir J. Pope Hennessey also stated, in a second letter, that Mrs. Shaw, then residing in Mauritius, had appealed to him, as the nearest representative of Her Majesty, to intervene with the admiral.

June 27. The following note was handed to M. Jules Ferry by the English ambassador on the 27th June at Paris:—

"Her Majesty's Government have received information that the acting French consul at Tamatave, on the 2d of last month, warned the French inhabitants on the east coast of the island of Madagascar of the necessity of prudence in face of the impending action of the French naval forces, but that he gave no intimation of the approaching danger to Her Majesty's consul, so as to enable him to give a similar warning to British subjects. Her Majesty's Government are convinced that this neglect on the part of

the acting consul will be regretted by the French Government, although 1883.
it may not have been owing to intentional want of consideration."

M. Challemel-Lacour, minister for foreign affairs, trans- July 3.
mitted the accompanying *note verbale* to Lord Lyons, dated 3d
July 1883 :—

"According to the latest information received by the French Govern-
ment from Madagascar, the consul and commissioner of the republic landed
at Tamatave on the 9th May, in order to retake possession of his post.
The instructions given to this agent enjoined him to caution foreign resi-
dents as well as French subjects, that they might be able to take such
prudential measures as they might judge proper, in view of the imminent
action of the French naval forces. There is, therefore, ground for thinking
that if, as the information that has reached Her Britannic Majesty's
Government leads one to suppose, the French inhabitants of the eastern
coast of the island received a caution on the 2d May from the official in
charge, for the interim, of the consulate and commissariat, without a
similar warning having been addressed to British subjects, this omission
may have been repaired on the arrival of the consul himself. The
minister for foreign affairs has, however, hastened to inquire as to the
precise steps taken in execution of the instructions given to M. Baudais."

The Hóva ambassadors called upon Earl Granville at the
Foreign Office on 5th July to take leave before returning to
Madagascar. They informed him, in the course of conversa-
tion, that during their recent visit to Paris they had had an
interview with M. Jules Ferry, and had expressed to him, on
behalf of their Government, their readiness to accept any
reasonable terms, in order to put an end to the present hostile
relations between the two countries. M. Jules Ferry had
answered (they said) that the French officers on the spot had
received full instructions upon the subject, and that, as the
matter was now in their hands, he could not discuss it at
Paris; he added, however, that, notwithstanding the com-
manding position which the French now held in Madagascar,
his Government had no intention of exacting harder terms
than those claimed when the Hóva ambassadors were last in
Paris.

July 5.¹
The Hóva
ambassa-
dors leave
England.

Meantime the "Stella" duly arrived at Tamatave, and
Commander Crawford communicated the letters of Governor
Sir J. Pope Hennessey to Admiral Pierre, who replied in the
following terms :—

"July 8, 1883. July 8.

"M. LE GOUVERNEUR—On the arrival of the steamer 'Stella,' I
ordered the offer of a refuge at Mauritius, and of the means of being con-

¹ On the 5th July another night attack was made by the Hóvas on Tamatave.

1883.

veyed thither, placed by your Excellency at the disposal of the Mauritians and other British subjects desirous of leaving Madagascar, and who had not been able to do so from want of money and for other reasons, to be made publicly known by the mayor of Tamatave. Ninety-two persons availed themselves of your generous offer, and I at once transmitted a list of them to Commander Crawford, who at first thought he could only receive fifty, but whom feelings of humanity induced to receive all. They are embarking at this moment, and the 'Stella' will be able to start this evening, as her commander desires. There are still at Tamatave a good number of subjects of Her Britannic Majesty, as well as natives of Her Majesty's Indian possessions, who are desirous of escaping from the risks of war, and who have not been able to find room this time in the 'Stella.' I regret not to have had the pleasure of seeing Commander Crawford, owing to the quarantine regulations; but I was glad to aid him to the utmost of my power in the fulfilment of the mission your Excellency had charged him with, and thus to show you, M. le Gouverneur, my desire to be useful to all Her Britannic Majesty's subjects, as well as my special desire to be agreeable to you in all circumstances."

In another letter, of same date (?), Admiral Pierre wrote:—

Admiral
Pierre and
the Gover-
nor of
Mauritius.

"M. LE GOUVERNEUR—I have received the letter your Excellency did me the honour of writing to me on the subject of the Rev. George Andrew Shaw, at Tamatave, against whom a grave accusation is brought. I must not leave you in ignorance of the fact that I have had to impose silence on the arrogant pretensions of Commander Johnstone, of Her Britannic Majesty's ship 'Dryad,' to interfere (*intervenir*) in this matter. But to the courteous questions dictated to your Excellency by your interest in Mrs. Shaw, whose fate is certainly deserving of pity, I am glad to be able to reply with some confidential particulars, which I can reveal without interfering with (*troubler*) the course of justice. On the occupation of Tamatave by the French, Mr. Shaw inhabited as tenant a house which was proposed by the owner, Mr. Aitken, to receive a picket of soldiers. When they came to take up their quarters, they found in the garden bottles of wine, evidently set out (*disposées*) to tempt them. Those who tasted suddenly fell into a state of lethargic intoxication. The officer in command at once broke the bottles and poured out the liquid, keeping a bottle as a specimen, which is at present at Réunion undergoing chemical analysis, and the return of which I am awaiting. The tenant and the owner were at once arrested. Mr. Aitken was set at liberty on the following day for want of sufficient evidence (*charges suffisantes*), and Mr. Shaw was detained as a prisoner. Justice has since been conducting its inquiries, and Mr. Shaw will not be judged without a thorough investigation (*instruction approfondie*). The arrival of Mrs. Shaw at Tamatave while her husband is the subject of so serious a charge lends a dramatic interest to her situation. The poor lady came and implored me for her husband; and, in spite for the pity I felt for her, I was obliged to harden my heart against her grief, to fulfil a duty which obliged me to allow justice to take its course. But I see with pleasure that you do not doubt that I feel the distress of Mrs. Shaw, or that any subject of Her Britannic Majesty is sure to meet with kindness at the hands of a French tribunal of justice. Your Excellency and Mrs. Shaw herself may have confidence

both in the generosity and in the justice of the judges. You may be sure that, if Mr. Shaw's innocence is admitted (*reconnue*) I shall not for one moment delay his return to his family." 1883.

Lieut.-Col. Miles telegraphed from Zanzibar, 10th July: " 'Dragon' arrived Tamatave, reports death Consul Pakenham. French admiral had ordered him quit Tamatave in twenty-four hours, though dangerously ill; died seven hours before time expired. Commander 'Dryad' has embarked archives. Admiral has stopped communication between British men-of-war and shore, and has refused to hold written communication with commander 'Dryad.' Tamatave practically a French town, all foreign consuls' flags hauled down." The above telegraphic information was received by Earl Granville the same day (July 10) and the substance telegraphed forthwith to Lord Lyons at Paris. Lord Granville also informed Lord Lyons that a report had reached him from a private source to the effect that Mr. Shaw, a missionary, and Mr. Pakenham's secretary, named Andrianisa, had been seized and imprisoned by the French authorities at Tamatave. The French chargé d'affaires called the same day (July 10) on Lord Granville, who took the opportunity to mention to him the telegram just received from Her Majesty's acting agent and consul-general at Zanzibar. He requested him to telegraph at once to his Government to say how much concerned he had found Earl Granville at the receipt of this message, and to request that they would send him any information they had received, and any explanation which they might be able to give on so serious a matter. Count d'Aunay said that he would at once communicate with his Government.¹

July 10.
Incident telegraphed to London.

An explanation demanded from the French by the English minister.

¹ Viscount LYONS to Earl GRANVILLE.
Substance telegraphed 11th July.

July 11.

"MY LORD—I communicated this afternoon to M. Challemlacour the contents of your Lordship's telegrams of yesterday evening respecting the melancholy death of Mr. Consul Pakenham at Tamatave and the proceedings at that place of the French Admiral Pierre. After expressing the great concern with which I had myself received the intelligence contained in these telegrams, and remarking upon the painful impression it could not fail to produce in England, I proceeded, in obedience to your Lordship's orders, to inquire whether the French Government were in possession of the facts, and whether M. Challemlacour was able to give any information explanatory of the action of the French Admiral. His Excellency answered that he had received a telegram from Comte d'Aunay, the French chargé d'affaires in London, to whom your Lordship had spoken on the subject; but that no information had reached the French Government from any other source. This being the case, he must confess that he was quite unable to account for what had occurred. He was, he said, at a loss to conceive circum-

1883.

July 11.
Statement
by Mr.
Gladstone
in the
House of
Commons.

Earl Granville, on receiving the above telegraphic despatch, proceeded forthwith to lay it before Her Majesty, and the nature of the proceedings at Tamatave was communicated to the House of Lords and House of Commons the same evening. On Wednesday, 11th July, Sir Stafford Northcote questioned the Government regarding late occurrences in Madagascar, when Mr. Gladstone, the prime minister, made the following statement :—" The House is aware, from the statements of the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, that on 14th June a state of siege was proclaimed at Tamatave. The British consul was unhappily at the time very ill, and the information received is to the effect that his illness was seriously aggravated by the political crisis. His secretary was arrested in his presence. In these circumstances he received an order from the French admiral to quit the place within twenty-four hours ; and seven hours before the expiration of that time he died. The French admiral invited the British to attend the funeral, and the British officers and men of the 'Dryad' attended in some numbers. The French admiral stopped communication between the British men-of-war and the shore. The captain was allowed only verbally to protest against the proceedings ; and the flags of all foreign consuls have been pulled down. There is a portion of the telegram affecting another person in addition to the secretary of the consul. One British subject, a missionary of the London Missionary Society, was arrested on the 16th, and remains in prison. The charge against him is not made public, but it is surmised to be for correspondence with the enemy, as the French phrase would be in the circumstances. The answer that has been received is that the law must take its course. In announcing these grave and painful occurrences, I have only to say that we wait for further information as to the facts, and for those communications from the Government of France required in such a case, which we have intimated we expect, and which it would be our duty to make under similar stances under which the French Admiral could have given M. Pakenham an injunction to depart at a time when he was seriously ill. He would, however, he assured me, telegraph at once to Zanzibar, and take every other step in his power to obtain complete information. On my pointing out to M. Challemel-Lacour the unfortunate effect which could not fail to be produced if this painful intelligence remained for any time without explanation, he replied that I could not be more impatient for explanation than he himself was. I left with M. Challemel-Lacour a paper containing the substance of your Lordship's telegram, and I do myself the honour to transmit herewith a copy of it to your Lordship.

—I have, etc.
(Signed) LYONS."

circumstances." This statement occasioned a profound sensation throughout England, and indeed throughout France and Europe. 1883.

The French chargé d'affaires called on Lord Granville on the 12th July, and stated that M. Challemel-Lacour had no information as to the facts which had been reported with regard to the conduct of the French naval authorities at Tamatave, but that his Excellency had lost no time in trying to obtain particulars. M. d'Aunay added, that although he had no formal instructions he had no doubt that the French Government would be willing to give all proper satisfaction to England if the facts turned out to be as represented. But he requested that no publicity should at present be given to what was only his impression. Earl Granville said that he entirely shared that impression, and that the course which either of the two Governments in such circumstances would desire to take was obvious. July 12.

On the 13th July Earl Granville wrote to Lord Lyons (No. 35):— July 13.

"FOREIGN OFFICE, *July 13, 1883.*

"MY LORD—I have received and laid before the Queen your Excellency's telegram of the 11th instant (see *ante*), reporting the answer returned to you by M. Challemel-Lacour to the inquiries which you were instructed to make as to the reported proceedings of the French naval commander at Tamatave.

"Her Majesty's Government have received with satisfaction your report of M. Challemel-Lacour's courteous language, and they readily admit that the French Government cannot be expected to offer explanations and reparation for any acts of which they have not yet received information from their own agents. But they trust that the French Government have lost no time in sending such instructions to their naval officers as will put an end to the possibility of the continuance or renewal of such incidents as have been reported to Her Majesty's Government.

"Your Excellency will speak to M. Challemel-Lacour in this sense, and express a hope that a solution satisfactory to both countries may be promptly attained.—I am, etc. (Signed) GRANVILLE."

In despatch No. 29, dated "Tamatave, le 12 juillet 1883" (which was received by M. Challemel-Lacour 9th August), M. Baudais stated that in regard to the military aspect of the situation the state of affairs had not much altered since the date of his last despatch of the 13th June. On that date, as before recorded, the town of Tamatave was placed in a state of siege. This decision had given rise to a series of arrests under military authority, upon which M. Baudais did not feel called July 12.

1883. upon to give an opinion. The foreign population had accepted the state of siege without much murmuring, whilst of the indigenous population not more than one hundred Malagasy remained in all Tamatave.

The woods which afforded cover to fort at Tamatave removed.

The fort of Tamatave, cleared of the dense woods which formerly enveloped it and hid it from the view of the ships anchored in the roadstead, was by this date visible to the ships of war and easy to cannonade. The French garrison there was strongly established, and there was no fear of the position being recaptured by the enemy. The Hóvas had attempted several reprisals in the shape of night attacks, principally those on the 19th and 25th June, and the 5th July, on the French lines. They had only succeeded, however, in entering the village, where they had set fire to some huts and wounded two persons. They had always been repelled with great loss, it was said, though only eight bodies had been found. On the French side they had only to deplore the loss of one man killed by the enemy. These attacks were made in accordance with orders received directly from Antanànarivo to retake the fort of Tamatave. Successive reinforcements had been sent to the Hóva troops; and their arrival always coincided with the attacks undertaken without success against the French line.

Route to Antanànarivo intercepted.

"The route to Antanànarivo was intercepted, so that it was impossible to convey to the capital the true details of occurrences on the coast. It was not usual for a military Hóva chief to avow that he was conquered. He always claimed to have been successful. Thus, after the capture of Mojangà, the governor of that town, who fled to Antanànarivo, has been rewarded for the part which he had taken in taking a French man-of-war. In the same way the governor of Tamatave, a fugitive in the neighbourhood of that town, sent daily to the capital bulletins of his success. If the way was clear," says M. Baudais, after recording the above canards as facts, "it would be possible to send couriers to Antanànarivo and the prime minister would learn the truth." (See Dépêche No. 29.)

"The custom-house duties," he added, "are enforced and accounted for by the military authorities."

Night attacks on French outposts.

Again and again the Hóvas continued their night attacks on the French position at Tamatave, but though some bands succeeded in penetrating into the town, which they endeavoured to fire, they were on every occasion repulsed by the outposts with some loss. The French reported their own loss at one

killed and no wounded. Meanwhile they worked unremittingly at the strengthening of the defences, and blockhouses were erected for the protection of the outposts and pickets. The position at Tamatave remained for some time unchanged, the French not having sufficient force to enable them to carry on operations inland. The Hóvas, on their side, continued to strengthen and enlarge their fortified lines at Manjàkandri-anombàna. 1883.

M. Challemel-Lacour called upon Lord Lyons on the evening of the 13th July, and reverted to the intelligence from Madagascar contained in the telegram from Admiral Pierre. This telegram had, he said, been sent in an American vessel to Zanzibar, and it was very short; but still, if the serious difficulties with the British authorities which had been reported to Her Majesty's Government had in fact arisen, he was at a loss to account for the admiral not having made any allusion to them. However this might be, he had sent telegrams to Zanzibar and to Aden directing that instructions should be forwarded by the quickest means to the admiral to send full particulars at once; and he entertained no doubt that as soon as those particulars were received, the matter would be easily settled to the satisfaction of both Governments. M. Challemel-Lacour asked Lord Lyons to express to Lord Granville his appreciation of the friendly and moderate language in which he had spoken of the matter in the House of Lords on the 11th July.

July 13.
No. 43
Blue Book.

Viscount Lyons spoke to M. Challemel-Lacour on the morning of the 16th July in the exact terms of Lord Granville's despatch of the 13th instant, respecting the proceedings of the French Admiral Pierre at Tamatave. On Lord Lyons saying that Her Majesty's Government trusted that the French Government had lost no time in sending such instructions to their naval officers as would prevent the possibility of the recurrence of such incidents as had been reported to Her Majesty's Government, M. Challemel-Lacour desired the British ambassador to inform his Government that Admiral Pierre had instructions not only to observe strictly all the rules of international law and courtesy, but, moreover, to show special consideration for the *susceptibilités* of the English.¹ The

July 16.

¹ Extract from the instructions given to Admiral Pierre:—"Je vous prie, est-il dit dans ces instructions, d'éviter, autant que possible, d'éveiller les susceptibilités de l'Angleterre, et vous voudrez bien mettre vos soins à entretenir les

1883.
No. 44
Blue Book.

French minister told Admiral Lord Lyons that, being informed that H.M.S. "Dragon" was on the point of returning to Tamatave, he had sent instructions by telegraph to the French consulate at Zanzibar to forward by her instructions to Admiral Pierre to despatch at once a detailed report to Zanzibar, to be transmitted thence by telegraph to the French Government here. He calculated that the "Dragon" would take six days from Zanzibar to Tamatave, and that the ship that the admiral would send with his report would take the same time in reaching Zanzibar, so that at any rate the French Government would be in possession of the particulars in about twelve days time. M. Challemel-Lacour desired Lord Lyons to assure Earl Granville that nothing would be wanting on the part of the French Government to make good the hope expressed by his lordship that a solution satisfactory to both countries might be promptly attained. Unfortunately the "Dragon" sailed from Zanzibar on the 15th, so that delay in sending the telegrams was unavoidable.

On the same day an important debate took place in the Chamber of Deputies (partly reported in Appendix H), when a question was addressed by M. Francis Charmes to the minister for foreign affairs. The conclusion of the speech made by M. Challemel-Lacour in reply was as follows:—"You have seen that the explanations demanded of Mr. Gladstone in the House of Commons, and of Lord Granville in the House of Lords, have been given with becoming moderation, and in language bearing the impress of that courteous confidence on which we congratulate ourselves. And, although we may still at this moment be thoroughly convinced that the general officer in command of the squadron before Madagascar cannot have misunderstood the respect due, one to the other, by two great civilised nations, or have forgotten the rules which govern and which should govern international relations, I do not, however, hesitate to declare that if, as is possible in certain circumstances, any error or misunderstanding in which passion has been displayed has in fact taken place, we shall not fail in the duty imposed upon us, nor shall we hesitate to act in accord-

relations les plus courtoises avec le Commandant-en-Chef de la Division navale Britannique. . . . Je vous prie de tenir le Département exactement et promptement informé de tous les faits de quelque importance de manière à éviter les incidents auxquels donne lieu la publication anticipée de nouvelles répandues avant les rapports officiels" (No. 49 Blue Book). *Not in the Yellow Book!*

ance with the dictates of the spirit of justice and with the interest of the country." 1883.

"For some months past the health of Queen Ranavàlona II. had not been good, but no unusual alarm was felt on her behalf. During the early days of July, however, she became seriously ill, and she died on the morning of Friday, the 13th of that month, after a memorable reign of fifteen years."¹ At two o'clock on the day of the queen's decease a salute of cannon announced that event, and the accession of a successor. Respecting the new sovereign, who was proclaimed under the title of Ranavàlona III., the London Missionary Society gives the following particulars:—"Razàfindrahèty is a daughter of a sister of the late queen and is about twenty years of age. She was nominated by her aunt the late sovereign as her successor, and her mother and grandmother are still living. She was first educated in the country district by one of the London Missionary Society's *native* teachers. She then entered a school in the capital, then was for some time in the school taught by Miss Gilpin, a member of the Friends' Foreign Mission Association, and for some years after was in the London Missionary Society's Girls' School at Ambòdin-Andohàlo. She is clever for a Malagasy, having been in the first class of the school for some years. She is well behaved, rather proud and haughty, somewhat hasty in speech, and easily provoked. Her husband, a relative of the late queen, died a few months previously. She is childless" (*Chron. London Missionary Society*). Her elder sister Rasèndranòro, who is twenty-six years of age,

July 13.
Death of
Queen
Ranavà-
lona II.

Razàfindra-
hèty pro-
claimed
queen
under title
of Rana-
vàlona III.

¹ The Rev. W. E. Cousins writes:—"She was the first Christian Queen of Madagascar, and we have every reason to believe that her profession of Christianity was thoroughly sincere. Those who knew her best agree in testifying to her simple and earnest Christian faith, and to her consistent life. During the troubles of the last few weeks she still maintained her trust in God, saying that she had from the beginning rested her kingdom on *Him*."

Another correspondent writes of the late queen—"She joined in the usual evening prayers on Thursday (12th July), and her last words and acts were a most befitting conclusion to the peaceful and prosperous times God had given her for the last fifteen years. She declared that she died fully trusting in Jesus Christ as her Saviour. She begged that she should be buried quickly so that no interruption should happen to the preparation for resisting the French. She charged the prime minister and her newly chosen successor, Razàfindrahèty, to remember that her kingdom was resting upon God, and that they were to continue as before in all matters of religion. She begged them to remember that not one foot of her land was to be given to the French. She named her niece Razàfindrahèty as her successor. About two o'clock on the morning of her death a violent earthquake shook the capital for some twenty seconds" (*Chron. L.M.S., Oct. 1883*).

1883. might have been considered eligible for the throne; but she was unfitted in many ways, being divorced from Andrianàly (who was exiled to Bétasiléo, but on the outbreak of hostilities sent as chief medical officer to the Hóva camp at Manjàkandrianombàna); besides, she was educated by the French sisters of Saint Joseph as a Catholic. It was doubtless her superior behaviour and education which prompted the prime minister to confirm Razafindrahèty's eligibility for the crown. Writing on the same evening from Antanànarivo, Mr. Cousins reported "to-night the town is as quiet as if nothing extraordinary had happened." In accordance with the last wishes of the deceased queen the funeral ceremonies were much curtailed in order to prevent any interruption with the war preparations. On
- July 14. Saturday, 14th July, the usual visits of condolence were paid, and on Monday, 16th July, after a service in the palace church the body was removed to Ambòhimànga (see Appendix F). On
- July 16. Tuesday 17th the funeral took place; and on the 18th a number of oxen were slaughtered. This was the conclusion of the funeral ceremonies. The details are given in the Appendix. The state of affairs in the capital continued quiet, and the missionaries were in no danger, suffering only minor inconveniences arising from the cessation of communication with Tamatave.
- July 19. On the evening of 19th July M. Challemel-Lacour handed
No. 50 to Lord Lyons another *note verbale*, stating that the French
Blue Book. Government were still without information from their own officers on the subject, and that they must reserve their answer until the time, which is no doubt very near, when the explanations which they have called for from those officers shall reach them.¹
- July 31. M. Challemel-Lacour wrote to M. Baudais fresh instructions under the new situation, directing him to insist on the acknowledgment of the French rights over the north-west coast; but not to reclaim sovereignty over the east coast south of Antongil Bay (see Appendix H).
- August 6. On the 6th August the *Directeur Politique* volunteered the information that the French Government had received through Réunion further news from their admiral in Mada-

¹ "La Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique comprendra que le Gouvernement de la République se trouve dans la nécessité de réserver sa réponse à la communication de Lord Granville jusqu'au jour, très prochain sans doute, où ces éclaircissements lui seront parvenus."

gascar, but that he does not refer in any way to the incident 1883.
 which was reported to have taken place with the captain of the
 "Dryad." The French Government, at a loss to explain this
 silence, was waiting for the written despatches which M. Billot No. 54.
 presumed would arrive in about ten days, unless the quaran-
 tine regulations delayed them. The fact is that the minister
 of marine had received on the 5th the following telegram from
 Capitaine de vaisseau Rallier, commandant "La Flore" et
 Capitaine de Pavillon du Contre-amiral Pierre:—¹

Télégramme.

"ZANZIBAR, le 5 août 1883

"(TAMATAVE, le 28 juillet 1883, par navire étranger).

"Le Commandant en chef malade est à Bourbon. Je lui expédie
 immédiatement vos dépêches. Vous recevrez, le 10 août, toute la correspon-
 dance du Commandant anglais Johnstone et vous comprendrez les mesures
 prises par l'Amiral. Le Consul anglais Pakenham est mort; nous lui
 avons rendu de grands honneurs. Le Secrétaire du Consul anglais étant
 un Hôva, fils de l'ancien Gouverneur de Tamatave avait été arrêté comme
 dangereux, mais il a été relâché sur parole. Le Missionnaire Shaw est
 accusé de tentative d'empoisonnement sur nos soldats. Les indices sont
 très graves, l'instruction se poursuit. (Signé) RALLIER."

In conversation with the French ambassador on 9th August 9.
 August Earl Granville told his Excellency that the British
 Government had received despatches from Captain Johnstone,
 R.N., of the "Dryad" at Tamatave, giving an account of the
 differences that had arisen between him and the French
 admiral. The despatches were bulky and were being printed
 for consideration. Earl Granville asked M. Waddington
 whether the French Government had received any reports on
 the same subject. His Excellency replied in the negative, but
 furnished no information respecting the actual charges preferred
 against Mr. Shaw of attempting to poison the French. Lord
 Granville said it might be well to settle how the matter should
 be discussed between the two Governments as soon as they
 were in a position to do so. Earl Granville thought that No. 56.
 perhaps the best and most friendly course would be that they
 should respectively communicate to each other the substance
 of the information they had received, so that each Government
 might be in possession of the statements on either side. Lord
 Granville added that it was satisfactory to find that, although
 the death of Mr. Pakenham was coincident with, it did not

¹ Yellow Book, 1884.

1883. appear to have been caused or accelerated by the last order given by the French admiral for his expulsion from Tamatave. He intimated to the French ambassador that the conduct of the admiral remained unexplained. On the following day the *Temps* announced, apparently semi-officially, that Admiral Pierre was about to resign the command of the squadron off Madagascar on account of ophthalmia.

August 7.
Mr. Shaw
released.

After nearly two months' close confinement on board ship,¹ Mr. Shaw on the 7th August received an official document, stating that there "having been no sufficient evidence against Mr. Shaw, taking also into account his nationality," and, "having in view other circumstances outside the case," that he should be set at liberty.² Mr. Shaw thereupon was given a passage to Réunion on board "*La Nièvre*," whence he was able to proceed to Mauritius and return to England.

¹ The Government at home, meantime, were not remiss in their endeavours to assist Mr. Shaw in every way, but it was not (in consequence of the distance and want of communication) until ten days after his release that the purport of the actual charges against him was formally communicated by the French ambassador to Earl Granville on the 17th August; on which date his Excellency stated that the only information he had received relative to the case of Mr. Shaw was that when the French consul at Zanzibar, M. Ledoulx, left Tamatave, Mr. Shaw's case was still under examination. The charges against him were holding intelligence with the enemy, tampering with the French troops, and even an attempt to poison their food. The French Government did not know (said the ambassador) yet the result of the inquiry. Mr. Shaw was not in prison, but kept on board one of the French vessels of war, where M. Ledoulx saw him walking up and down. M. Waddington went on to say, in reply to further inquiries, (1) that the prisoner must have been informed of the charges against him, as this was made obligatory by article 131 of the "*Code de Justice Militaire pour l'Armée*"; (2) that he would be tried by a court martial formed according to the rules laid down by the said Code, and would have the right of appeal to a Court of revision; (3) that there was no reason whatever for supposing that he will not have every facility for preparing his defence. Earl Granville spoke again to the French ambassador on 22d August, saying that he wished carefully to avoid saying anything which might appear to assume that if any trial of Mr. Shaw should be thought necessary (which he did not believe), it would not be conducted in a perfectly fair manner. But considering the anxiety excited in this country by Mr. Shaw's case and its circumstances, it would only be a friendly act on the part of the French Government if they would ascertain and inform the British Government what were the facilities which would be afforded to Mr. Shaw, in case he was put on his trial, to communicate with those persons who could prove his innocence, and what means he would have to procure counsel such as he might choose, or as might be recommended to him, either by Admiral Hewitt, who was by this time at Zanzibar, or by the governor of Mauritius. Further, Earl Granville telegraphed to Lieut.-Colonel Miles at Zanzibar on August 24, "Be ready to give any assistance that may be desired by Mr. Shaw in the way of procuring counsel or other assistance for his defence."

² "*Le Ministère de la Marine communique la note suivante :—'Il résulte*

Meantime Admiral Pierre, who had left Tamatave for Réunion on the 24th July, being severely ill (indeed his severe illness rendered him, so it was said, almost unaccountable for his proceedings), was invalided home and left Réunion by the mail steamer of the 16th or 17th August for Europe, where he, however, arrived only to die. "La Naiâde" was ordered to leave Toulon and relieve the "Flore," the flagship of the station, whilst Admiral Galiber was sent out to replace Admiral Pierre in command of the French naval division in the Indian Ocean. About this time Admiral Sir W. Hewitt in the "Euryalus," with the "Tourmaline" and "Osprey," arrived at Zanzibar, within easy reach of Tamatave.

1883.
Admiral
Pierre
invalided
home.

On a second visit of the "Taymouth Castle" to Tamatave on the 11th August, Captain Hay was prohibited from landing any of his passengers from Mauritius, but was allowed to take away some distressed British subjects.

August 11.

In August four companies of marine infantry and a company of marine fusiliers (in all some 700 men) were ordered from France, and embarked in the "Creuse" and "Naiâde," the latter being the new flagship to replace the "Flore," ordered home; this reinforcement, it was anticipated, would enable the French to keep the Hóvas at a distance and prevent them from too closely surrounding the position at Tamatave on the land side. The minister of marine at the same time sanctioned, by the advice of Admiral Pierre, the immediate formation of a native corps of auxiliaries, to be recruited from friendly Sakaláva, Antankàrana, and other tribes on the mainland in the vicinity of Nòsy-Bé.

Reinforce-
ments.

In September, in consequence of the heavy sick-rate among the French troops on shore in Madagascar, volunteer companies of créoles, each of two officers and 150 non-commissioned officers and men, were authorised to be formed at Réunion for service at Tamatave and Mojangà. Two such companies were organised, but the enrolment progressed slowly, the service being distasteful, and the anticipated effective was never attained.

September.

On the 4th September Commander Johnstone addressed

Sept. 4.

d'un télégramme de l'Amiral Pierre, qui nous parvient à l'instant d'Aden, que les poursuites contre le missionnaire Shaw ont abouti à une Ordonnance de Non-Lien, et que ce Missionnaire a été mis en liberté à Bourbon'" (*Journal des Débats*, Août 26, 1883). There is no doubt that Mr. Gladstone's speech of 11th July accounted for the release of Mr. Shaw on the 7th August.

1883. to the prime minister two despatches, the first condoling with
September. him on the death of Queen Ranavalona II., the second congratulating her successor and the Government upon her quiet accession to the throne. These despatches elicited very friendly letters in reply.

Incident of the "Isabel." "On the 8th September the British barque 'Isabel,' having discharged a cargo of coal, brought for the supply of the 'Dryad,' was obliged to go to Prune Island, eight miles from Tamatave, to take in ballast, having received prohibition from obtaining it from the mainland. H.M.S. 'Dryad' accompanied her to lend assistance with the blue-jackets, in consequence of the scarcity of labour, and Commander Johnstone notified to the French commander his object in doing so. Nevertheless the 'Beautemps-Beaupré' followed the 'Isabel' and H.M.S. 'Dryad,' and anchored within 100 yards of them, being followed about an hour afterwards by another French ship of war, which anchored about the same distance on the other side of the English ship. The French vessels were cleared for action, and the machine guns in their tops pointed at the 'Dryad' until the 'Isabel' had completed her ballasting, when they returned to Tamatave. This affront was reported by Commander Johnstone to the Admiralty" (War Office *précis*).

Affront offered to the "Dryad."

Concentration of the British squadron.

During the month of September the British squadron under Admiral Sir William Hewitt, V.C., assembled in East African waters, consisted of the following:—"Euryalus" (flagship), "Briton," "Tourmaline" (in relief of the "Dryad"), "Ranger," "Osprey" (screw sloop, six guns), "Dragon," and "Undine" (schooner). Of these the three last-named vessels were employed in communicating with Madagascar. Whilst hostilities were being carried on, the British and other European residents, in all eighty-two members, at Antananarivo were treated with all consideration.

Difficulties in obtaining supplies.

August.

The Hóva Government, however, thought fit to interdict the exportation, by British and other traders, of cattle and general supplies, a measure which, being in contravention of existing treaties, led to difficulties between the British commander and the governors of various ports, who refused to sell him provisions on a cruise during the month of July. Remonstrances made to the prime minister on this subject, couched in friendly terms, resulted, however, in the issue of satisfactory instructions to the governors concerned to furnish all supplies required by British men-of-war. During

a second cruise in September to the eastern ports difficulties again arose with the local authorities relative to the purchase of supplies, originating mainly from the inability of the inhabitants to distinguish between the French and British war-vessels, and from the harassing state of affairs produced by the French occupation.

1883.
September.

Soon after the occupation of Tamatave by the French, serious discussions arose between the civilian and combatant authorities, which resulted in M. Raffray, the French vice-consul, who had taken a very prominent part in the conduct of affairs previous to and during the rupture between France and Madagascar, and had been appointed mayor of the town, being ordered home in September, followed shortly after by Captain Billard, the military commandant of the fort and town.

French
authorities
at Tama-
tave.

Admiral Pierre arrived in a moribund condition at Marseilles by the mail steamer "*Calédonien*," and died on board that ship whilst she was performing quarantine on the 11th September. M. Jules Ferry telegraphed the profound regret of the French Government at the death of the Admiral on the 12th to the widow and family of that officer. "*La mort de l'Amiral Pierre est un deuil pour le pays qui perd en lui un de ses plus vaillants, de ses plus fermes, et de ses plus utiles serviteurs; un modèle d'honneur, d'énergie et de dévouement. Je vous prie de transmettre à la veuve de l'Amiral et à sa famille l'expression des profonds et douloureux regrets du Gouvernement et de la République.*"

Sept. 11.
Death of
Admiral
Pierre.

On the 13th September the "*Naiäde*" (first-class cruiser, twenty guns) arrived to relieve the "*Flore*," ordered home to France, and bringing reinforcements to the French troops occupying Tamatave. Captain Billard together with Captain Rallier left Tamatave with the "*Flore*" on the 19th September; and Admiral Galiber, who had been appointed to succeed the late Admiral Pierre, hoisted his flag on the "*Naiäde*," the new flagship at Tamatave, on the 24th September, and assumed the chief command of the French forces in Madagascar. The new commander-in-chief was, together with M. Baudais, the civil commissioner, armed with full plenipotentiary powers to treat with the Malagasy Government, and to adopt a conciliatory attitude, while insisting upon the three fundamental points, viz. (1) The recognition of the French protectorate over the north-western portion of the island; (2) The abolition of

Sept. 13.

Sept. 24.
Admiral
Galiber
assumes
command.

1883.
Sept. 24.

the obnoxious law, No. 85, relating to the tenure of land ; and
(3) The payment of an indemnity of 1,000,000 francs.

Arrival of
Mr. Shaw
in England.

Mr. and Mrs. Shaw reached Plymouth on the 24th September ; and on the evening of 27th September a public meeting at Exeter Hall was held, under the auspices of the London Missionary Society, to give them a welcome, and hear the statement of Mr. Shaw's recent experiences whilst in the hands of the French. The hall was crowded, and the greatest enthusiasm prevailed, and Mr. Shaw's unvarnished recital of his wrongs produced a great impression throughout Great Britain. Mr. Shaw, who might have posed as a martyr, and pressed on the Government to exact heavy reparation for his unjustifiable imprisonment, refused to agitate in any way the public mind. He confidently left his case in the hands of his own Government and that of France to settle between themselves. "I can leave this matter," he said, "to the sense of justice which, although ignored by some of her officials in some parts of the world, must animate the conduct of a great and honourable nation like France."

Dignified
behaviour
of Mr.
Shaw.

Happy
conclusion
of the Shaw
incident.

On the 17th October, within three weeks of the meeting at Exeter Hall, the French ambassador, M. Waddington, visited Lord Granville at Walmer Castle, in order to communicate to him a satisfactory solution of the "Shaw" incident. He observed that it was entirely contrary to French practice to give any indemnity to persons who had been arrested and examined because the prosecution failed ; that no Frenchman (although complaints of some hard cases had arisen) had ever received such an indemnity. But the French Government had resolved to make an exception, and to make the spontaneous offer of £1000 to Mr. Shaw, although it was a much larger sum than they thought was his due. Lord Granville accepted this offer, and M. Challemel-Lacour wrote to M. Waddington the next day, concluding thus : "However this may be, it is certain that an innocent man, the subject of a friendly power, was for fifty-four days deprived of his liberty, to the prejudice of his interests, and kept in painful circumstances under the weight of an accusation which was not found to be justified. The Government have decided that you should be authorised to offer 25,000 fr. as evidence of our wish to lighten the consequences of the hardships endured by Mr. Shaw. Her Britannic Majesty's Government will, I am convinced, see in this decision a proof of the sentiments by which we are animated, and a fresh

motive for continuing on both sides, and in the same friendly spirit, the settlement of the difficulties which may arise between the two countries.” 1883.

The arrival of Admiral Galiber, in conjunction with the departure of MM. Raffray, Billard, and Rallier, who had formed, under Admiral Pierre, a régime undoubtedly hostile to the British, at once led to the establishment of more amicable relations. On the 12th October the French commander-in-chief left Tamatave for a fortnight, on a tour of inspection to the north-west coast, returning on the 25th.¹ During his absence, on the 22d October, two envoys from Antananarivo, under a flag of truce, presented themselves at the French outposts before Tamatave, and requested an audience with the admiral, to whom they brought a letter from the prime minister, dated 15th October. In this document Rainilaiarivony, after announcing the return from Europe of the ambassadors, and the message brought by them from the French Government that an arrangement could not be arrived at in Paris as the admiral and M. Baudais had received full powers to settle matters on the spot with the Queen of Madagascar, stated the readiness of his Government to enter into negotiations on a basis other than that embraced in the ultimatum of June. The French authorities consented to enter into *pourparlers* with the Hóvas on the following conditions: “(1) Pendant le cours de ces pourparlers aucune action de guerre ne sera suspendue. (2) L’ultimatum

Oct. 12.
Admiral
Galiber
visits the
north-west
coast.
Oct. 22.
Negotia-
tions
opened.

¹ Admiral Galiber stated in committee: “On arriving in Madagascar, my first tour was made to the Sàkalàva coast in Pàsindàva Bay. The Sàkalàva are very numerous, but divided in a great number of tribes, independent of one another, and almost constantly at war between themselves. They were well disposed towards us. In order to utilise them I raised some levies, and instructed the commandant at Mojangà to lodge them in a fort, under the charge of an officer and non-commissioned officers (French). The failure was complete; never would these men submit to the slightest military discipline, nor be subject to any regulation. I obtained better results with the Macoa, a company of whom, numbering from 80 to 100 men, was formed, and answered tolerably. I am, nevertheless, convinced that by taking pains with the Sàkalàva, drilling them and enrolling them, without taking them from their own neighbourhood, they would soon learn to appreciate the superiority of disciplined men who are regularly fed, and under these conditions they would do good service, and some day take up a recognised position. If sent on in front of a column, well knowing that they are supported, these Sàkalàva would work admirably. They make first-class raiders; but when they obtained beef for us we could never find out whether they took their neighbours’ or the Hóvas’ oxen. On the left bank of Bèmbatòka Bay the Hóvas were almost unknown, but on the right banks they were numerous; but whether the Sàkalàva, in their raids, ever crossed over the river or not, I was never able to ascertain.”

1883.

remis par M. le Contre-amiral Pierre et par moi au Gouvernement de la Reine Ranavàlona a été de la part de la France un acte réfléchi et sérieux. Les conditions qui y sont énumérées, et dont la modération n'a pu vous échapper, ont été imposées avant l'ouverture des hostilités. Elles doivent à plus forte raison être maintenues aujourd'hui que nous occupons Mojangà et Tamatave, et elles serviront donc de base à tout arrangement à intervenir entre les deux nations." As an earnest intimation of his active intentions Admiral Galiber at once issued orders for the bombardment of the ports on the east coast, commencing with Vòhimàro.

Oct. 24.
Reinforce-
ments.

Meantime, on the 24th October, the "Creuse" (transport), with a company of 177 marine fusiliers, and the "Capricorne" a gunboat of very light draught, had arrived at Tamatave. A considerable number of invalids were also taken in the "Nièvre" to Réunion, where the sanatorium of Salazie offered a salubrious retreat for the French troops, who were beginning to suffer heavily from fever and dysentery. The "Creuse" was fitted, after her arrival, as a floating hospital.

Oct. 31.
Bombard-
ment of
Vòhimàro.

On the 31st October the *aviso* "Boursaint," commanded by M. Boutet,¹ anchored off Vòhimàro. Scarcely was the anchor down when a boat was lowered and an officer came in it towards the beach, and, when within speaking distance of the shore, inquired for a Malagasy subject named Beguinne, who was employed by a French firm at that place. The reply was that this man had been taken as a soldier and was with the Hóva authorities. Upon this the boat returned to the ship, and was scarcely alongside when the "Boursaint" opened fire, and M. Boutet shelled the village leisurely for about an hour. At the first shot the few British subjects took refuge with M. de Charmoy, the British consular agent, who had

¹ On the 11th June 1884 M. le Commandant Boutet stated before the Madagascar Committee in Paris: "L'Amiral Galiber me donna l'ordre de parcourir la côte jusqu'à la baie de Diego-Suarez et d'y faire tout le mal possible. Je brûlai tout ce que je pus brûler, et je suis arrivé à Vòhemaro. . . . Enfin, d'après mes instructions, je devais aller à Vòhemaro et brûler tout sur ma route. . . . En arrivant, ayant vu sur la côte des Hóvas armés de vieux fusils, j'ai commencé le feu. J'ai tué quelques Hóvas, j'en ai blessé beaucoup. Au bout de deux ou trois décharges, ils sont partis à leur camp, à 2 ou 3 kilomètres à l'intérieur. J'ai fait parcourir la côte par des embarcations armées en guerre, qui ont également tiré de façon à faire partir les Hóvas sans laisser tuer mes hommes. Aussitôt après je débarquai, et on a tout brûlé. Les instructions que j'avais données à mes officiers étaient de brûler toutes les cases des Hóvas, en prenant les précautions nécessaires pour que celles des Anglais fussent respectées."

hoisted the British flag on the roof of his house. Four of the natives were killed at once and a fifth died of his wounds. The fire from the *aviso* was principally directed towards the custom-house, in the centre of the village. The French then landed in two launches and set fire to all the houses left in the village which had not been burned by the shells; amongst others, the houses of two Mauritians, British subjects, and all the houses of the Indians from Bombay. It was impossible to mistake the better sort of houses belonging to the Europeans, such as that of Mr. Lionnet, for those of the natives. In striking contrast to the burnt houses the establishment of MM. Roux, Fraissinet, et Cie remained intact.

1883.
October.

Captain Boutet, after this bombardment, offered a passage to the Europeans and Indians, who, having lost everything, were without means of support, and took them to Tamatave, where they were relieved by Mr. Bardet, the British agent, as distressed British subjects, until the arrival of the "Dryad." Thus it appears that a considerable amount of British property was sacrificed by this bombardment, which was begun at Vohimàro without notice, and which caused the destruction of a thriving little settlement of British subjects, who were obliged to leave what remained of their goods to be plundered by the natives. The attention of M. Ferry was shortly afterwards drawn to the occurrence, and Lord Lyons was instructed to press the Government of the Republic for an inquiry into the matter. All the other ports to the south of Tamatave were treated in a similar manner by the "Vaudreuil," the "Nièvre," or other French man-of-war. Thus Māhanòro was shelled on the 12th November, and a landing attempted from boats on the 13th. Mahèla and Mānanjàry both suffered a similar fate on the 14th of the same month. Fort Dauphin was bombarded on the 16th and again on the 19th November,¹ whilst Māhanòro was again attacked on the 20th. Later, Fènoarivo received a second baptism of fire on the 23d, and Mahàmbo for the *fifth* time was burnt by the shell fire from the French naval force. After the destruction of Fort Dauphin it is said that the Antanòsy raised the flag of independence, but on hearing that a

Distressed
British sub-
jects re-
moved to
Tamatave.

Nov. 12.
Bombard-
ment of
ports on
east coast.

¹ Admiral Galiber states: "Alors on canonna le fort Dauphin, on fit sauter la poudrière et les Hóvas (100) disparurent. Les Hóvas partis, le commandant a demandé aux Antanòsy s'ils voulaient aller occuper le fort: ils ont refusé de marcher. Quelques matelots sont descendus à terre, ils ont brûlé les portes du fort et tout en est resté là."

1883. regiment had been told off at the capital to march to Fort Dauphin they thought better of it, and submitted. The regiment was recalled, and a detachment of ten Hóvas sufficed to retake the remains of the ruined fort.

Burning of
Maròant-
sètra.

About the same time the "Boursaint" and the "Beautemps-Beaupré" proceeded to Port Choiseul, beyond the bar of which the Hóvas had constructed a series of booms to obstruct the approach; but these obstacles failed to stop the French boats, and the village of Maròantsètra was taken and burnt, the only casualty on the French side being a Malagasy pilot wounded. Foule Point, Point Larée, Mananàra, and other unimportant hamlets on the shores of Antongil Bay were also shelled.

Nov. 16.
Raid on
Mojangà
frustrated.

On the 16th November an attempt was made by the Hóvas to carry off the *soi-disant* Sakalàva queen from Mojangà, but it was frustrated by the garrison, assisted by the fire of the gunboat "Pique" and a landing party from the "Forfait."

Rainandriamampàndry, the governor of Tamatave, and at this time commanding the Hóva forces in their intrenched position at Manjàkandrianombàna, was appointed by the Madagascar Government as their principal plenipotentiary, and with him there were associated Andriantàsy, Rainizànamànga, and Ramàrosòna as his colleagues, with full powers to treat with the French representatives. These envoys were appointed as early as the 9th November, but the various *pourparlers* and correspondence which ensued delayed the preliminaries being settled before the 19th November, on which date the first conference took place at Ambòdimànga near Tamatave. After some fruitless discussion the negotiations were adjourned until the 24th November, when the plenipotentiaries again met, when the Malagasy envoys requested two days in order to submit on paper the concessions which their Government was willing to make towards meeting the conditions imposed by the French ultimatum. This document was presented on the 26th November; and after a short preliminary the following three articles were drawn up to the following effect:—(1.) As to the renting of land. This shall be free, in conformity with the mutual arrangement between the lessor and lessee for any numbers of months or years agreed upon. The lands then let will be registered by duly appointed officials by the French and Malagasy Governments; and no freehold ground will be sold to any foreigner whatsoever. (2.) The sum of 200,000 dollars (£40,000), demanded by the Govern-

Nov. 26.
Proposals
of the
Malagasy.

ment of the French Republic, as indemnity for the French 1883.
claims for the last twenty years, this sum we consent to pay.
(3.) With regard to the "sovereignty or protectorate over the
territories indicated by the French Government," Madagascar
has her independence to preserve and cannot give it up to any
one whosoever; but the Government of the queen consents to
pay a certain sum to arrive at an understanding which will put
an end to all the dissensions and misunderstandings between
the two Governments in the matter. To this a verbal answer
was returned, refusing to treat on the above terms, and the
situation remained unmodified.

Meantime Queen Ranavàlona III. was crowned amid great
popular enthusiasm at Antanànarivo, and the young sovereign
declared that she would not part with the smallest portion of
her kingdom; a declaration repeated by the prime minister
and received with the greatest possible fervour by the populace
of Imèrina. The Hóva troops near Tamatave were daily
augmented, and working parties employed in strengthening the
lines of Manjàkandrianombàna.

Nov. 22.
The coro-
nation of
Rana-
vàlona III.

A few days after the close of the conference, on the 3d
December 1883, Mr. Hicks Graves, the newly appointed British
consul for Madagascar, arrived at Zanzibar, and took over the
archives of the Madagascar consulate from Commander John-
stone, R.N., of the "Dryad," who was promoted for his valuable
services rendered under exceptionally trying circumstances.
The "Dryad" was at this time relieved by H.M.S. "Tourma-
line," commanded by Captain R. Boyle, who embarked Mr.
Graves and Mr. Pickersgill, the recently appointed vice-consul
for Antanànarivo, and landed the latter at Fènoarivo, where the
Hóva authorities had made dispositions to enable him to pro-
ceed thence direct to the capital. Mr. Graves proceeded in
the "Tourmaline" to Tamatave, reaching that port by the 15th
December, where the French squadron of four ships was lying,
while the United States corvette "Brooklyn," bearing the
broad pennon of Commodore Phelps, was leaving the port for
Zanzibar. Captain Boyle opened communications with Admiral
Galiber, and, having received satisfactory assurances with refer-
ence to the proposed landing of the British consul at Tamatave,
he requested the Admiral to have a private and unofficial in-
terview with Mr. Graves, a proposition which he accepted
most cordially, and which was the precursor of a reiteration
of friendly sentiments. On the 19th the British consul

Dec. 3.
Arrival of
British
consul.

Interna-
tional
courtesies.

1883. landed, with the usual complimentary salute of guns, and once more the Union Jack was hoisted at the consulate. The spontaneous offer of the French admiral that the boats of the "Tourmaline" should communicate between that vessel and the shore, showed the amicable and conciliatory disposition of M. Galiber, and the relations of the new consul with the French naval authorities were thus fully established without the surrender of the neutral attitude on the part of the British.

Dec. 31. On the last day of the year another attack was made by the Hóvas, who remained in some numbers in the vicinity, on the French intrenched camp at Mojangà; but it was repulsed without difficulty by the garrison, who were covered by the fire from the gunboat "Pique," and the "Forfait."

Nov.-Dec.
Strength of
French
forces.

The French force on shore at this period is stated to have consisted of about 850 men, distributed as follows:—At Tamatave—Marine Infantry, 3 companies; Marine Fusiliers, 1 company; Naval Brigade, 2 companies, landed from fleet; Marine Artillery, 1 detachment of 40 men, 4 guns; Réunion Volunteers, 1 company; in addition to the 4 guns with the Marine Artillery were several ship's guns and machine guns. At Mojangà—Marine Infantry, half company; Réunion Volunteers, 1 company. At Mayotta and Nòsy-Bé—Marine Infantry, 1 company. At Mojangà there were some Sàkalàva¹

¹ Of these Sàkalàva auxiliaries, M. Galiber in his examination stated:—"Ils sont trop paresseux pour travailler, mais on pourrait en faire des porteurs. Ils n'accepteront pas de bonne grâce, mais, en les menaçant du revolver, on les forcera à porter. Les Sàkalàva ne feront jamais des porteurs comme les gens de la côte est dont c'est le métier. Je me suis aperçu que les Sàkalàva sont absolument paresseux; c'est, du reste, l'opinion générale." Of the Réunion Volunteers the French Admiral, in reply to a question by M. de Mahy, a créole of Réunion himself, gave the following account:—"I am most happy to make my acknowledgments to the volunteers of Réunion. When the companies arrived at Madagascar they extricated me from a great embarrassment. At that time when the fever had set in with the severest intensity I did not know how to replace the men attacked by it. These '*jeunes gens*,' who came in hopes of firing a shot at the enemy and partaking in a campaign, found themselves in a totally different situation from what they had anticipated, condemned to a garrison life, between four walls, for which they were quite unprepared, and to a most unattractive régime, the hardest lot which can befall soldiers. They supported it with a self-denial worthy of all praise, beyond what could have been expected from their youth. They never exhibited the slightest unsteadiness. This was the more meritorious on their part, for having arrived with another objective, they found themselves immediately seized by a malady which fixed upon them with extraordinary violence. Their age was against them, as there were boys of sixteen years among them. Those able to resist the disease showed high spirits and humour. During my daily inspection, noticing that they left their bread, I asked the reason, and was told they preferred rice. Upon which I gave them rice and a smaller ration

auxiliaries who had been armed with chassepots. At Réunion were four companies of marine infantry, between whom and the companies on active service on the Malagasy coast frequent reliefs were carried out. Considering that the sick-rate averaged over 25 per cent, putting the casualties from this source at 210, there can only have been 640 men available for duty on shore; whilst deducting the two companies of Réunion créole volunteers as untrained recruits, Admiral Galiber may be said to have only mustered 500 effective French soldiers and sailors on shore at the end of 1883. Thus the year closed leaving the French in reality less advanced towards towards the solution of their projected occupation of the country than they were at the taking of Mojangà and Tamatave six months previously.

1883.
Large per-
centage of
sick.

The operations of 1884 were opened by a demonstration from the guns of the "Boursaint," which vessel threw fifty shells into the village of Sàlazaza, north of Tanio Point, setting the huts on fire, on the 3d January.

1884.
Jan. 3.

On the 9th January Lieutenant-Colonel Digby Willoughby, an officer who raised and commanded a corps of irregular horse in the Zulu campaign, arrived at the capital, and obtaining the confidence of the prime minister, was entrusted with the whole direction of the military affairs in Madagascar, and appointed adjutant-general to the Malagasy forces. He had a difficult, and apparently thankless task before him, but the results have conclusively proved that the confidence of Rainilaiàrivòny was not misplaced, and as it turned out, no better appointment could possibly have been made.

Jan. 9.
Lieut.-Col.
Digby Wil-
loughby
assumes
the direc-
tion of the
Hôva army.

Meantime Admiral Galiber was making the best of the difficulties he had to contend with in preserving the health of his men at Tamatave during the hot season, when active operations in the southern tropics are well-nigh impossible. On taking possession of the fort, it was found that, excepting the governor's residence, there was no accommodation fitted for European troops during the wet weather, and the admiral was obliged to construct extemporised barracks as soon as he could, and

of bread, and told them to cook their food as they pleased. They set to work to make créole dishes, ransacked the country for brêdes, piments, and green vegetables, till I declare I was amazed at their cookery. In short, I generally relieved the companies every two months, but I did not relieve these until after three months, and then without their asking for it. It was I myself who took the initiative, feeling that I ought not to abuse their good will any longer. I take this opportunity of thanking them for it to-day."

1884.

obtained material from Réunion, furnished with commendable haste, with which he caused to be made verandahs around the inner circumference of the fort, in order that his men might always have cover from the sun. Here they took their meals, and only entered the huts, also built inside, to sleep at night. At some distance from the fort, in a locality which formed the St. Cloud of Tamatave, he laid out under the shady mango trees a grand promenade over 200 yards in length, where, after 9 A.M., drill could be carried on in the shade, games played, and a view of the ships obtained ("et voir les navires dont il est si important de donner la vue aux soldats pour lesquels ils représentent la patrie!") "To completely shut in the peninsula of Tamatave," said the admiral, "I adopted the method of defence employed in Cochin-China. Elevated hillocks were selected, on which were constructed block-houses, to hold twenty-five men on the ground floor, and another twenty-five men on the first floor, well protected by palisades and ditches planted with prickly-pear. Beyond this cactus fence were pickets and an entanglement of telegraph wire. I established three posts. Outside the first line at about 100 yards I had constructed abattis of trees, and at 200 yards beyond, again another line of abattis. The whole surrounded with fougasses and land torpedoes, electrically connected with the interior of the block-houses, so that not only was there thorough protection from the Hóvas, but from any European troops unaccompanied with guns" (*Evidence before Committee*).

Jan. 14.
Reconnais-
sance of
Hóva camp.

On 14th January 1884 the French made a reconnaissance in the direction of the Hóva camp. About 400 men, including some of the volunteers lately brought from Réunion, with five small field-guns drawn by mules, started at an early hour in the morning, and penetrated as far as a marshy valley immediately in front of the hill on which the Hóva camp was established. Soon after daylight the ships in the harbour began firing, at the range of 8750 yards, to cover the advance. The reconnoitring force returned to the fort about 9 A.M. with four prisoners, without having lost any men or inflicted any loss on the Hóvas. A river prevented the approach of the French nearer than 2000 yards to the Hóva position, and it was stated that they were replied to by rifled guns from the intrenchments.

Jan. 16.

On the 16th January 1884 the meeting of the *Isan-énim-bòlana* (which corresponds with the Congregational Union

meetings) was held at the Memorial Church, Ambàtonakànga, 1884. and was open to any who might like to come, male or female. The chief meeting of the delegates of the churches was held on Thursday, 17th January, at Ampàribé, the largest of the places of worship, which was completely packed during the whole of the meeting. This meeting was presided over by Andriambèlo as chairman, and his address was admirable and faithful. Later, an address was delivered by Ravòninàhitrinariavo, chief of the late embassy to Europe. He had been announced to speak of "*some of the things he had seen abroad*," and his address was worthy of the occasion and of the subject. He evidently endeavoured to present as faithful a picture as he could of England and other countries, and spoke most emphatically of the advantages which would follow the adoption by Madagascar of many of the ideas and practices prevalent there. His address took a wide sweep, and embraced material subjects, such as roads, railroads, manufactories, steamships, etc.; social subjects, such as courtship, marriage, and household arrangements; commercial matters, as companies, mining, chambers of commerce. And here he mentioned two points which lie at the very root of the obstacles to any great advance on the part of the Malagasy,—one, that every one had wages for his work, whatever that work might be, and was thereby stimulated to do his best, and he expressed a hope that it might ere long be like that in Madagascar. "This wish," says Mr. Wills, "if realised, would destroy the system of *fanompàna* or *corvée*, which is really the chief hindrance to progress." Next he mentioned that no one thought it a disgrace to work; that the mayor of the town, who received him in official robes one day, would be in his mill on the next, with an apron on, superintending the operations of the workpeople, and he longed that such a spirit as that might prevail in Madagascar, and that more mutual confidence and disinterested desire for the advancement of the country might prevail. His political allusions also were very happy, and he reiterated again and again that England loved Madagascar, and desired her independence. He spoke for an hour, and the attention of the people was with him to the close of his address (*L.M.S. Chron.*)

Jan. 17.
Lecture by
the minis-
ter for for-
eign affairs.

During the month of January Captain Boyle visited in the "Tourmaline" all the various points along the coast where British subjects were known to live, and which had been,

1884.
Move-
ments of
H.M.S.
"Tourma-
line."

almost without exception, bombarded by one or other of the vessels composing the French squadron. The complaints of the sufferers from various causes arising from the state of war on the coast were forwarded to Mr. Graves to be dealt with; whilst Captain Boyle confined his own action to displaying the white ensign at the various ports, and communicating officially with the Hóva governors along the coast. These constant visits were most useful in furtherance of the general purposes of British commerce. "An occasional visit during these times," writes Captain Boyle, "when law is apt to be in abeyance, brings home to the governing and governed alike that the distinction between enemy and neutral must be observed, and that a general disregard of treaty rights is no part of a state of war."

Boat voy-
age by
Lieut.
Hayes.

Lieutenant Hayes, R.N., under the direction of Captain Boyle, was detached in the pinnace to coast southwards for a distance of 150 miles from Port Choiseul, Antongil Bay, to Tamatave, in the course of ten days, calling on the Hóva governors of Mānanàra, Tānitāny, Fēnoarivo, and Foulé Point. He touched at these and several other points of the coast, and his observations contributed several additions to the yet scanty knowledge of this coast. At several places this intelligent young officer found an ignorance of the British flag had induced the flight of the natives, who had the fear of the French greatly before them. When the "Tourmaline" visited Māhanàro farther to the south, Lieutenant Hayes again visited the neighbouring ports, taking with him Mr. Consul Graves to Vātōmāndry.

Jan. 20.

The French troops occupying Tamatave made a reconnaissance of the Hóva camp at Manjàkandrianombàna, a few miles west of Tamatave, on the 20th January. It appears, according to the Hóva account sent to Antanànarivo, that 500 troops were sent out on this reconnaissance, but only a few shots were exchanged with the Hóva troops, and the French troops retired.

Jan. 21.

The Association of Foreign Residents at Antanànarivo was dissolved on the 21st January.¹ Mr. Samuel Procter, the

¹ At a general meeting of the Association of Foreign Residents, held at Antanànarivo on January 21, the Right Rev. Bishop Kestell-Cornish in the chair, the association was dissolved, as H.B.M. vice-consul, Mr. W. Clayton Pickersgill, had undertaken, in addition to his official duties, to establish a regular transmission of mails, to present *hasina* on all public occasions on behalf of the British residents, etc. Mr. Wilson continued to act as postmaster, and the

consul for Madagascar in England, made two or three attempts 1884.
to visit Tamatave, but was not permitted to visit that port by
the French admiral, and therefore proceeded to Antanànarivo.

The *Malagasy Official Gazette*, published on Saturday Feb. 2.
2d February, gave a succinct and clear account of the recent
negotiations at Tamatave, so that all the people had a good idea
of the state of affairs existing as between their Government
and the French. These papers went back to the last visit the
members of the late embassy made to Paris when M. Jules
Ferry informed them that all authority to act had been given
to M. Baudais and the French admiral at Tamatave (see *ante*,
June 22, 1883, p. 38). When the embassy arrived at An-
tanànarivo and reported this to their Government, a letter was
sent from Antanànarivo to the French authorities in Tamatave
under a flag of truce (the results of these *pourparlers* have
been given previously). In the same number of the *Official
Gazette* there was given news from Fàradofaỳ (Fort Dauphin),
which place the French had attacked, and where the tribe of the
Tanòsy had revolted. The conduct of the Hóva troops at
Fàradofaỳ was to be investigated, and meantime a large
number of troops were under orders to proceed against the
Tanòsy.

About the 7th February the French sent a flag of truce to Feb. 7.
the Hóva camp at Manjàkandrianombàna, and M. Campan, the
son-in-law and heir of the late M. Laborde, was sent as the
agent of Admiral Galiber in the negotiations. The ostensible
object of this visit was twofold; first, to effect an exchange
of prisoners; and, secondly, to propose a cessation of hostilities
for a limited period. The commander of the Hóvas said that,
with regard to the first, he had no prisoners to exchange; and,
with regard to the second, he must refer it to Antanànarivo, as
it affected not only him but the armies in different parts of
Madagascar. But it was soon evident that these two points
were only a cover to the real proposition, which was to the
effect that the late embassy to Europe should come to Tama-
tave to consult with the French authorities as to whether
some agreement could not be come to which would stop any
further fighting. The answer to this proposition was despatched Feb. 16.
to the coast on the 16th inst., and was to the effect that, while

association took occasion to record its hearty appreciation of the valuable assist-
ance rendered by Captain Johnstone, of H.M.S. "Dryad," since the outbreak of
the French troubles.

1884.

the Government of Her Majesty would not be unwilling to treat with a view to peace on fair terms, yet they were not willing to send down the embassy to the coast until they had further information—first, as to what authority M. Campan had to make these propositions; and, secondly, upon what terms they were to treat, because, as to giving up any land, the Government were just as firm as ever.

Captain
Boyle's
despatches.

In all Captain Boyle's despatches to Admiral Sir Wm. Hewitt at this period he was happily able to report a continuance of the cordial relations already established between the ships of the two European powers. He found in Admiral Galiber a cordial readiness to afford explanations and assistance, and desired to put on record that nothing could exceed his courtesy and consideration. In February Mr. Graves had to report that the properties of the British subjects at Andévorañty had been almost entirely destroyed by the Hóvas, acting under the orders of the second in command of that place. This officer, however, was deposed by orders from Antanànarivo and confined in prison.

Feb. 14.
Cruise of
the "Tour-
maline."

On the 14th February Mr. Graves left Tamatave in H.M.S. "Tourmaline" for Mojangà, the nearest port to Mahàbo, to inquire into a complaint made by the governor of the latter place that British subjects were selling arms and ammunition in contravention of the treaty. *En route*, Mr. Graves landed at Fènoarivo, where he appointed Mr. Baylis vice-consul, and the "Tourmaline" called at Mānanàra, at the entrance to Antongil Bay, to coal. After some delay in consequence of the non-arrival of the collier, Mojangà was reached on the 26th. At this time Mojangà was still occupied by the French, the corvette "Forfait" and two gunboats being in the harbour, whilst the fort on shore above the town was occupied by some marines and 250 Réunion volunteers, together with an officer and twenty men quartered in a French merchant's store in the town below. The town itself, Mr. Graves states, was quite undefended to the north-east and east, and appeared liable to be entered and burnt at any time by the Hóvas, who were in considerable force at a camp some thirty miles up the river Boèni, near Mahàbo. But under the protection of the guns of the French vessels the town must have been quite safe. Mr. Graves was unable to reach Mahàbo, the French commandant informing him that the river was blockaded, and refusing permission for him to pass. The consul was therefore obliged to

content himself with sending a letter to the governor asking for particulars to enable him to deal with the offenders, but no reply was obtainable. It appeared that about sixty British Indian families lived at Mojangà, and nearly as many more up the river, but only seventeen registered themselves. Some of them said they were afraid of the French, but they would like to be registered if they were sure of British protection, but that they feared they would not for a long time be visited again by any British authority. Mr. Graves consequently explained to them the order in council as to registry, and assured them that a man-of-war or himself would revisit them within six months.

1884.
February.

According to the French authorities, the British Indians in Madagascar were in the habit of declaring themselves to be French or British subjects as it suited them best at the moment, but Mr. Graves hoped, by exercising caution in keeping the register of British subjects, and occasionally comparing it with that kept by his French colleague, to prevent any further cases of the kind happening. It was well understood that for some years previously many British Indians at Mojangà had declared themselves to be Malagasy subjects to evade the law about slave-holding, and also to enable them to build stone houses, which was then forbidden to British subjects. None of the Indians on the occasion of Mr. Graves's visit possessed any papers in support of their claim to be British subjects. It does not appear that the late consul, Mr. Pakenham, during his tenure of office ever visited Mojangà.

Registra-
tion of
British
subjects.

The morning after Mr. Graves's arrival an inquiry was held by the French commandant into the circumstances connected with an attack made some days previously by some Sàkalàva on the boats of a British Indian which were descending the river with produce for export, in accordance with a permission issued by the commandant, in which affair it appeared that the boats were captured and the Indians driven away. Some of the Indians owning dhows stated that they had been compelled to fly the French flag, though they would much prefer the British, and the French commandant admitted that these British subjects had received *francisation*, for which operation they paid no fees. According to French law this act is only permissible in a French colony.¹

Good effect
of consular
visitations.

¹ It may be here observed that the question of slave-holding by British-Indian subjects has been, and is still, affected by the lack of British consuls on the Madagascar side of the Mozambique Channel. The west coast of Madagascar is entirely

1884.
Tact and
ability of
Mr. Graves.

At first the commandant seemed inclined to be suspicious of Mr. Graves's presence at Mojangà; but he appeared relieved on learning the object of his visit and the regulations as to registration of British subjects, who were, moreover, cautioned as to their observing strict neutrality during the hostilities. The American consular agent at Mojangà informed Mr. Graves that the customs there were said to have yielded 20,000 dollars since the French occupation on a seven per cent *ad valorem* duty. (in Tamatave it was ten per cent), and that there was much produce ready for export in the hands of British subjects up the river which they had been afraid to bring down. Mr. Graves subsequently visited Nòsy-Bé, where he was informed that a dhow under British colours had been

without a consular official of any rank whatsoever. The eastern coast has been, within the past year, fairly supplied by the appointments lately made of unpaid vice-consuls, but on the west coast there is not as yet one. At Mojangà, the most important trading port on that side of the island, there were, and probably are, some two hundred or more British-Indian subjects engaged in trade, many of them owning dhows and other vessels trading to the African coasts. The absence of a British consul within reach of this place is resulting in these dhows and coasting vessels assuming the French flag and papers, which are readily furnished them free of cost; whereas, to obtain British papers, it is necessary to proceed to Zanzibar, thus losing for England a control which was beneficial for the police of these seas, and there consular fees are exacted. Our informant, who is well acquainted with the neighbourhood, states that there is no resident merchant who could be recommended for the vice-consular post, and what is needed is a gentleman with a commission for Mojangà as vice-consul of that town, the north-west coast, together with the islands of Johanna and Mohilla under his jurisdiction. With these last-named islands a treaty of the most rigid kind has been lately ratified, but no steps have yet been taken to enforce its terms, and consequently the slave trade is yet in full swing. Mr. Holmwood is nominally consul for those islands, under Sir J. Kirk at Zanzibar, but he goes there, we believe, but once or twice in three or four years, and therefore British interests are at present neglected. The French policy in these seas is so active that the tendency of a treaty with only an occasional triennial glimpse of a British representative, who then must say unpleasant things to a slave-holding people, is to drive them into the arms of a more complaisant maritime power. It would seem, therefore, that, unless a more vigorous policy be introduced, within a few more years the French influence will be dominant in those islands, and the chain of French labour dépôts be thus completed between Africa, Madagascar, and Réunion. It is a recognised fact that the French colonists look forward with expectancy to a fresh stream of black labour from Africa and Madagascar, to replace the immigration of Malabars, which has been stopped by the Indian Government. Any steps, therefore, taken to retain a hold on this line of labour traffic will tend to mitigate the horrors of the slave trade, which can only be effectually repressed by a system of boat cruising. The sultan of Zanzibar, Burghash, is the only man in his dominions who affects to oppose the slave trade at all; and when it is considered that the very slaves who are caught by his police are placed summarily in his own slave-gang, the advantages to the slaves are somewhat equivocal (*R. H. B.*)

taken when endeavouring to land cargo on a part of the coast which was blockaded. Mr. Graves had received no notice that any blockade had been published. 1884.

Meanwhile the situation of the French in Madagascar remained unchanged, and the arrival of the new French rear-admiral in relief of Admiral Galiber was awaited with some expectancy. On the 18th February the Malagasy plenipotentiaries, in consequence of the visit made to them by M. Campan, again proposed the reopening of negotiations with the commissioners and Admiral Galiber, and, after the usual *pourparlers*, an interview was arranged and took place at Ambòdimànga on the 21st February.

Feb. 21.
Second
conference
at Tama-
tave.

Admiral Galiber subsequently gave an account of the sanitary situation at Tamatave at this period—November 1883 to April 1884. He said:—"Out of a total of 1100 men, consisting of infantry of marine, artillerymen, gendarmes, and sailors of the 'Creuse' and of the 'Naiàde,' there were 30,658 days in hospital, and I was obliged during these six months to invalid 690 cases to Réunion. Had I not had Réunion to fall back upon, I should have been altogether out of it. The morning states of these 1100 men furnish me with the numbers of these days in hospital. The proportion of sick to effectives amounted to 27 per cent in February, and if I were to include the number of those who were in hospital at Réunion it would mount up to 40 per cent. It is a very melancholy return, as you perceive, but I feel that I should bring it to your notice, for it renders a better account of the situation than all the reports. Here are the figures of particular days: 11th February, 247 cases of fever; 12th February, 268. The number of sick exceeding the accommodation available on board the 'Creuse,' I was obliged to despatch a vessel to Réunion with the most severe cases. I had to repeat this on the 19th and 27th February. Thanks to the arrangements made at Réunion, by which isolated buildings were provided at Salazie, among the mountains, the mortality was not in proportion to the number of sick. The mortality, however, was at a high rate if to the number of deaths which took place at the roadstead of Tamatave are added those which occurred during the passage (only of forty-eight hours) to Réunion, and those which subsequently happened in hospital at Réunion. After the fourth month of the hot season the sanitary state was so bad on board the 'Creuse,' whose main deck had been converted into a hospital, that in spite of all the care taken to keep the vessel broad-

Extreme
unhealthi-
ness of
Tamatave.

Large per-
centage of
sick.

The
"Creuse"
tainted
with fever.

1884. side to the breeze, so that the free ventilation was ensured and strict cleanliness enforced, I was obliged to send her to sea with the sick. The taint of the fever had penetrated her throughout. I preferred to keep the soldiers on duty at their posts to giving them any liberty, and during the eight months of my command did not have a man absent. They had their promenade under the mangoes, their theatre on Sundays, the band on Thursdays, and their lounge in the verandahs; they were better off than the inhabitants of the town."

Feb. 23.
Third
conference,

In a note, dated 23d February, addressed to the prime minister by the French plenipotentiaries, a proposal was made by them to the Madagascar Government that the latter should agree not to occupy any territory or exercise any authority in the region named in the arrangement concluded with the Sakalava chiefs in 1841-42.¹ During this (the third) conference, when the above note was despatched, the admiral impressed on the envoys that this was the last negotiation and the last concession that would be made. To this the prime minister replied on the 5th March that the Government of Ranavalona could not consent to cede to France any portion whatever of the territory in question; it was willing to grant the same privileges to the French subjects as were accorded to the most favoured nation. So the negotiations dragged on, at one time broken off, at another time renewed, whilst constant delays intervened in consequence of the frequent references to Antanànarivo, the route to the capital at this time of year being difficult to traverse.

Reply of
the prime
minister.

Feb. 22.

According to the *Télégraphe*, a well-informed paper, of 22d February, it was stated that at this period, "if our information be correct the Cabinet has sent instructions to Madagascar to resume negotiations with the Hóva authorities on a new basis. It was difficult," it is added, "to act otherwise, for it seems that our troops have been sorely tried by the climate, and that it is necessary to replace them by contingents from Réunion."

Feb. 23.

In the Chamber of Deputies, on the 23d February, a credit of 165,000 francs for Madagascar was postponed, at the instance of the Budget Committee, after a passage-at-arms between M. Perin and M. Ferry, the former declaring that the

¹ "Le Gouvernement Malgache s'engage à n'occuper aucun territoire, à n'exercer aucune action, dans la région faisant l'objet des arrangements conclus en 1841 et 1842"—"Cette rédaction ménage toutes les susceptibilités: Elle n'indique aucune cession de territoire de la part du Gouvernement Malgache."

expedition had been sent out without Parliamentary authority, the latter replying that there was no expedition at all.¹ This assertion somewhat staggered the Chamber, but M. Ferry explained that the operations in Madagascar, commenced by a previous Cabinet, were the reassertion of the rights of police, and were defrayed from the ordinary Budget. The Government was ready to furnish explanations, and challenged an interpellation from any who believed that enormous and unauthorised operations were pending; but a full discussion then would be prejudicial to the public interest, and the silence hitherto observed by both sides had been patriotic. Admiral Peyron, minister of marine, was twitted by M. Perin with having himself asked for the credit for the "Madagascar Expedition." He replied that he ought to have called it the "Madagascar Affair," for not a single man had been killed, and he remarked that the money asked for was merely for extra rations. M. de Lanessan then submitted an interpellation. M. Jules Ferry suggested that this should be deferred for a fortnight or a month, in order that the debate might not prejudice the negotiations with the Hóva. Since July, he added, not a shot had been fired. That day fortnight was ultimately fixed upon; but in the Chamber on 6th March the interpellation on Madagascar, fixed for Saturday, 8th March, was postponed for a fortnight at the instance of M. Ferry, who required further intelligence, and could not till then give precise information. M. Perin complained that the Government was very reticent in foreign affairs, no diplomatic documents later than the previous January having been published.

1884.
Feb. 23.
Debate in
the Cham-
ber.

March 6.

A bill empowering the Government to award the Legion of Honour and military medals for service in Madagascar was submitted to the Chamber of Deputies by Admiral Peyron on the 20th March and passed by acclamation. A Yellow Book was issued by the French Government on the 21st March, in which the diplomatic documents respecting Madagascar affairs were brought down to the 28th December 1883.

March 20.

March 21.

¹ The minister of marine on 1st February had explained to the Budget Committee of the Chamber the reasons for asking for a supplementary credit of 165,000 francs on account of Madagascar. He justified the credit on account of the necessity for the expense of an additional 500 men, which was not foreseen when the Budget estimates were originally framed. Questions having been put to the minister with regard to the object and result of the expedition to Madagascar, he replied that these questions should be addressed to M. Ferry, *Président du Conseil*.

1884.
March 24.
Debate in
the Cham-
ber of
Deputies.

M. de
Lanessan's
interpellation.

The adjourned debate on Madagascar opened on the 24th March in the Chamber. In anticipation of it, M. de Mahy, deputy for Réunion, and some former and present residents in Réunion and Mauritius, had memorialised the Government in favour of the establishment of a French protectorate over the whole island. One hundred and fifty deputies, moreover, mostly Republicans, but including Bishop Freppel, M. de Mun, and M. de Cassagnac, agreed, before the sitting began, to a resolution pledging the Chamber to "uphold all the rights of France over Madagascar." The secret of this unusual co-operation of the clericals in supporting and even stimulating the Government was that they regarded the struggle as really one between English Protestant and French Catholic missionaries. M. de Lanessan, an extremist who made the interpellation, spoke first and gave a history of the relations of France with the Malagasy. The starting-point of the existing difficulties was the treaty of 1862, which acknowledged the supremacy of the Hóvas over all the island. No right of protectorate for the benefit of the coast tribes was reserved by France. The treaty of 1868 also admitted the Hóva sovereignty throughout Madagascar, but it secured the power to French citizens to hold on lease or to buy property. In virtue of this convention M. Laborde became the owner of considerable real estate, from which his heirs were driven in pursuance of a Hóva code promulgated in 1881 at Antanànarivo before the French consulate. M. de Lanessan, after describing the ticklish situation which arose out of the Laborde claims and Admiral le Timbre's menaces, related how a new leaf was turned over by Admiral Pierre, who, if imprudent, obliged the Malagasy to respect the French flag. The Hóva military posts were bombarded, occupied, or destroyed, but that mattered little to the enemy, which persisted in being aggressive. The Government, he held, was blameworthy in undertaking to subjugate the Hóvas without consulting the Chamber, and also for its tardiness and half-measures. M. de Lanessan deprecated total withdrawal, and hinted at a resort to arbitration as to the construction of the treaty of 1868, so far as it related to the ownership of property by Frenchmen. The French protectorate over the northern coast under the treaties of 1840 and 1841 must, he said, be maintained, but the amount of the indemnity might be matter for arbitration; and he strongly objected to a march on the capital. This march would

necessitate the employment of 10,000 soldiers at the expense of many millions of francs, and such an expedition would be inopportune while troops were engaged in Tonquin, while the Tunisian protectorate had to be strengthened, and while no colonial army existed. He suggested that a post on the north coast should be occupied, that negroes and Chinese should be encouraged to settle there, and that the Hóvas should be driven back towards the interior. A republic, he urged, should be addicted to peaceful expansion, not forcible conquest.

1884.
March 24.

M. de Mun, the ex-captain and lay revivalist, was the next speaker:—"The historical right of France to the sovereignty over the entire island is established by two centuries and a half of successive establishments and constant revindications. It was recognised in 1816 by a solemn diplomatic negotiation, and the authentic cession of part of the west coast by its inhabitants again served to ratify and justify it. These repeated titles, the condition of the Hóva people, the attempts it repeatedly endeavours to make to extend beyond its frontiers, all justify the firm revindication of our rights. Where, therefore, is the objection which stops us? It is necessary to say a word of the question which is at the bottom of this debate. I know how delicate a one it is, and I shall only indicate it with all the reserve it requires, with all the regard which public speaking imposes, when it deals with a neighbouring and friendly nation. England, gentlemen, is at Mauritius, as we are at Réunion, opposite Madagascar. She meets us on its coasts, she penetrates into the great island by her subjects, by her missionaries, by a thousand means which her genius, always active and practical, can dispose of. Thence arise, no doubt, on that land open to the efforts of civilisation, rivalries and struggles for influence which have been mentioned and which are inevitable. I need not enter into the details of these contests; it is a difficult subject, often a sad one to us; but the Methodist Independents who rule at Antananarivo are not England; it is with them there are disputes, not with her. What has it to do with England? She has no rights over Madagascar. . . . I beg you not to forget that France seated between three seas is also a maritime nation, and that there is no maritime nation without colonial possessions (*cheers*)." He concluded:—"Gentlemen, do not act as the Chamber of 1846; do not confine yourselves to platonic

M. de Mun.

1884.

manifestations; give to your Government the necessary force to act vigorously (*interruptions*) in order that it may renounce fruitless negotiations, as if it wished for peace at any price, to enable it to advance and cause to be respected on the mainland, on *France Orientale*, the right of sovereignty of which it had the care, and which it has found in the legacy of centuries. This is the only policy I can comprehend. Otherwise, if we mark time for six months the evil can only be aggravated, and every day the solution will become more difficult and more costly (*loud applause*).” The count, on returning from the tribune, was congratulated by a large number of the deputies. M. Pierre Alype, a créole of Réunion, who followed, deprecated an advance on Antanànarivo as risky, and advocated the occupation of certain points on the coast. And then the debate was adjourned to the 27th March.

March 25.
British flag
saluted.

On Tuesday, 25th March, the British flag was again hoisted at Antanànarivo, on the arrival of Mr. Pickersgill the vice-consul, and saluted with twenty-one guns.

March 27.
Renewal
of debate.

On this day the discussion on the interpellation of M. de Lanessan was resumed by M. Dureau de Vaulcomte, deputy for the island of Réunion, who stated that although Réunion could not contribute money to the cost of the expedition, yet that colony had contributed volunteers, that when the recruiting lists were opened and 300 men had been asked for, at least 600 had responded, so that they had to draw lots who should go. Finally he claimed protection for the French in Madagascar. The tone of the whole debate was in favour of strong and immediate action in Madagascar; and, indeed, the advisability not only of asserting the sovereignty of France over the whole island, but of establishing it at once, practically by the use of force, did not lack advocates.

Speech of
M. Jules
Ferry.

M. Jules Ferry, the president of council, speaking next for the Government, found it advisable rather to restrain than to urge on the Chamber. He began by remarking that the Government now found no opponents to their colonial policy, a situation of happy novelty to the Government, that it was no longer their spirit of adventure, that it was now their too great moderation which was found fault with. He observed that there were no rights more certain, more respectable, than the ancient historical rights of France over Madagascar; that these rights were very strong, and could be maintained in face of all the European powers, in virtue of the international law

of old Europe. He went on to say that the question of sovereignty was reserved, but that it would always be in the power of France to assert it when she might think it expedient to do so; and he stated the obstacles to an immediate and uncompromising assertion of it in the following terms:—"If you desire to raise the sovereignty in Madagascar, then it is a case of war to the death between you and the Hóvas; it is necessary that the Hóvas disappear from Madagascar; if you are desirous of proclaiming the sovereignty of France, then the object of our policy is no longer only the protection of the Sàkalàva, of our countrymen, and the vindication of our secular rights; it is no longer that policy, it is the policy of entire occupation, of conquest pure and simple; it is the project of creating at this immense distance from the mother-country another Algeria, assuredly less costly to conquer—the military difficulties cannot be compared—but I am afraid infinitely more difficult to populate, to render healthy, to render fertile; for the island is entirely covered by forests; there are neither roads nor tracks, not even mule paths—what am I saying? there are no mules." He then proceeded to inform the Chamber that negotiations had been resumed in February; that it would be too soon to say that they would fail; that, for his part, he had the strongest desire that they should succeed; that he desired very sincerely to make a treaty with the Hóvas, and that he did not desire that the Hóvas should give France occasion to break definitely with them. On the question, however, as to what the Government would do if the negotiations now pending should fail, he made the following declaration:—"Gentlemen, I reply that if these negotiations come to nothing, it is our duty, in order to terminate this affair, in order to bring the Hóva people to reason, not to omit the employment of any means; and to see that from what is spoken in this Tribune, this obstinate people, of an obstinacy entirely peculiar to them, cannot conclude that from the heights of their eagle's nest at Antanànarivo they can indefinitely brave the will and the arms of France. But, however, gentlemen, without the extreme measure, which I do not yet wish to examine, there are others; there are intermediate measures, if I may say so; some of them have been pointed out; I might indicate others. There is only one solution which we discard; it is the policy of the past—the policy of weakness and of abandonment. We will solve, with your assistance, the question of Madagascar; we will never abandon our rights.

1884.
March 27.
Speech of
M. Jules
Ferry.

1884.
March 27.

We are determined that this should be known, and it is necessary that it should be spoken sufficiently loudly for the Hóvas, or those who advise them, to take good note of it (*applause*). We shall not leave, we shall not evacuate, as the other Governments who preceded us have had the pain of doing, the places which we occupy; we repel the solution to be found in withdrawal, and we entreat the Chamber to give us an order of the day, which will exclude in an absolute manner the policy of abandonment.”¹

The
Govern-
ment
obtains a
large
majority.

M. Georges Perin² then spoke, and finally the following order of the day was carried by 437 votes to 26, the Government voting for it: “The Chamber, resolved to maintain all the rights of France over Madagascar, sends to a special Commission, which will be nominated in the Bureaux, the examination of the credits applied for, and passes to the order of the day.” The credits applied for amounted to a sum of 5,361,000 francs, and the Commission was composed of M. de Mahy, president; Baron Boissy d’Anglas, secretary; MM. Rivet, Peytral, Hovius, Fougérol, De Lanessan, Dureau de Vaulcomte, Goblet, Pierre Alype, Georges Perin.

April 3.
Fourth
conference.

On the 27th March an aide-de-camp of the prime minister, Andrianomè, interviewed the French authorities on board the flagship, and another conference was subsequently arranged for the 3d of April; but like the former ones it proved illusory and inconclusive.

¹ “Quant aux mesures à prendre, nous acceptons, que dis-je? nous désirons qu’une commission spéciale soit saisie de la question des crédits. Devant cette commission nous pourrions dire beaucoup de choses qu’il est de notre devoir de taire à cette tribune. Nous pourrions prévoir certaines hypothèses; nous pourrions arrêter une politique pratique et qui, sans cesser d’être sage, sauvegardera l’honneur et les intérêts de la France” (*applaudissements*).

² *M. Georges Perin*. . . . “Je demande à la Chambre ce qui pourrait l’arrêter et l’empêcher de donner à une guerre qui peut être longue, si elle ne se terminer par un traité, une pareille solution. Je reconnais que cela ne donnera pas satisfaction à tous ceux de nos collègues qui sont partisans des annexions nouvelles, qui estime que l’empire colonial français n’est pas suffisamment étendu. . . .

“Ce que je propose à la Chambre, c’est de renvoyer l’examen de la question pleine et entière à une commission spéciale; c’est de ne pas parler de nos droits. Il me paraît que sans nous préoccuper de nos droits, nous devons exiger du peuple hova un traité basé sur les clauses que je viens d’indiquer. Nous aurons ainsi fait respecter les intérêts et l’honneur de la France.”

“C’est dans cette conviction que je dépose sur le bureau de la Chambre l’ordre du jour suivant:—

“La Chambre résolve à défendre l’honneur et les intérêts de la France à Madagascar renvoie à une commission spéciale l’examen des crédits demandés et passe à l’ordre du jour.”

On the 4th April the Malagasy envoys made renewed appeals to the generosity of France to put an end to the existing difficulties by the payment of an indemnity, and on the following day the fifth conference took place between MM. Galiber and Baudais and the Hóva plenipotentiaries. The admiral and M. Baudais pressed the envoys to consent to the withdrawal of the Hóva garrisons from the north-west Sàkalàva territory, which in turn they promised would not be occupied by French troops. "This," said they, "is no cession of territory," but naturally Rainandriamampàndry argued that by the evacuation of that region the independence of Madagascar would be compromised, and that if the Sàkalàva tribes were left to themselves, without any authority over them, a state of anarchy would arise which would be prejudicial to their interests.

1884.
April 5.
Fifth conference.

There was another meeting on the 8th April, when the Hóva ambassador read a statement which he had drawn up, to the effect that the Madagascar Government would consent to giving up the islands of Nòsy-Mitsio and Nòsy-Fàly to France. It would besides agree to pay the sum of 200,000 dollars (£40,000), which France claimed as indemnity for losses to her subjects during the past twenty years; but it could not consent to yield up any portion of the mainland, although it was proposed as before to arrive at an understanding by means of a money payment. This by no means satisfied the French negotiators, and, as previously, the meeting broke up without any approach to an understanding being arrived at. This was the last conference at which Admiral Galiber was present, as at this date he was expecting to be relieved by his successor, who was on his way from France.

April 8.
Sixth conference.

The select committee on the Madagascar credit of 165,000 francs received on the 9th explanatory statements from M. Jules Ferry, Admiral Peyron, minister of marine, and M. Félix Faure, the under-secretary of state for the colonies. The sitting was strictly private, but the *Temps* gave some account of what passed. The president of council dealt more particularly with the political and diplomatic aspects of the question, leaving his colleagues to enlighten the committee as to the military and financial measures contemplated. He informed the committee that the English Cabinet had not made any protest in the course of the negotiations, and had indeed admitted with a good grace that in protecting its

April 9.
Statements by ministers.

1884.
Explanations
to
committee.

April 9.
Admiral
Miot leaves
France.

countrymen in Madagascar the French Government did no more than exercise its strict right. M. Jules Ferry added that only a few days after the Chamber closed M. Lanessan's interpellation with a resolution to vindicate the rights of France, the Government had learned from Admiral Galiber of a rupture in the negotiations resumed at the beginning of February. This new rupture was attributed to the ill-will of the Hóvas. Admiral Miot, who left France that day, 9th, and had embarked at Marseilles, to replace Admiral Galiber, on the expiration of that officer's term of command, had been furnished with fresh instructions adapted to the change of circumstances. The admiral had been charged to select for definite occupation further eligible points on the north-west of the territory forming the French Protectorate, to occupy Pàsindàva Bay, and perhaps Vòhimàro or any other points he might think necessary, and thus to make a new and resolute affirmation of the rights derived by treaties. There would be no advance into the interior, and in case of reopening negotiations that clause of Admiral Pierre's ultimatum (of the 1st June 1883, see *ante*) requiring formal recognition of French rights over the island was to be waived, it being considered needless to exact a recognition of indisputable rights. The small additional force required for such operations had been directed to be drawn either from the permanent garrison of Réunion or from the volunteers or militia of that island. An approximate estimate was given by Admiral Peyron of the cost of the eleven war vessels now stationed off Madagascar, as also of the maintenance of the expeditionary corps. For this a further credit of four and a half millions of francs would be necessary. It was understood that the Chamber would again be consulted on the matter after the Easter recess, when the minister of marine would present a demand for a vote of credit for 4,700,000 frs., destined to cover the expenses of the naval division cruising in Madagascar waters, and for the expedition with which it was contemplated to occupy the several points in Madagascar north of the 16th parallel of latitude.

April 22.

On the 22d April M. le Maître, commandant of Nòsy-Bé, visited Tsalàna, chief of Nòsy-Mitsiò, in the "Capricorne," and was cordially received. The chief declared that his Antankàra were ready to be led against the Hóvas.

April 29.

On the 29th April Admiral Galiber took leave of the garrison of Tamatave and of the naval brigade on shore, where

they were reviewed. The troops altogether numbered about 1884. 700 men, and were composed of infantry of marine, volunteers of Réunion, and landing parties of sailors from the "Naiâde," the "Beautemps-Beaupré," the "Boursaint," and the "Creuse."

Admiral Miot, the newly-appointed commander-in-chief of the French naval division in the Indian Ocean, left Marseilles for Réunion on the 9th April, and on the 6th May he arrived and took command of the French forces in Madagascar. The division under his command was composed of eleven vessels, viz.—(1) "Le Naiâde," 20 guns; (2) "Le Forfait," 15 guns; (3) "Le Beautemps-Beaupré," cruiser 3d class, 6 guns; (4) "Le Boursaint," *aviso* 1st class, 3 guns; (5) "Le Scorff," *aviso* transport, 4 guns. Gunboats—(6) "La Capricorne," 4 guns; (7) "La Pique," 3 guns; (8) "Le Chacal," 2 guns; (9) "La Creuse," transport 2d class, 2 guns. Steam-launches—(10) "Rédoute;" (11) "Trailleuses," carrying each 2 guns (brought from France in sections, which were fitted together and launched at Nòsy-Bé in September 1883). At this date the transports "Youne" and "Corrèze" were on their way out to Madagascar; and the store-ship "Caravane" with supplies and a few troops was to leave Toulon for the same destination early in May. The "Vaudreuil" had by this time gone back to Europe. The "Bisson" subsequently joined the squadron, which also included the "Allier," transport, *aviso*, stationed at Réunion. With the above reinforcements there would be in May eleven French war-vessels cruising off Madagascar, and the expeditionary corps was estimated at 3100 men, of whom 1300 were marines and naval artillerymen and 1800 local militia or volunteers recruited at Réunion. Up to this date the force had numbered 800 men, so that the addition amounted to 2300 men. All this indicated an active and energetic policy on the part of M. Jules Ferry's administration.

May 6.
Arrival of
Admiral
Miot at
Réunion.

Meanwhile,¹ great preparations were made in Imèrina; large camps of instruction were formed on the hills surrounding the city, and everywhere could be heard the sound of drums, with the cries of the spearmen exercising their weapons, and the drilling of recruits was energetically carried on. There was a kabàry held on the 5th May, when the substance of negotiations with Admiral Galiber was communicated to the nobles and officers, and Rànilaiàrivòny informed them that

War pre-
parations
in Imèrina.

¹ *The Madagascar Times*, May 21.

1884. although the negotiations were broken off they need have no regret, for their hands were clean.

Notifica-
tion of
blockade
by Admiral
Miot.

Admiral G. Miot arrived and assumed command of the French forces in Madagascar on the 8th May, and the first step he took was to notify to Captain Boyle that he intended very shortly to place the ports of Mâhanôro and Fènoarivo in a state of blockade. Captain Boyle replied that he did not acknowledge his note as a formal intimation, but simply as a friendly premonition of an impending blockade, subject to the conditions of international law; for at that time the French admiral was waiting for other ships before he could commence the threatened blockade. There are, it appears, two species of blockade—(1) a *de facto* blockade only; and (2) a blockade by notification *accompanied by fact* (Phillimore's *International Law*). On the 16th May Admiral Miot wrote to Consul Graves stating that Mâhanôro would be blockaded the following day, and accordingly the French gunboat "Capricorne" proceeded to Mâhanôro on the 17th; and the officer commanding ordered the master of the British brigantine 'Orénoque' to leave that port within five hours, although he had only half completed the loading of his vessel. On the 28th May Admiral Miot informed the British consul that Fènoarivo would be blockaded from the 12th June. Upon this Mr. Graves called on the admiral and proposed an arrangement, by which British vessels coming from Tamatave, which had there paid duties on their cargoes, should be allowed to discharge cargo at the blockaded ports. By this means the French customs revenue would be increased. The admiral was prepared to accept this arrangement, but was obliged to refer home for instructions, as the order for blockading had come from Paris. In consequence of the blockade of Mâhanôro, Mânanjàra to the south became a place of more importance, and its trade increased, whilst the number of British subjects was larger than before the war; Mr. Graves therefore appointed Mr. Henderson to be vice-consul of this port.

Provisional
arrange-
ments.

May 13.
Seventh
conference.

Immediately after the arrival of Admiral Miot at Tamatave the Malagasy plenipotentiaries at Manjakandrianombàna requested that a date might be fixed for the renewal of negotiations; and the first interview was fixed for the 13th May, on which date the seventh conference took place. The governor of Tamatave then read a communication from the Malagasy Government to the following effect:—That, on examining the

past negotiations, they (the queen's ministers) saw clearly the generosity of France, in that she did not wish to touch the independence of Madagascar, or take her territory; they were therefore encouraged to renew their supplications. "We beg of you, then, gentlemen, not to disdain the repetition of the request we make to you, plenipotentiaries and representatives of the French Republic; and these are the words which our Government at Antanànarivo wish to bring to the notice of the admiral who has succeeded Admiral Galiber; as to Mr. Commissioner, he already knows their purport. We beg you to take into consideration, and our Government begs of you, gentlemen, to submit them to the Government of France, for it is convinced and it hopes that if you would be good enough to transmit them, all the more that the French Government is ready to show generosity to the Government of Madagascar, her ally for so long, it would not refuse to acquiesce in her request. *We shall be happy to do everything to satisfy France except in what affects the independence of Madagascar and of her territory.*"¹

1884.
May 13.

Admiral Miot said—"Listen attentively to the words I am about to read to you. The Government of the French Republic has solemnly resolved to settle all its affairs with Madagascar, and will spare no means in order to effect this end. You must know that the object of my coming here is not, in any way, to claim the rights of the Republic, nor to ask you to respect our treaties and our dealings with regard to those populations we love and protect (*i.e.* the Sàkalava); but I come to exercise those rights and to exact that respect. The unworthy attitude on your part towards Frenchmen is an intolerable outrage to the honour of France; and the strong measures you make use of towards the people who have placed themselves under our protection add to your faults. Do not expect to be allowed to wave your flags over the northern territories, for in future they are truly under the protection of the French Republic. We will never abandon Mojangà, and we shall only leave Tamatave when we choose so to do. If you wish the war to cease it can be done under the following conditions:—(1) Indemnity and guarantees to our fellow-countrymen by the payment of 600,000 dollars (£120,000). (2) The guarantee to our countrymen of the rights stipulated in the treaty of 1868 by the abrogation of the law 85; or, an additional clause to the said treaty, by

Admiral
Miot's
address.

¹ See Red Book. Does not appear in Yellow Book.

1884

which our countrymen will have the right to take leases for long periods, renewable at will by the mutual consent of lessor and lessee. (3) An indemnity to all subjects of any nationality for damages caused by the present operations. Let your chiefs at Antanànarivo be informed of the formal will of the Republic. Should you wish to treat on the bases above mentioned, we will consent to negotiate; without these there can be no conference; and it is certainly your own obstinacy which has provoked the last rupture. . . . If negotiations are to be renewed you must not limit the places we wish to occupy. Considering the long existence of our rights, we need not to ask of the Hóvas rights which we already possess. Nor do we ask that the treaties we have made with the north should be respected. Our will from this day is to take and make good our possession, for which we do not want your consent. These are the instructions given me by M. Jules Ferry," exclaimed Admiral Miot, who at the same time exhibited M. Jules Ferry's autograph signature to the above terms, and the French plenipotentiaries declared the conference closed.

May 14.

The following day the Malagasy envoys wrote, consenting to treat on the points demanded by the French, so long as the independence of Madagascar was assured, to which communication a reply was made that the Republic did not wish to efface the Hóva from the map of Madagascar. Reference was again made to the capital, and the runners brought back an answer from Rainilaiàrivòny by the 27th, upon which the 29th May was fixed for the reopening of negotiations. The chief Madagascar envoy again read a document to the effect that the Government of the Queen of Madagascar did not hesitate to treat with the French upon the points indicated by the French admiral, except with regard to anything affecting the independence of Madagascar. It was ready to come to terms with respect to the indemnity, the leasing of land, and other points claimed by France in satisfaction of her honour. The ambassador also read a paper received from Antanànarivo, by which the Hóva Government agreed, in order to satisfy the honour of France, to retire from the territory occupied by Bènaò and Mònja; "*provided* we shall be able to return after the expiration of a term agreed upon."

May 29.
Eighth
conference.

The admiral said—"This is what we are going to do. We are going to occupy any place we choose in Madagascar, and if we have to do it by force you will have nothing more

to do there, for we will drive you away ; and if we succeed without force you will remain there with us. . . . Therefore let the Government of Queen Ranavàlona III. consent to withdraw all her soldiers from the northern territories between Cape Bellone and Cape St. Andrew, and to have nothing more to do there. Do not be ashamed, for in war there are always conquerors and the conquered, and you will not fail to be conquered, therefore do not let any false shame stand in your way ; but if you really desire to negotiate, and if you really do not wish for the bloodshed caused by our soldiers' march to Antanànarivo, say frankly that you agree to make peaceful terms because you cannot hold out against such strength and power, and will agree to what we wish. Not long ago we were conquered by Germany, and we had to pay an indemnity of 1,000,000,000 dollars. With this before you, it would be best to come to terms quickly for fear France should increase her claims over all Madagascar. Unless you give in war must begin again. . . . The custom followed by plenipotentiaries in Europe, when it is wished to make a treaty in order to put an end to war, is to begin by signing the preliminaries, then they are discussed. This is the essential part of a treaty, and these are the principal clauses, viz.—The Government of Queen Ranavàlona III. agrees : (1) To withdraw her garrisons from the territory north of Cape Bellone and Cape St. Andrew, and undertakes to have nothing further to do there. (2) To pay a sum of 600,000 dollars as an indemnity for the war expenses, and to satisfy the demands of the French residents before the war. (3) To compensate all persons of whatever nationality for losses caused by the present differences. (4) To allow long leases of land to be made and renewed according to the pleasure of the contracting parties. (5) To alter the treaty of 1868."

1884.
May 29.

French
demands.

The governor asked, "Why do you then increase the difficulty of our coming to terms? We hoped that when you (Admiral Miot) came you would deal with us considerately." The admiral replied, "The difficulty will increase every day, and it is intended to make you agree quickly, lest you should lose the whole island. We had to be quick with Germany; when we saw that we were about to be beaten, we came to terms speedily to put an end to the war. I hope you will see that it will be well for you to agree. Let it be known plainly in Antanànarivo that the whole will be taken if you do not

1884.
May 29.

come to terms with us. In the beginning we came near to giving you Mojangà and Tamatave, but the people of France do not agree to that. Look out, for we shall come up to Antanànarivo through Mojangà and drive you out of your position here at Manjàkandrianombàna." This was the termination of the conference, and after a few days Admiral Miot was informed that the Hóva Government would consent to treat regarding the territories of Bènaò and Mònja, the indemnity of 600,000 dollars, and the long leasing of lands; it would also repeal the obnoxious law No. 85. Beyond this the Government of Antanànarivo could not go, and consequently Admiral Miot broke off the negotiations.

Projected
advance of
the French.

As there seemed some prospect of an advance of the French on Antanànarivo, Mr. Graves requested Mr. Pickersgill to report on the possibilities of the British subjects in the capital getting away in case of need. Mr. Pickersgill accordingly made careful inquiries without creating alarm, and reported that it would not be possible to obtain bearers for the foreign residents in case of any sudden emergency. He was of opinion that in the event of French troops advancing upon the capital, the European residents in the interior would be compelled, by lack of means of transit, to remain there until the war was over, not in Antanànarivo, however, where the invading force would, doubtless, meet with a very determined resistance, but congregated in one of the adjacent villages outside the probable track of hostilities.

Royal pro-
clamation.

When the news reached Antanànarivo of Admiral Miot's conditions, as expressed at the conference of 29th May, great indignation was felt by the people, and in the *Malagasy Gazette*, published on the 6th June, the following royal proclamation was published:—

"I, Ranavàlomanjàka, through the grace of God and the will of my people Queen of Madagascar and defender of its laws, declare unto you my subjects that negotiations with the French have come to an end, for we can no longer endure their doings, for they say that this land of our ancestors is not ours but theirs, and has been theirs for a very long time; if we give it up to them, that is what they want, say they; but if we do not give it up to them, then they will take it by force, and we shall be deprived of our independence. In consequence of these unbearable threatenings, the words which we have long expressed must now become fact, namely, that every one shall stand up like a man and fight the enemy. . . . Be diligent then in learning the art of war, for the day draws nigh when I shall examine your ability therein, and none shall I exempt from instruction. If there be any that you see not learning, be

he who he may, bring him to the seat of judgment, and I shall fine him 1884.
in money equivalent to the price of his head, for he is a traitor. Let each one beware of causing tumult, and be not excited by others to disorder, for order and unity are our strength in this business. Should tumult or disorder arise, then I shall make that town in which it arises responsible for it. Behold also the foreigners that are now in my land and kingdom; take good care of them and of their possessions, for they are our friends, and have nothing to do with those who are fighting against us. Observe well these my words, and let each one show himself a man both in thought and deed, in order that the world may see that our courage is not mere talk.

“RANAVÀLOMANJÀKA, Mpanjàka ny Madagaskara.”

On the 18th May Lieut.-Colonel Digby Willoughby, who May 18.
had been for some time in the employ of the Malagasy Colonel
Government, was given the rank of adjutant-general, and left by ap-
the capital for Manjàkandrianombàna. He took reinforcements pointed
with him, and these troops before leaving were addressed by adjutant-
the prime minister in inspiring language. The Foreign general.
Enlistment Act is very strict in forbidding any British subject
from entering into the military employment of a belligerent
Government; this individual infraction of the rule was noticed
subsequently in the Senate by M. Milhet de Fontarabie, but
the under secretary of marine explained that the Colonel
Willoughby spoken of was not an officer of the regular army,
but merely a person who had served as a volunteer in the
Zulu war, where, it will be remembered, this gentleman raised
a troop called “Willoughby’s Horse.”

In *Le Créole*, a journal published in Réunion, there appeared May 25.
on the 25th May a proclamation by the governor, calling on Proclama-
the inhabitants to volunteer for service in Madagascar. M. tion by the
Raoul Duval called attention to this proclamation in the governor of
the Chamber of Deputies on the 22d July 1884, and gave the Réunion.
following extracts from the official proclamation:—

“HABITANTS DE LA RÉUNION—Je viens vous demander des volontaires pour appuyer l’exécution des droits de la France à Madagascar.

“La mère patrie vous ouvre avec confiance les rangs de ses soldats, elle vous y fait une large place; ne la prendrez-vous pas?

“Lorsque, l’année dernière, et sans savoir encore où le conduirait cet acte de vigueur, le Gouvernement français fit occuper Tamatave et Majungà vous fûtes électrisés.

“En allant à Madagascar, vous ignoriez ce qu’on y voulait faire, quelle tâche serait la vôtre, comment prendraient fin vos services et ce que vous deviez en attendre.

“Faites bien la différence entre l’expédition de l’année dernière et

1884.

celle qui commence en ce moment. Primitivement que voulions-nous ? Faire reconnaître nos droits sur la côte nord-ouest et traiter avec les Hóvas.

“Aujourd’hui plus de reconnaissances, plus de traités ; nous avons proclamé nos droits, nous ne leur donnons plus de limites ; ils s’étendront à l’île entière, et si les Hóvas, chassés de tout le littoral, voulaient nous gêner dans nos mouvements, eh bien ! on irait chez eux à Tananarive leur imposer la souveraineté de la France. . . .

“Nous sommes vous le voyez en présence d’un commencement de colonisation avec des combats partiels et une expédition finale en perspective, et c’est à cette grande et belle œuvre que le Gouvernement français vous invite à coopérer. Vous devez être fiers d’une pareille faveur.

“Avec l’engagement d’un an renouvelable, vous aurez la faculté soit de rester sous le drapeau, soit de prendre votre congé pour entrer dans l’administration de Madagascar, ou vous fixer comme colons sur la grande île. Les places et les concessions de terre ne vous seront pas reprises.”

Admiral Miot informed Mr. Graves at the end of May that as soon as his reinforcements arrived he intended to drive the Hóvas out of their camp in front of the town, and the British consul determined to visit Antanànarivo and come to some understanding with the prime minister. He therefore proceeded *via* Andèvorànty and Vatomàndry to the capital on the 3d June, leaving Captain Boyle, R.N., as acting vice-consul at Tamatave during his absence.

June 8.
Embarka-
tion of sick
French.

On the 8th June the transport “Corrèze” embarked the following details for Réunion, viz.—Invalids and convalescents : marines of naval division, 24 (“Creuse,” 14 ; “Naiàde,” 7 ; “Chacal,” 1 ; “Forfait,” 2) ; gendarmerie, 7 ; artillery, 21 ; infantry of marine, 159 ; total, 211. Besides the above a large proportion (“la plus grande partie”) of the volunteers from Réunion was embarked—these men suffering from fever as much as, if not more than, the Europeans.

June 12.

The port of Fènoarivo was blockaded according to notification previously made to the foreign consuls.

June 28.

The correspondent of the *Standard* writes, dating from Manjàkandrianombàna, 28th June :—“For some days past the Malagasy have been expecting to be attacked, and, as you can well imagine, Colonel Willoughby has been very busy getting everything into ship-shape. Since he has been down here he has written up to the prime minister at the capital asking for reinforcements, which were at once despatched, and it has been a busy week, in telling off the men to their different stations, etc., coupled with the usual daily drilling of the men. The

French attacked the camp early this morning, at six A.M. They evidently intended to take the camp by surprise, and were astonished to find the Malagasy prepared for them, the troops being under arms two hours before sunrise. The French opened the ball by sending three hundred of their men in extended order to attack under cover of their three mitrailleuses, but at the onset they were received by a well-directed volley from the Malagasy troops on the other side of the river. So hot was the firing that they were unable to cross, and had to retire. The French were 1200 strong; three arms were engaged, viz. mounted gendarmerie, infantry, and artillery, the artillery consisting of six field-pieces and three mitrailleuses. As soon as the French found their men retiring they immediately supported them from their reserves, and tried to bring their guns into play. By this time the Malagasy artillery began to open fire, and having the exact distance where the French were, were able to silence their guns. The attack lasted two hours, when the French had evidently had enough of it and began to retire, which they did very rapidly. The Malagasy troops behaved admirably, firing very steadily and coolly. Colonel Willoughby took up his position with the guns, directing operations and the artillery fire. After the engagement he made a spirited speech to the men, which was enthusiastically received, and he also received the warm congratulations of all the officers. So ends the second attack on the camp at Manjàkandrianombàna with a great deal of credit and honour to the Malagasy troops and loss of prestige to the French. A very interesting and touching incident happened during the engagement. A lot of Bètsimisàraka women arrived, some with guns, others with spears. When asked what they were doing there, they replied, 'We have brought food for our soldiers, and also we wish, if need be, to die with them. We cannot do more for our country.' This incident alone is sufficient evidence that a French protectorate here is distasteful to the people."

1884.
June 28.
French
attack on
the Hóva
lines.

Steadiness
of Mala-
gasy
troops.

The transport "Vinhlong" from Tonquin landed a battalion of marine infantry, who were employed in the construction of military posts. The French made a reconnaissance at twelve o'clock on the 30th, and attacked an outpost south of Manjàkandrianombàna, but eventually retired. The strength of the reconnaissance was from 100 to 200 men, but the attack was not pushed home. The Hóva camp surrounded by marshy

June 29
French
reinforce-
ments.
June 30.
Another
attack
repulsed.

1884
Insufficient
strength of
French.

and difficult ground, necessitating a circuitous line of approach, and strongly intrenched by the Malagasy troops, presented such difficulties to an attack that Admiral Miot did not feel justified in attempting to carry it with the forces at his disposition. A simultaneous advance on the capital by two columns from Mojangà and Tamatave had been in contemplation, and, indeed, some of the later reinforcements had been sent to Mojangà. But as a matter of fact the effective strength of the French was never sufficient for any advance inland beyond the range of their ships' guns. Moreover, the outbreak of cholera at Marseilles, in conjunction with the rupture of friendly relations with China, combined to prevent the organisation of any serious expedition against Madagascar. According to report the Hóva position near Tamatave was defended by a series of scientifically constructed earthworks, in which several field-guns were mounted together with several machine-guns of native manufacture. The French understood that ammunition was plentiful, but it is now known that a great deficiency in reality existed.

June 16.
Consul
Graves at
the capital.

Consul Graves reached Antanànarivo by the 13th of June and was received by the queen at an audience on the 16th, when he addressed her as follows:—"YOUR MAJESTY—It is with great pleasure that I find myself in your presence this day. I had hoped to be able to visit this your capital at a less distant period from the date of my arrival in Madagascar, but I have in the meantime visited many of the towns on the coast held by your garrisons, at which I am glad to be able to state I was received with all courtesy by the governors in your Majesty's name. . . . I would beg to assure your Majesty that I also will spare no effort to compel my countrymen to observe the treaty between the two countries, and in this I feel sure I shall be seconded by Her Britannic Majesty's vice-consul in this city, Mr. Pickersgill, and the different British vice-consuls on the coast."

The queen's
reply.

The queen replied, "It is a great pleasure to us to see you, representative of our good friends, safely arrived in my capital. I take the words which you have just uttered as a fresh proof of the good friendship and the earnest wish your Government entertain towards us. I am delighted to assure you that I am always ready to do my best in opening my country to civilisation and commerce with other nations, fully convinced that by so doing it tends not only to increase the

wealth of our dominions, but good understanding between us and the Treaty Powers will ensue. I trust that the English nation, which has shown good feelings towards us for a very long period, will be willing as ever to help us morally in carrying out our views." 1884.

Four days afterwards Mr. Graves was present at a review of some infantry with field-guns; the men, who were armed with Remington rifles, went through their drill very well, and marched and skirmished very fairly. These men had, it appears, been kept over the usual service time on account of the war. With the exception of the sight of the children from the schools being drilled in public, no one would imagine, writes Mr. Graves, from the appearance of the capital, that the country was engaged in a war. Nearly every one with whom Mr. Graves conversed expressed a desire that the war might be finished, in order that the country might progress, and this desire appeared genuine, although no inconvenience on account of the war had yet been felt by the governing classes or the people of the interior. Mr. Graves remained at the capital until the 1st of July, when he returned *via* Māhanòro to Tamatave. On passing through Māhanòro he learned that the French gunboat "Capricorne" had fired a couple of shells at the Malagasy fort there on the 25th June.

June 20.
Review of
Malagasy
troops.

July 1.
Return of
Consul
Graves.

As soon as the consul left the city, orders were issued for the assembling of a great royal kabàry on the plain at Māhamàsina, which took place on the 3d of July. For several days the town and neighbourhood were crowded with people flocking in from the country, and every one was anxiously expecting the queen's manifesto. Māhamàsina is a large plain at the foot of the mountain on which the city of Antanànarivo is built. Very careful arrangements had been made for the order and marshalling of such a vast concourse of people, who assembled in their thousands, and a platform was erected for the sovereign and her ministers, from which the manifesto was delivered. Cross roads, some ten feet wide, were kept open in every direction by fences, and large prominent arches at each entrance enabled the people to steer their way in and out of the crowd without disorder or inconvenience. Doctors were stationed at intervals, their positions being denoted by a little white flag bearing a red cross. By ten o'clock the people were already crowding to their places, and some twenty to thirty thousand were already on the field, while every house and

July 3.
Royal
kabàry.

1884.
July 3.

The
scholars
under
arms.

Regular
troops.

terrace, wall and balcony, overlooking the plain, was covered with women. Among the spearmen were bands of children of all ages armed with spear and shield, one band especially attracting notice as consisting of children between six and ten years of age. Their spears were about five feet long, and their shields of wood about fifteen inches in diameter. All the schools of Antanànarivo were drawn up in arms, and the palace school made a very good show in their scarlet uniforms. There were also countless regiments of recruits armed with muzzle-loaders, flint-locks, and native-made guns. The regular city regiments, consisting of 5000 troops, marched on to the field at half-past eleven, and took up their positions along the central enclosure and along the different avenues dividing the plain. They were dressed in white tunics, dark blue cotton trousers, and brown helmets, and were all armed with breech-loading rifles, which looked exceedingly bright and clean. At twelve o'clock the queen left the palace, and it required more than an hour to pass through the city and descend to the plain. The queen arrived in a gilt palanquin carried by twelve bearers, and was received by the prime minister and commander-in-chief, who was mounted on a white horse. Her Majesty then mounted the platform and took her seat on the throne under the canopy. Ranavàlomanjaka III. was dressed in European costume, a robe of white silk trimmed with pink satin. She wore her hair plaited, and on her head was a light gold coronet. On a small table to her right was a large Bible, and on a similar table at her left was a scarlet and gold crown.

The great
kabàry.

The kabàry had now commenced. The prime minister, drawing his sword, saluted, the whole army presented arms, the bands played the national anthem, and the cannon in the battery above fired a salute of twenty-one rounds. The saluting over, the troops came to "the shoulder," the trumpets and bugles sounded a flourish, and the queen rose from her throne. In a few minutes a perfect silence ensued amongst the expectant multitude, and, waving her small golden sceptre over her people, Ranavàlona in a clear ringing voice addressed the people :—

The
queen's
address to
the people.

"O ye people devoted to your fatherland, and ye soldiers strong (in battle), my heart is glad as I stand among you. I see that both I, your queen, and this land of our ancestors are indeed dear to you ; and when I have summoned you to assemble, you have come at the appointed time ;

therefore I express my satisfaction to you ; life and the blessing of God be upon you.

“And I have to say to you, O my soldiers (for we all form part of the army now, both I and my people), that since those Frenchmen have invaded our land, I have done everything to bring about a termination of the war.

“Although we have already paid sums of money twice, it was my intention to give whatever would not involve my sovereignty or impair the independence of Madagascar, this land of our ancestors ; for I particularly dislike, and it grieves me indeed, that your blood should be shed.

“But they were not willing, O my army, and want one-third of Madagascar for themselves, and for us to pay £120,000, as also to indemnify all the losses of other nations during the war ; and yet it was not we that destroyed that property, but the French alone bombarded and destroyed ; they struck the first blow, and did not even give notice of war, but even assailed women and children ; and that even is not all they want, but I and my ancestors have been insulted, and they will not acknowledge me as Queen of Madagascar, but only as Queen of Imèrina. . . .

“I shall fulfil, O my people, the share in the defence of the land which belongs to me as queen. I have done so, but still I will do more, for, though I am a woman, I have the heart of a man, and I stand up to lead you forth to prevent and oppose those who seek to take our land ; for God forbid, O ye people, that we should become the servants of foreigners. Is it not so, ye people ?

“I am confident, O my people in arms, that we are all united as one in holding fast to this beloved land of our ancestors, and in acting so as to frustrate the evil designs of our enemy. For is it not so, O ye people ?

“Further I have to say to you I am extremely gratified to see the unity of combination in learning the art of war. Go on learning, and await my commands, for I shall not let the enemy come upon you unawares, for our courageous friends have gone to guard the coasts where the enemy will land.

“And I have to say to you, O people, that you may all know at once, there are no Frenchmen here, but they are foreigners entertaining good friendship toward us who remain here now ; so let every one take good care not to interfere with their persons or property.

“However, my people, whatever be our strength, or however great our numbers, all this is in vain without the help of God ; let every one of us therefore ask for His help for deliverance in this our just cause.

“And these are my last words to you, O my army, though our bodies be annihilated ; we shall not be ashamed nor confounded, but our name and our fame will live for ever, because we rather chose to die than yield up our fatherland and the good which God has given us. For is it not so, O ye warriors ?”

1884.

July 3.
Patriotic
speech by
the young
queen.

It required some little time for the queen's words to be circulated among the crowd ; but by the time Ranavalona reached her last “Is it not so, ye soldiers ?” the excitement

Popular
enthusiasm

1884.
July 3.

and enthusiasm were at a climax, the people shouted, waved their spears and shields, and the sight was one never to be forgotten.

The representatives
of the
clans.

It was now the turn of the people to reply to her Majesty. First came the representatives of the civilians and the different noble clans of the Hóvas; their speeches consisted of assurances to the queen that they were ready to fight. Their indignation about the queen being called Queen of Imèrina was very great. One spectator said, "We have seen your Majesty's caution in not wishing to endanger the lives of the people, and in trying to make it up by paying money, etc.; but we won't have any more trying to make it up." At this expression the enthusiasm of the people was so great that the speaker's voice was no longer heard.

Rainilaiàrivòny, a great orator as well as minister, next addressed the queen:—

Speech of
the prime
minister.

"On this occasion of your appearance in Màmàsina, O Ranavàlo-manjàka, before the people who are as your father and your mother, it is not a question of how many persons God left this kingdom to be ruled by, for you alone inherited it from your ancestors. You have come here before the people to thank us, to express your satisfaction at our preparations for war. But we, on the other hand, would say: It is not for you, the queen, to thank us, but we, the people, come to thank you, O lady, and may God's blessing be upon you. . . . As regards the French making war upon us, especially in what concerns the command of the army, its organisation and discipline, rest assured, for here am I Rainilaiàrivòny, and every one will have his part.

"The man who stands before your Majesty was born to defend this land and to serve his queen. That is no empty expression, for God sees into my heart. Come death, come loss, before the land shall be taken from us. Our war is a just war, and we do not fear; if we die, we have right on our side, and God knows it. And the fame of those who die in the defence of their country will never perish.

"We must all die whether we fight or not, much more so when our country is taken from us. But if we die in good actions, erect a stone, your Majesty, to our memories and trust in your army. Is it not so, O soldiers?"

Spear
exercise
and war-
songs.

After the prime minister had finished his speech, the queen again rose and said, "Since those are the words of you and your soldiers, I am confident; life, prosperity, and the blessing of God be upon you." Her Majesty then expressed a desire to see some of the schools go through their spear exercise. Some of the schools from the Bétsiléo province then came forward chanting their war-songs. The boys were about twelve years of age and were very proficient. Her Majesty now

descended from the platform, and mounting a white horse, rode round the plain of Màmàmàsina to review the troops amid the cheers of the people. The prime minister then declared the kabàry at an end, the royal salute was given, and the troops and people dispersed. 1884.

On the 2d July the French made a reconnaissance off Mèvaràno, in the vicinity of Mojangà, upon which Ramàmbazàfy, 14 vtra., made preparations to receive them, but no landing was attempted until the 4th, when two dhows and twelve outrigger canoes approached, and a party of about fifty came on shore, where they were met by a volley from an ambuscade of Hóvas. Seven of the enemy (Sàkalàva) were reported as killed by the Hóvas, and three rifles captured. Again on the 6th July another demonstration was made off Màrokira, on which occasion a dhow laden with provisions was abandoned and captured by the Malagasy. Another skirmish is stated to have occurred close outside the lines of Mojangà on the 12th July, when Ramiàndravòla claims to have surprised the French, who, he reported, lost thirty-two killed and twenty-nine wounded. It is said that a remarkable scene took place after the fight, when the French carried off their dead and wounded, whilst the Malagasy sought to secure the rifles and ammunition. These desultory attacks and skirmishes outside Mojangà seem to have been frequent and harassing on both sides. On the same date, the 12th, the French, numbering 200, with three guns, moved out in the direction of the Hóva outpost of Màmàsòa, near Tamatave, retiring after an interchange of a few rounds from field-pieces. On 16th July 200 French reconnoitred towards Anàlamalaòtra and Ampàsimandròrona. Malagasy reinforcements were immediately sent in that direction, but the movement was not developed.

About this period General Willoughby left the camp for the capital, where he arrived on the 22d. He had now become very popular with the officers and men of the army, who had been placed under his absolute command.

Another *alerte* was made on the 18th, when an attempt to surprise the Hóva post at Ambòdìtonònana, outside Tamatave, was frustrated and a French prisoner captured. On the same date another skirmish was reported to have taken place at Antabòaka, near Mojangà, in which ten French were killed and four Malagasy wounded, according to the Hóva account.

By this time Admiral Miot seemed to have given up all

1884.

Blockade
of Fèno-
arivo and
Mahàmbo.

idea of an advance towards the interior, since his reconnaissances proved that the defences of the Malagasy position at Manjàkandrianombàna were far stronger than he had been led to believe. The admiral informed Mr. Graves that the blockade of Fènoarivo and Mahàmbo, ports eight miles apart, would be maintained by one vessel; but between the 15th June and the 25th July, the gunboat only remained off these ports in all some eight days, during which, an English vessel, attempting to discharge her cargo on the 17th July, was ordered out of port by the "Scorff," and Consul Graves was doubtful whether the blockade could be considered effective under the circumstances.

July 5.

The situa-
tion outside
Tamatave.

Admiral Miot wrote on the 5th July: "The Hóvas have rejected all attempts at negotiation since my formal declaration that I would only treat on the bases set forth in the conference of the 13th May. They have thrown up earthworks at Manjàkandrianombàna, at which they have laboured without hindrance for a whole year. Colonel Willoughby is among them with, it is said, 5000 men, and doubtless he directs the construction of the redoubts which occupy the several points of their line. The situation which the Hóvas occupy along the hills of Fàrafàtra is not a mere rallying point. It is a line of frontier supported at either extremity by rivers of considerable depth, and with its front protected by a marshy tract intersected with rivulets and streams which have to be crossed in coming from Tamatave. The villages of the Bètsimisàraka are established in rear of this line under the surveillance of the Hóvas. They it is who dig the ditches and perform all the hard work and collect provisions. Whenever the Hóvas are driven from this line they will betake themselves to the slopes in rear of the same villages, and we must occupy one of two principal points before we induce them to return. Returning to the subject of Màrovoà, we must destroy that place as we shall destroy Fàrafàtra. But the occupation of it will be pernicious for our men. The point to occupy will be Mevàtanàna, situated on an elevated plateau, perfectly salubrious on the opposite side, and almost facing the former. At Màrovoà as at Fàrafàtra the Hóvas have been, and still are, commanded by Europeans; their number is very considerable; and we have given them plenty of time to prepare themselves for fighting us with a discipline of which they were incapable a year ago. If these operations can be carried out between

August and October with a sufficient number of troops, I believe that the government of Imèrina will accept all our conditions. I estimate that it will need about 3000 men to accomplish this. But the Hóvas will never make peace until they are beaten wherever we face them, and it is not with a thousand men, whose ranks will be attenuated every day by the fatigues of the campaign, that we shall obtain an important result. The distances and the transport are serious elements, with which the severity of the climate has also to be taken into account. If then it is intended to attain this object of occupying the points designated without marching on the Capital, reinforcements are needed with their tents and provisions, who can erect their camp and intrench themselves within eight days. Otherwise we shall drift into half-measures and wear out our scattered soldiers who dwindle through ennui and fever."

1884.
July 5.

Meantime the Parliamentary Committee at Paris had remained sitting for two months, and among other witnesses examined was Admiral Galiber on his return from Madagascar. This gallant officer stated that the British Government had strenuously endeavoured to bring about an understanding between France and the Government of Ranavàlona, but had failed. He accounted for this by declaring that the majority of the English residents in the island were Independent Methodists, who absolutely declined to be influenced even by their Government, and possessed the traditional English hatred of France. The admiral believed that the Hóvas would accept the French protectorate were it not for the English, and that ten thousand men would be sufficient to march to Antanàrivo. He did not himself advise any such advance into the interior, but approved of the policy of the Government in occupying definitely important points of the island, in order to convince the Hóva ministers of the unalterable determination of France to maintain her secular rights. He pointed out the bad faith of the Hóvas, which rendered it impossible to negotiate with them.

June 11.
The committee at Paris.

Admiral Galiber's evidence.

A mass of evidence was collected by the committee, given chiefly by naval officers and merchants, most of whom had been engaged in the cattle trade between Madagascar, Réunion, Mauritius, Egypt, and Marseilles, to which 15,000 oxen had been shipped during the previous year. The evidence seems to have been contradictory, and we naturally find a good deal of self-interest

Conflict-
ing evi-
dence.

1884.

Interested
evidence.Com-
mittee's
report.
July 15.Dissent of
M. Perin.

manifested. For instance, M. Macé, who had an establishment on Nôsy-Vé (where he reports that he had had the French flag hoisted for eight years) advised the Government to occupy St. Augustine's Bay, and to establish a convalescent home there, as the climate was salubrious, and the sick could be transported thither at less cost than to Réunion, etc. Others in a like strain. MM. Mante and Borelli stated that Madagascar was a healthy station: "*En réalité, ceux qui disent que Madagascar est un pays malsain ne le connaissent pas ;*" whilst Commander Boutet and most of the naval officers testified that it would *not* pay France to hold Madagascar by force.

The report of the Madagascar Special Committee in Paris was drawn up by M. de Lanessan, and a copy forwarded to Earl Granville by Lord Lyons on the 15th July, but the report was not discussed in the Chamber of Deputies until the following week. The report began by affirming that since 1642, the date at which Richelieu granted to Captain Rigault a concession for ten years of the island of Madagascar, France had never ceased to claim possession of Madagascar, and that this claim had never been contested by any European power. On the one hand, M. Georges Perin (an Extremist) declared that it was "the national interest, and not the national honour, which was at stake in this affair." According to this honourable deputy, "this interest required that France should intervene in Madagascar solely in favour of her subjects molested and injured, that full and complete justice might be exacted from them, but nothing more. This justice can be obtained," said M. Perin, "by energetic and sustained naval action, which, by putting a stop to all traffic with the island of Madagascar, will famish the Hóva Government and bring it promptly to conclude a treaty giving every satisfaction to French interests." M. Perin was convinced that unless this resolution were adopted, France would be forced not only into establishing herself at some points of the island alone, but into taking possession of the island in its entirety, a formidable business, that in accomplishing the conquest of the great country a redoubtable resistance would have to be encountered, and that he condemned an expedition which would cost France sacrifices of men and money out of all proportion to the benefits which could possibly be obtained. M. Perin was alone in this sensible, temperate counsel. On the other hand, the other members of the committee were unanimously of opinion that France

should not limit herself to repressive action, but should enforce the exercise of her rights over Madagascar, that the mere chastisement of the Hóvas by the destruction of their ports, which they had improperly established on the coast, and by the stoppage of their commerce, would only cause expenses as unproductive as they would be considerable. Such operations would require a great number of ships, during a long period, without effecting any positive result; whilst, after the departure of the fleet, the Hóvas would only recommence anew their molestations, and the French residents would be in more danger than before. The members of the majority therefore affirmed the decision of the Chamber to enforce the rights of France over Madagascar. The negligence of former Governments in sustaining their rights was no excuse for their abandonment. France had too long tolerated their denial and violation by insult and assassination by a barbarous people, encouraged for the last sixty years by the weaknesses of the French Government. The committee accordingly recommended efficacious and lasting action.

1884.
July 7.
M. de
Lanessan's
report.

It resulted from the depositions of those who last knew Madagascar that the tribes of the coast ardently desired the presence of the French amongst them, and that these tribes would furnish valuable auxiliaries both for the defence of posts and for future advance. The first object would be to prove to the tribes so oppressed and plundered that France in establishing herself in Madagascar was decided to confine the Hóvas within the limits of their territory, to prevent their interference in commercial transactions, their levying any duties, and any ill-treatment of the other tribes. For this purpose it would be necessary to found permanent establishments in the territory of these friendly tribes, who occupy all the coasts, and who would be all the more faithful, as they were interested in the maintenance of French authority.

Depositions of
witnesses.

The military operations recommended included the blockade of the island and the destruction of all the Hóva posts established on the coasts of Madagascar. The destruction of the posts had already been effected, and to maintain the blockade and to keep the Hóvas at a distance from the coast, the committee proposed that the Government should maintain eleven ships in Malagasy waters with an effective strength of 2224 officers and men. The definite measures to be undertaken were stated to consist of the occupation of a number of points both on the

Operations
recom-
mended.

1884.
July 7.

coast and at certain distances from the sea. These points included (1) *Tamatave*, already in the hands of the French; (2) *Mojangà*, also held by French; (3) *Màrovoà*, a village in the bay of Bèmbatòka, fifty kilomètres from Mojangà (Admiral Miot was instructed by the colonial minister to take possession of this port); (4) *Mèvatanàna*, a Hóva post 100 kilomètres up the Bètsibòka river, situated at its junction with the Ikòpa river; (5) *Vòhimàro*, the possession of which would ensure the safety of (6) the bay of *Diego-Suarez*. Besides, it would be necessary to establish a route of communication between Vòhimàro and Antongil Bay, southwards to (7) *Tanitàny*, and (8) *Foule Point*. In addition, Admiral Miot was to occupy (9) *Ampàcindava Bay*. The above points the commission understood from the Government were either already occupied or about to be taken possession of. In addition it was recommended that some points more to the south of the island should also be occupied, viz. (10) *Ambòndro*, at the mouth of the river Mòrondàva; (11) *Tolà*, and (12) *Fort Dauphin*.

Credit
recom-
mended by
committee.

The credit which the committee proposed to grant amounted to 5,361,000 francs (£214,440). Perhaps the most interesting portion of M. de Lanessan's report is to be found in the numerous appendices, consisting of various documents which the committee regarded as fully establishing the historical rights of France to the sovereignty of Madagascar; the first commencing with the order in council of His Most Christian Majesty Louis, in which Cardinal Richelieu concedes to Captain Rigault the exclusive right of trading with Madagascar and its dependencies: and Appendix F contains the correspondence, hitherto unpublished, showing the "pretensions" of England over Madagascar in 1815, and the abandonment of these "pretensions" and *retrocession* of Madagascar to France by England in 1817.

July 21.
Discussion
of report.

M. Perin.

The report of the Madagascar Committee was discussed in the Chamber of Deputies on the 21st July 1884, when the Government bill was passed by a majority of 279, the numbers being 360 to 81. M. Georges Perin, during the discussion, complained of the extension of the French operations in Madagascar as projected by the committee. It was no longer, he said, a question of occupying a few points in the north and north-west, as proposed by the Government in March. To-day, on the contrary, he said, you propose to occupy the whole circumference of the island. The com-

mittee, observed M. Perin, has laid down a regular plan of campaign for a war of conquest. The actual plan of the committee, he alleged, was in complete disaccord with the original plan of the Government. The committee proposes to occupy not only, as originally intended, some points on the north, north-east, and north-west, but to surround the island with a circle of posts sufficiently fortified and armed to resist attack. If the Chamber accepted the plan it had better put at the disposal of the Government three times the resources in men and money which were now asked for. He pointed out that Admiral Galiber and Commandant Gaillard's statistics of mortality amongst the troops were terrifying, and that at Mojangà and at Tamatave there were at certain seasons fifty per cent sick. Admiral Galiber had declared that his operations would have been completely stopped had he not been able to send his sick to Réunion.

1884.
July 21.

Monseigneur Freppel advocated a crusade into the interior, and by a decisive *coup* the establishment of a French protectorate over the whole island: "Occupy the capital of the Hóvas, to deliver them and free them from the tyrannical government which oppresses them, from a clique whose yoke they are unable to shake off, and leave them the free possessors of the soil. Establish a resident French general with a post of three or four hundred men, and extend your protectorate over the whole island of Madagascar. Such is, in my idea, the only solution of the question, without which you will accomplish nothing serious or lasting."

Mgr. Freppel.

M. Jules Delafosse (a Bonapartist) pointed out that until the invasion of the English missions, French influence had been preponderant in Madagascar; that previously it was the French who had been the counsellors of the Hóva ministers and their best friends. It was certain that the English missionaries had conquered for the most part the island, and were absorbing slowly but surely all Madagascar. The speaker hoped that, should the French advance to Antanànarivo, they would hold the English missionaries responsible in their property and persons for the acts of war with which they mixed themselves up, and that they would be treated like belligerents. The Hóvas, he added, notwithstanding appearances, are not so much a Government as a people of pirates in the interior, who had no financial institutions, but lived on exactions, confiscations, and the produce of their custom-houses. On that

M. Delafosse.

1884.
July 21.

account it was necessary to attack and, he hoped, reduce them.

Admiral
Peyron.

M. Bernard Lavergne expressed his apprehension that France was entering upon a course of action of which it was impossible to foresee the consequences. Next followed M. de Lanessan, the author of the report, who of course defended it. Admiral Peyron, the minister of marine, then gave some explanations respecting the amount and condition of the French forces at the disposal of Admiral Miot, the commander-in-chief of the Madagascar expedition. M. Raoul Duval (Bonapartist), in the course of a speech against the bill, quoted the proclamation of the Governor of Réunion calling for volunteers for Madagascar, and cited especially the phrase: "The concessions of lands shall not be taken back." M. René Goblet (Republican) asked the Government for explanations.

M. Ferry.
July.

In reply, M. Jules Ferry affirmed that he had been the first to say to the Chamber that in this affair of Madagascar it was necessary to act with the greatest circumspection. "Previously to the resolution of the Chamber of the 27th March, we had," said M. Ferry, "confined ourselves to requiring the Hóvas to recognise our rights; since the 27th March it has become our duty to exercise those rights. On this rests the plan of limited occupation which forms the first part of the conclusions of the committee, the only part which the Government has really adopted. When I appeared before the committee with the minister of marine, we said that it would be necessary to keep possession of Mojangà and Tamatave, and to find in the north at Vòhimàro and perhaps also in the bay of Ampàsindàva, points to be permanently occupied. We reserved, of course, the opinion of our commander-in-chief on the spot, but with the reservation of his being in accord with us, we thus limited the field of action for 1884." M. Ferry observed farther on in his speech that the Government pronounced no opinion upon the second part of the conclusions of the committee; and that, to be quite frank with the committee, he must say that they appeared to him to go rather too far when they said that they were in accord with the Government in recommending that Ambòndro, Tolia, and Fort Dauphin should be occupied. He added that the Government must also reserve its opinion as to the advantages and possibility of occupying Mèvatanàna, which is about sixty-two miles in the interior. M. Ferry pointed out that the best guarantee for the

moderation of the plans of the Government was the smallness of the credit they asked for. As to the more extended views of the committee he expressed no opinion. The Government, he said, neither rejected them nor supported them; but as for the campaign of this year, no such views could be thought of; they were quite incompatible with the amount of the credit asked for. The bill was then passed by 360 votes to 81.

1884.
July 21.

The French landed during July some eighty or ninety mules from Réunion, and a $5\frac{1}{2}$ -inch gun was mounted in the fort at Tamatave, which occasionally fired a few rounds at the Hóva camp, but the shells did little damage to the defences. On one occasion only, where a Hóva officer, when constructing a new work, exposed its situation by carelessly clearing the trees and exposing the newly-turned soil of the exterior slope, did the French obtain the correct range for their shell fire. The officer who committed this fault was placed in arrest and degraded in rank. Accidents more often occurred to men digging up the spent shells and exploding them by incautiously attempting to remove the percussion fuzes. Captain Laguerre, commanding the battalion of marine fusiliers, was in command of the troops on shore at Tamatave at this period, and he employed the men in erecting barracks, strengthening the defences, and laying out gardens, etc.

Shell-fire
from $5\frac{1}{2}$ -
inch gun.

In answer to questions, Lord E. Fitzmaurice stated in the House of Commons on 1st August that the English Government had received assurances from the French that the naval commanders had been given special instructions to carry out their operations in Malagasy waters in such a manner as to injure as little as possible neutral subjects and their property, and that the consular staff had been strengthened.

August 1.

The rebel Antanòsy were defeated at Mandrànofòtsy, near Fort Dauphin, by the Hóvas under Rainimàvo. On the 8th August two points in Ampàsindàva Bay were occupied by the French, a landing having been effected under cover of the guns of the "Chacal" and "Pique" gunboats. No opposition was offered, and a redoubt was constructed at Ambòdimadiro, and an encampment chosen for a garrison of fifty-five men under a lieutenant. The Sàkalàva in the neighbourhood appeared to be friendly, but the post at Ampàsिमèna was attacked by the Hóvas, who were repulsed by the Réunion volunteers. Some skirmishing also appears to have taken place at Ambàtolàmpy, near Mojangà. On the 12th August three boats and

August 7.

August 8.
Ampàsindàva Bay.

1884.
August 12,
13.
Ambato-
lâmpy.

two Sâkalâva canoes, under French direction, tried to effect a landing unsuccessfully at Ambâtolâmpy, near Mojangà; and, on the attempt being repeated the next day, it was repulsed by the Hóvas, who captured one canoe.

Aug. 14.
The Senate
passes the
bill.

On the 14th August the bill came before the Senate, and was passed with only one vote against it. One of the members, M. Milhet-Fontarabie, stated that in his opinion the credits demanded were not sufficient, as it was quite impossible to say that the operations could be limited in their extent. M. Milhet-Fontarabie then traced the history of the French claim to Madagascar from the days when Governor Farquhar was ordered by the British Cabinet to deliver up Madagascar to the French Government; and he accused England of being the cause of all the difficulties which France had met with in the island. He called attention to the fact that the Hóva troops were at that time commanded by an Englishman, Colonel Willoughby, and he considered that the French Government would be justified in bringing this matter to the notice of Her Majesty's Government, who, he was quite willing to admit, were probably ignorant of the circumstance. In replying, M. Faure, under secretary for marine, mentioned that Colonel Willoughby was not an officer in Her Majesty's regular army, but merely a volunteer who had served in the Zulu campaign. The Government, said M. Faure, confined themselves to requiring the Hóvas to recognise French rights. Since the 27th March the French Government exercised those rights under limited conditions: "You have the extent of them in the small credits which we asked for . . . but under conditions of energy which the dignity of France requires." The speech of M. Felix Faure was very well received by the Senate.

M. Faure
on Colonel
Willough-
by.

August 15.
Defeat of
Antanôsy.

The Antanôsy were again defeated by Rânimavo at Anàlabè, near Fort Dauphin, on the 15th August, and several chiefs made their submission, sending emissaries to the capital for that purpose. On the 20th August the "Allier" was patrolling the anchorage of Mahanoro with a boat, which received some gunshots. The boat then returned to the ships, upon which a flag of truce was sent on shore to inform the foreign residents that the fort would be bombarded the following morning. This measure was carried out, the "Allier" discharging thirty shells against the fort; not one of these projectiles reached the town, which, by the strict orders of Admiral Miot, was untouched. On the 22d the same vessel

August 20.

opened fire on a place called Sàmbovàky, about one and a half mile north of Màhanòro. Two French launches, containing thirty men and two guns, accompanied by four Sàkalàva canoes, with twenty men in each, made another demonstration against Ambàtolàmpy, near Mojangà, but were repulsed on the 23d August. Another engagement took place near Fort Dauphin between the Hóva garrison and the rebels, who lost a gun. Another reconnaissance was made by the French from Tamatave on the 28th August in the direction of the Hóva outposts at Ampàsimandròrona, but no serious fighting took place. General Willoughby, having returned from the capital, resumed his command on the 29th.

1884.
August 22.
Sàmbo-
vàky.
August 23.
Ambàto-
làmpy.
August 26.
Fort
Dauphin.
August 28.
Ampàsi-
mandrò-
rona.

Thus at the end of August the situation in Madagascar remained unchanged. Whilst the French garrisons on the coast suffered from fever, the Hóvas also by no means escaped, and a large number of invalids had to be withdrawn from the front and sent back to the interior.

The futility of the blockade of the ports on the east coast was fully evidenced by the fact that a German vessel, the "Zanzibar," was able to trade at all these places, and the Hóvas duly levied their customs duties on the cargoes exported and imported. English and American vessels were also able to disembark their goods without difficulty, so that the blockade was merely nominal, but served to destroy the trade of Tamatave and neighbouring ports. The steamer "Normandy," from Glasgow, having escaped the observation of the French ships, succeeded in landing, at a point 140 miles south of Mojangà, 10,000 rifles and 1,000,000 cartridges, which were safely conveyed up to Imèrina.

Futility of
blockade.

Blockade-
running.

At the end of August the arrival in Europe of the remarkable Red Books published by the Malagasy Government caused considerable curiosity in diplomatic circles, and awakened more than ordinary interest throughout England and France. Although few copies were distributed, their contents were soon widely made known, and their exposure of suppressed documents created an unmistakable revulsion of feeling in France.

The Hóva
Red Books.

The French working parties constructing the defensive work at Ambòdimadiro were attacked on the 9th September by five companies of Hóvas and Sàkalàva allies, under Rabèsihànaka, 12th honour. On the 12th September 250 French troops, with 4 guns and 20 mounted gendarmes, moved out

Sept. 9.

Sept. 12.
Ambòdi-
mànga.

1884. of Tamatave by Ambòdimànga, and, after keeping the Hóva troops on the alert for some hours, retired within their outposts. Rainimàvo was, meantime, quelling the revolt of the Antanòsy war at Fort Dauphin, and by this date he succeeded in driving the chiefs Bèfanàtrika and Tsiamànana into the Mahafàly country, pursued by the Hóva soldiers and dispersed, utterly crushing the rebellion throughout the south of the island.
- Dispersal of Antanòsy rebels.
- September 12, 16. Antabòak-animatàvy. Another skirmish took place between raiders and scouts from the Hóva camp near Mojangà and the French on the 12th, and on the 16th a more considerable fight occurred at Antabòakanimatàvy, when the Hóvas claimed to have driven off the French, who attacked them, with a loss of seventeen killed, and to have secured a quantity of cartridges. General Willoughby at this time made a tour of inspection through the southern and eastern ports, and then proceeded to the capital.
- October 1. On 1st October Indèny, a powerful Sàkalàva chieftainess, sister of Iànona, with 153 Sàkalàva, 50 women and 103 men under arms, made her submission to Ramàmbazàfy, the Hóva commandant at Mèvaràno. During October the Hóvas closed round Mojangà in a bolder manner, their forces having been considerably reinforced, and the French were compelled to make constant reconnaissances to clear their front, in reporting which Admiral Miot observes that the precision and character of the enemy's movements evidently point to European command. The small garrison at Ambòdimadiro, under Captain Pennequin, was raised to a hundred men in consequence of the continual harassing *alertes* to which it was subjected by the enemy. Captain Pennequin, having ascertained the existence of a Hóva camp of some four hundred men at Anjaibòry, marched at two A.M. on the 15th October to attack it; some Sàkalàva bearers accompanied him, and the redoubt was left in charge of a landing party of sailors from the "Pique" and the "Redoute." At nine A.M. the Hóva camp, commanded by Rainizàza, 13th vtra., was reached and attacked with complete success. Nearly all the Hóva officers were killed,¹ and some eighty wounded, according to the French estimate; the survivors retired on the fort of Ankaràmy, about thirty miles from the coast. The French had only one man wounded.
- October 15.

¹ Among the officers killed were Andriamanèva, 12th vtra., and Rafàralàhinàntsa, 11th vtra. The drummer was also killed, and all the gunners wounded. The total loss was 11 officers and men killed and 24 wounded out of a total of 150 Hóvas engaged. The French loss was stated by a Hóva who was taken prisoner and escaped to be 15 killed and 5 wounded.

About a hundred rifles and a quantity of cartridges and military stores were captured. Subsequent reconnaissances, to a distance of ten to twelve miles from the fort, showed the presence of but few Hóvas in the neighbourhood, who fled on the approach of the French. The French attacked Mähavöky, near Mojangà, on the 22d, when an officer was taken prisoner by the Hóvas. 1884. October 22.

On the 27th October, about mid-day, a steam-launch made its first attempt to go up the Bètsibòka river from Mojangà, towards Mèvaràno, Miadàna, and Màrovoày. Governor Ramàm-bazàfy, 14th vtra., commanding the Hóvas, watched the progress of the launch from the right bank. On reaching Ambàtolàmpy, shells were thrown from the gun in the launch, which was answered by musketry from the Hóvas. No landing was attempted, and the launch returned to Mojangà. On the following day the attempt was repeated, but wherever the launch showed itself fire was drawn from the Hóvas, and the reconnaissance withdrew to the garrison. At Besèva, inland from the left bank of the Bètsibòka river, the governor, Rainitàndra, received the submission of the Sàkalàva chiefs in the neighbourhood about this time. October 27. Ambàtolàmpy shelled. October 28.

At this time an interesting episode which occurred in connection with the Franco-Malagasy complication passed by without attracting notice in England, although in Paris some small excitement among an interested class was shown, which was evidenced by the bitter language in a few of the newspapers. It may be as well that the true story of the Quakers' peaceful intervention should be made public in England. October 3.

By the almost unanimous decision of the Representative Committee of the Society of Friends (called the "Meeting for Sufferings," from having been originally established for the assistance of Quakers suffering imprisonment for conscience sake), assembled in council, on Friday, 3d October, it was resolved to send over a deputation to Paris on the subject of the Madagascar expedition in the interests of peace. It was at first proposed that the deputation should present an address on behalf of the Society of Friends to the French Government, but this was eventually given up, and it was arranged for Mr. J. G. Alexander, of Lincoln's Inn (well known for his actively benevolent exertions in the mitigation of slavery and the suppression of the slave trade), who had, indeed, first brought the matter before the committee, to proceed to Paris on the 9th of The Society of Friends.

1884.
October 9.

October on a sort of reconnoitring expedition, in order to ascertain more clearly the best way of approaching M. Ferry's Government should it prove approachable, and to discuss with sympathetic friends in the French capital the chances of success to the projected mission. It was found that several influential French gentlemen, including deputies and senators, were at all events open to conviction on the subject, though even such men as M. de Pressensé, the well-known senator and Protestant ex-pastor, were strongly disposed to think that the Hóvas had given great provocation to the French. The opportune publication of the Malagasy Red Books by the Hóva Government afforded the needful means of proving to these men that the Government of the Republic had not acted altogether justly, generously, or with singleness of purpose, in their dealing with an inferior people, while the refutation of the charges brought against the Malagasy ambassadors by the officials of the French Foreign Office was fully established by it.

Mission of
Messrs.
Alexander
and Gillett.

Another Friend, Mr. Gillett, joined Mr. Alexander in the Boulevard Port Royal on the 20th of October, and it was proposed to hold a small drawing-room meeting of sympathisers with the good cause to meet M. Frédéric Passy, the popular deputy and publicist, M. de Pressensé, and a few members of both Houses of Parliament, with certain journalists and others interested in the matter. This *réunion* took place at the Hôtel du Louvre on the evening of Wednesday, the 22d October, at half-past eight o'clock. Mr. Sewell, who had resided many years in Madagascar as a missionary in connection with the Friends' Foreign Mission Association, arrived from London especially to address the modest conference, and from his long and intimate acquaintance with Madagascar affairs he was able to clear up many obscure questions, otherwise unintelligible, upon which the French public appeared generally to be misinformed. In particular he was able to dispose of the fable, so widely believed in Paris, that the Hóvas tyrannised over the Sàkalàva, a people supposed to be of an entirely different stock, and that the latter were eagerly longing for deliverance from an alien yoke, and anxious to welcome their French *allies*.

Opinion of
the English
delegates.

Mr. Alexander and his colleagues were decidedly of opinion that it would not do to meddle with the delicate question from a political point of view, and that it was not their place to suggest any solution of the difficulty or any way out of it.

The English delegates, in fact, considered that, as representing a religious society, they ought to confine themselves to representations tending to show the injustice of the unequal war, leaving the French Republic to take such steps in view of ending it as might seem expedient when convinced of its immorality. In consequence two alternative plans which had been suggested were put aside as inopportune on this occasion. It may, however, not be out of place to mention here that the first scheme projected bore reference to the neutralisation and integrity of all Madagascar being recognised by the European Powers represented at the Berlin Congo Congress, while the other proposal suggested that the French should obtain from the Malagasy the concession of some free port, Diego-Suarez for instance. On some such basis, indeed, the ultimate understanding has been arrived at.

1884.
October 22.

Alternative
plans sug-
gested by
Captain
Oliver.

There were present at the meeting three Deputies—MM. Frédéric Passy (who presided), Steeg, and Donnet, all men of high character and liberal views, M. Saillens, Pasteurs Hollard and Théodore Monod, with several other gentlemen, particularly M. Boegner, director of the Protestant mission-house, and son-in-law of M. de Pressensé. M. de Pressensé himself was prevented by sudden indisposition from being present. The Quaker delegates laid before their audience the most important points which were suggested by their study of the Hóva and French official publications; these questions were invited, and Mr. Sewell replied, his evidence, as an eye-witness, being listened to with great interest, and he was able to show clearly that the land difficulty was every whit as much a grievance for the Protestant missionaries, English and Norwegian, as it was for the French Roman Catholics; he further pointed out that the relations between the Hóva and Sakaláva were widely different from those represented in the French Chamber to exist, and, indeed, Admiral Galiber's evidence before the committee, since published, has entirely corroborated Mr. Sewell's statements in this respect.

Private
meeting of
the Friends
and sym-
pathisers.

A good impression was certainly made upon all those present, and it was arranged that the substance of the matters brought before the meeting should be printed in the form of a small book to be distributed to all the senators and deputies. M. Saillens undertook to prepare the publication, and M. Frédéric Passy promised to write some prefatory notes vouching for the authenticity of the documents quoted—a necessary

Success of
the Paris
conference.

1884. introduction in France, where the arbitrary power of officials has not seldom been exercised to stifle public opinion when expedient. M. Passy, it may be observed, though considered, on account of his strong peace views, as a Utopian (he is Président de la Société des Amis de la Paix), is a man whose word is well known throughout France to be beyond suspicion.

Courtesy of
Admiral
Miot. Early in November two Friends of the Foreign Mission Association reached Tamatave from Mauritius, and at first they were refused permission to land on their way to the capital. As soon, however, as Admiral Miot heard that they were Friends he changed his tone entirely. "Yes, he knew the Friends by report. If he let them go to the capital would they refrain from encouraging the Hóvas in fighting?" They replied that as Friends they could not do otherwise. Would they give him their words not to do so? They would. Then do so. They said they gave him their word not to do it. And he then consented to allow the missionaries to proceed.

The admiral after observed, "The Friends are peacemakers, and if they like to go up to Antanànarivo and help to make peace between the Hóvas and us I shall be glad. *I wish for peace!*"

October 30. Captain Pennequin with a force of 150 men and three Reconnaissance of mountain guns, accompanied by a large number of Sàkalàva, Ankaràmy. started on a reconnaissance of the Ankaràmy camp, but bad weather and the difficulties of the country forced him to return without attacking the position. On the 31st the rebel chiefs of the Antanòsy went to Ihòsy and surrendered themselves to the Hóva governor.

October 31. The French under Captain Pennequin, encamped near Anjaibòry, retreated during a severe thunderstorm to Ambòdimadiro.

Nov. 2. On the 2d November the Hóvas set fire to and burnt one of the look-out houses outside Mojangà. A fight

Nov. 4. took place at Miàrinarivo, near Mojangà, on the 4th November, when the Hóvas lost one killed and six wounded. The French suffered some losses and left on the field the body of a French soldier. Andriantsehèno, 12 vtra., commanded the

Nov. 7. defending Malagasy troops. Two steam-launches ascended the river to Mèvaràno, which place was shelled from seven A.M. at intervals to four P.M. Several attempts to land being met by heavy musketry fire, the launches steamed towards Ambàtolàmpy, into which place more shells were thrown, and the

vessels then returned to Mojangà. At this date there were 1884.
six men-of-war off Mojangà.

[The publication containing the depositions of the witnesses Nov. 13.
who gave evidence before M. de Lanessan's committee was
issued to the deputies on the 13th November.]

On the 14th November another reconnaissance was made Nov. 14.
towards Anjaibòry, but no sign of the enemy was seen. Acts
of incendiarism were perpetrated by Hóva scouts within the
French lines at Mojangà on the 16th November, and a severe Nov. 16.
skirmish followed in the neighbourhood.

In November operations of considerable importance were
projected in the north of the island. Admiral Miot, who had
visited the coast in September, was of opinion that, with the
resources at his disposal and the assistance he might expect
from the Sàkalàva, the occupation of the northern province
might be attempted. He reckoned upon the co-operation of
the Antankàrana, whose chief Tsialàna had promised his
assistance. As a preliminary measure the "Beautemps-
Beaupré," the "Allier," and the "Scorff" conveyed a force to
Diego-Suarez Bay and to Vòhimàro, both of which points were
occupied without opposition. Diego-Suarez Bay was occupied
by a detachment under Captain Caillet, and the "Creuse"
anchored in the bay. Co-opera-
tion of the
Antankàra-
ana.
Nov. 21.
Occupation
of Diego-
Suarez and
Vòhimàro.

On the 27th November Ambòaniho, a fort and village Nov. 27.
situated some nine miles south of Vòhimàro, was occupied
without resistance by a company of marine infantry and sailors
of the "Allier" and "Beautemps-Beaupré." The French
force was here joined by 1700 Antankàrana, who had marched
across the island from the west coast. A few days later, how-
ever, a Hóva band having raided in the neighbourhood of the
fort and wounded one of the French garrison, Admiral Miot
instructed a force under Captain Escande of the "Beautemps-
Beaupré" to take possession of Manjàkatòmpo, the fort on the
plateau of Andrapàrany, some twenty miles from Ambòaniho.
On the 4th December a reconnaissance consisting of two Dec. 4.
armed boats and five canoes proceeded up the river to
Andròvahòngo, near Auòrontsànga. Ràiniàntoàndro, 11 vtra.,
watched their operations, but no fighting took place, a few huts
only being burnt. Captain Brun reported as follows:—

"The occupation of the important and populous village of Ambòaniho,
carried by our troops on the 27th November, and the defence of the
stockaded fort which had been abandoned by the Hóvas, had become very
Dec. 5.
Captain
Brun's re-
port.

1884.

arduous owing to the weakness of the force available. Every night there was an alarm, either an attempt at incendiarism or a sudden attack on our outposts. In order to secure our position and to reassure and rally to us definitely the neighbouring population, whom the dread of the Hóvas kept aloof, it became of importance to drive the enemy from his final position, and to anticipate his attack by resolutely marching against him.

"At 1 A.M., December 5th, with a full moon, the column left Ambôaniho, consisting of—5th company marine fusiliers, 121 men; 21st company marine infantry, 90; landing company from "Beautemps-Beaupré," 52; artillery, one 65 mm. gun, 7; gendarmes, mounted, 11; total, 281. In garrison at Ambôaniho, 27 soldiers and 75 Antankarana. The Antankarana, including some natives of the district, who had given in their submission, numbered about 1200, and were all armed with flint guns and spears.

"The plateau of Andrapàrany (the last defensive post) forms a strong military position, at an elevation of 650 feet, commanding the valley of the Fanàmba river, and is protected on the east by a chain of hills covered with jungle, and on the north and west by steep slopes, intersected by ravines and obstructed by belts of wood—very advantageous for ambushade. At the foot of these slopes a stream with high banks renders approach more difficult. A hasty reconnaissance by the gendarmes showed that the gun could not be taken across the stream without being dismounted. After passing the bed of the torrent a wild gorge had to be ascended, wooded for about a third of its length at an angle of 45°.

"At 1 P.M. the advance was sounded and the column, followed by the Antankarana, marched to the assault. Some Hóvas who sought to dispute the passage were driven back, and the ascent was commenced under the fire of the enemy's skirmishers concealed in the bush and rocks.

"By 2.30 P.M. the gun and ammunition packs were taken with difficulty across the stream, while the infantry continued their advance under a hot sun up the broken slopes and through the woods, impeded by abatis which had to be destroyed after driving off the defenders. The dead body of a Hóva and some wounded who were being carried away testified to the effect of our fire.

"The 5th company marine fusiliers were the first to crown the crest of the ridge to the right, the sailors of the 'Beautemps-Beaupré' followed, while the marine infantry continued along the bottom of the ravine, covered by the fire of the sailors. All the movements were methodically carried out by successive rushes, each section in turn taking up the ground of the one in front. The enemy continued to fall back firing, but inaccurately, so that no one was hit. Meantime the Antankarana, more active than our men, and more accustomed to the difficulties of this rough country, were ordered to move farther to the west and aid our advance by a diversion against the enemy's flank.

"At 4 P.M. the plateau was gained and its full extent ascertained. From north to south it stretches three miles, and from east to west about 500 yards; it is covered with pasturage and clumps of trees. The Hóva village, enclosed by a fence, is at the north-west end, and the stockade or rôva stands in the centre of the village to which it forms a kind of citadel. The stockade forms a rectangle, 75 yards by 55; the *enceinte*

being constructed of timbers 13 feet high, and from 6 to 8 inches thick, 1884. but without loopholes ; four *tambours* (salients), each armed with one gun placed in the centre of each face, afford a flank defence, and are provided with platforms for musketry, 8 feet above the gun emplacements.

"The Hóva cantonment, Manjakatòmpo, is further protected on the north and east by a narrow, deep ravine, all the more formidable from being imperceptible until close to it. In this ditch and on the counterscarp the enemy's best troops were posted with two guns in position at either end.

"At 4.30 P.M., after a short rest, the commanders having concerted the plan of assault, the companies were re-formed in attack formation and the word to advance was given. The line of skirmishers, gaining ground quickly, drove the enemy from each fold of ground and cover of wood ; the fire became hotter as we advanced, and the enemy occupying the ravine fired case from his four guns, fortunately ill directed.

"The action was now general on the whole extent of the plateau on a front of about 3300 yards. The volleys of the Antankàrana on the left were also heard. The mountain-gun was placed in position at about 1100 yards from the village and camp, and maintained a continuous fire. The company commanders were now ordered to fire with increased rapidity. The first line of skirmishers was now about 160 yards from the ravine, across which a direct attack was impracticable. Lieut. Bertand, commanding 5th marine fusiliers, was ordered to move sharply to the right, so as to turn the ravine and enfilade the defenders, whose fire was beginning to tell, three men being wounded, one mortally.

"Captain Bergeolle's company of marine infantry followed Bertand's ; and the sailors were soon afterwards ordered in the same direction ; the gun being left with a small escort of gendarmes, who were now dismounted and maintaining an effective fire.

"At 5 P.M. the movement on the right was developed and the skirmishing line deployed at right angles to the ravine, which they raked with a heavy fire. The Hóvas, who hitherto had displayed remarkable tenacity, now sought to climb the ravine and regain the village, but the greater number fell. The decisive moment was at hand ; but 50 yards separated our men from the ravine : this interval was covered with a rush, and the Hóvas who yet remained threw down their arms and endeavoured to escape along the ravine. None attempted to surrender, and our fire strewn the bottom of the ditch with bodies.

"The victory was complete ; all the Hóva chiefs with their best soldiers were killed ; the remainder fled towards the west, the southern road, kept by Martel's detachment, being closed. At this time the Antankàrana, who had hitherto kept at a distance, hurled themselves on the village and camp with yells, being scarcely restrained from slaughtering the wounded. The 65 mm. gun now came up, and with a few rounds completed the rout of the fugitives.

"The fighting was over at 5.30 P.M., having lasted three hours. At 6.30 the left column, which had inflicted great loss on the fugitives, entered the village. The enemy were almost annihilated ; the plateau of Andrapàrany and the streets of Manjakatòmpo were strewn with over 800 dead bodies, including Rainimaròsahànina, 12th honour, who commanded, and his sons. The Sàkalàva chief, Rafojia, a faithful ally of the Hóvas, who had rewarded him with the title of 11th honour, was also killed. A large amount of booty, flocks of cattle, and five guns were captured."

1884. After this successful engagement Commandant Escande returned to Vohimàro, leaving Ambòaniho occupied by a detachment of French troops and 200 Antankàrana. Wooden huts were erected at both these stations for the European troops. "The successful result of this expedition," wrote Admiral Miot on the 20th December, "renders us masters of the northern portion of Madagascar, from Cape Amber to the 14th degree south latitude. The Hóva force in this district is destroyed, the remnants being a mob without a leader; they are destitute of supplies of any kind until they regain Sambàva. Our losses are one killed and three wounded."

Dec. 7. Mahitsi-hàra. During the month of December King Tsialàna of Nòsy-Mitsiò visited Admiral Miot at Tamatave. Two launches and five canoes carrying an armed French detachment landed at Mahitsihàra, set fire to the village and returned to Ambòhimandivo; a few shots were exchanged and some wounded on either side. On the 10th December two gunboats entered the Bètsibòka estuary and ascended until within range of Màrovoà, which place was shelled for some hours. Ramàmbazàfy replied with artillery, and several of his shot are stated to have hulled the gunboats, which returned at five P.M. to their anchorage. Again fighting took place at Miàrinarivo at eight P.M.; and on the following day Hóva troops attacked the French at Ampirikinana, and drove them under cover of their guns of position. The French next made a sortie in the direction of Anòrombàto, but after severe fighting again had to retreat into their battery. By this it appears that the French so far had been unable to keep the Hóvas beyond the range of their defensive zone of fire round Mojangà. On the same day one of the gunboats again made a demonstration against Màrovoà.

Dec. 17. On 17th December, when the Chamber commenced the debate on the colonial budget, M. Raoul Duval asked for explanations with regard to the intended action of the Government in Madagascar. M. Pieyre (a Legitimist) said he was for striking a rapid and heavy blow in Madagascar, because that would be the best place for the transportation of hardened convicts. Admiral Peyron informed the Chamber that five points were now occupied by the French, but that a complete blockade was impossible. Measures were about to be taken to relieve the troops now in the island, who had been there a long time. The cost of the Madagascar expedition amounted up to that present time to upwards of 12,000,000 francs.

Statement
of Admiral
Peyron.

Writing on the 20th December, Admiral Miot gives the following account of the situation in the north :—"From information supplied by a wounded Hóva officer it appears that not more than 100 Hóva soldiers and 200 women and children escaped from Andrapàrany.¹ This was their last refuge in the province of Vòhimàro, and the fugitives were forced to flee into the woods without provisions, clothes, or ammunition. At Sambàva there are not more than thirty or forty soldiers, who must abandon the place when we show ourselves. At Ngòntsy there are not more than 100 men. At Maròantsètra, in Anton-gil Bay, the garrison has not been reinforced since last year. In the north, near Diego-Suarez, I am assured that the Hóvas who are there established have but few arms. We are then absolutely masters of all that part of Madagascar, and if next April you can send me 2000 men, I will not fail to drive the enemy out of Màrovoàÿ. Time alone," said the admiral, "will correct the barbarous manners of the Antankàrana ; but, nevertheless, I consider I have attained a great result in causing a column of 1700 men to cross the country to receive here at Tamatave the visit of Tsialàna, who comes to pay homage to France. The Hóvas have disappeared, the Antankàrana have retaken the road from the west, and the Sàkalàva will re-enter by degrees into their villages under the shadow of our flag."

1884.
Dec. 20.
Admiral
Miot re-
ports his
successes.

In France the opening of the year 1885² found M. Jules Ferry still firmly seated at the head of the ministry after a tenure of office extending to nearly two years ; and in spite of the unpopularity of his colonial policy he was still master of the situation.

1885.
January.
M. Jules
Ferry in
power.

Another skirmish took place at Mojangà on the 12th January, when, as usual, the Malagasy approached, and showed

Jan. 12.
Mojangà.

¹ "The total Hóva force was 487 men, armed with flint-lock muskets, and there were five old ships' guns. The slain numbered 450, half of whom were women and children. After the fight 260 men were rallied by the second governor, and a new fort erected within 20 miles of Andrapàrany, from which frequent parties were sent out to harass the French and lay waste the country, in which they were successful" (*J. P.*)

² At the commencement of 1885 the following forces were employed in Madagascar by the Department of the Marine :—

Bâtiments de la division de la mer des Indes	5
Bâtiments supplémentaires	14
Hommes d'infanterie et d'artillerie de marine pris à la garnison de la Réunion	539
Marins des bâtimens supplémentaires	2205
Hommes de troupes	878
Total	3622

1885. themselves on the neighbouring hills ; the French advanced to clear the ground, and ultimately had to fall back under cover of their guns of position, within range of which the Hóvas seldom ventured. One of the frequent military promenades, which at intervals kept the Hóvas on the alert, was made by the French garrison outside Tamatave on the 22d January, when some cartridges were expended, but no casualties admitted on either side.

Jan. 22. Meantime in Imèrina much damage and distress was caused by the unusually heavy rains of the wet season, which caused constant overflowings of the Ikòpa and other rivers, and destroyed the irrigation banks of the rice-fields, many of which were submerged ; so that the minister of agriculture issued a notice to the people ordering every one to plant as much manioc, yams, sweet potatoes, and similar economical roots as possible. One of the French gunboats again ascended the river to near Màrovoà, whence, after drawing the fire of the Hóvas, it returned to the anchorage. There was skirmishing in the neighbourhood also on the 15th February.

Feb. 13. M. Baudais reported on the situation at this period as follows : “The military operations which gained for us possession of Vòhimàro and the surrounding district have produced no effect upon the Government of Antanànarivo ; at least so I am informed by direct news from the capital. There is more and more depression at Tamatave, where the trade is entirely stopped. The last representatives of the two American firms have just left Tamatave ; on this account the merchandise is mulcted on arrival at Tamatave of 10 per cent ; the cost of unloading is exorbitant, as labour, being scarce, has risen 5 per cent. Reloading [for goods cannot be sold at Tamatave whilst blockaded] costs a similar amount, to which must be added the cost of freight to another point on the coast, and the 10 per cent there levied by the Hóvas—in all a total of from 30 to 35 per cent. In addition, goods arrive at some places on the coast without passing through Tamatave, where the mercantile firms no longer need agents. It is customary now to go direct to Vatomàndry, Mahèla, Mānanjàra, etc., and the agents have betaken themselves thither. If this state of things continues, Tamatave will never regain the importance it held previous to the opening of hostilities.”

On receipt of the news of the disaster suffered by the Hóva garrison at Vòhimàro and Ambòaniho, instant and ener-

Disappearance of trade from Tamatave.

getic action appears to have been taken by the Government of Ranavàlona III. A force was quickly organised to proceed north for the defence of Antsihànaka against the rebel Sàkalàva and Antankàra under Tsialàna, and by the beginning of February the troops destined for the north were reviewed in the palace yard. On the 2d February the prime minister addressed the troops from the verandah of the Silver Palace, as follows :—

1885.
Hóva
troops
sent to
the north.

Feb. 2.

“You are assembled here, and these are the words of the queen to be delivered unto you soldiers : ‘I send you forth,’ she says, ‘to guard the land at Màndritsàra and Ambàtondrazàka ; and here is the clothing and money for your journey.

“‘And, considering the present unsettled state of the country and the kingdom, whether near or far, a solemn compact has been universally sworn to ; so that if a man amongst you seek to escape, much more refuse to go when ordered, or turn from the road or desert your post, in such a way as to perjure our oath of compact, we shall not agree to it. For is it not so, O ye soldiers ?

“‘And whosoever shall seek to turn ye out of the way, report it, that he may be dealt with accordingly ; for if you do not do so, it shows you are an accomplice. Do not, also, allow yourselves to be gained over by your wives and children for no purpose, for you will suffer for it, I assure you ! You have seen in fact what happened at Fiadànana. Moreover, it is not simply you alone who have to go, for every one of us will yet have his part to fulfil ; and, as to the defence of this island, do not get frightened to no purpose. Even Radàma, king of this island, girded up his loins and forded the streams on foot in order to subdue the land ; and now, when all has been reduced to order, are we going to let others come and take it from us ? God forbid.’”

Some of the officers then coming forward replied to the following effect :—

National
patriotism.

“We are pleased with the clothes and money which the queen has given us for our journey, and we beg to present our *hàsina* (fee of allegiance), with the hope that God may bless it to the increase of Her Majesty’s power. And now, there are you, the prime minister, and the cabinet ministers, your colleagues ; and here are we ready to go. For we are not soldiers that had to be levied ; but we enlisted of our own free will for the love of our fatherland, and now behold the very opportunity for which we enlisted. So that now, if there be any amongst us who do not go to the place appointed, or who turn from the road or desert their post, cast them forth, for they are swine ; and if we do such things, it is not being killed by the enemy, but it is killing ourselves. For is it not so, O ye soldiers ?

“And say unto the queen, sir, that whether we go to Ambàtondrazàka or Màndritsàra, or to any other place, we bid her rest assured, for the object of our expedition is to defend our wives and children and the land of our ancestors. Therefore let those who are here, you, the prime minister, and you, the other officers of the state, take care of our queen at the capital, for we will settle matters out there, beyond Antsihànaka.”

1885.

Rainilaiàrivòny answered: "O ye soldiers, as far as the taking care of the queen is concerned, be well assured; for the queen is not protected by one person only, but by the whole nation. Therefore, see ye well to the straightening out of affairs out there whither ye are going!" After this money and clothing were distributed to the soldiers; and every man received a spear, a battle-axe, and a breechloading rifle, after which the men were dismissed to their homes.

Feb. 3.

On the following day, 3d February, the same regiments were drawn up in the palace yard in marching order. The newly-appointed governors, Rainijaònina, governor of Màndritsàra, with his lieutenant-governor and second in command, Raininjaivèlo, and Andriamihàmina, governor of Ambàtondrazàka, with Rabèòny, lieutenant-governor, and medical staff, were at the head of their respective bodies of men. The queen, in her state robes, then came out of the Great Palace, the band playing the national anthem, and the prime minister read out the appointments of the new officials. Rainijaònina, 12th honour, then made the following speech:—

"On this occasion, O lady, when you send us forth to Màndritsàra to guard your land and kingdom, and to watch over your people, rest assured, O lady, and have no misgiving or anxiety, for we are not people from afar who are going there, but your faithful servants, accustomed to your presence; and whatever can be done for the welfare of this land and kingdom, certainly we shall do it, as long as we are alive. Is it not so, ye soldiers?"

"And, above all, O lady, when we think that this trouble is unjustly brought upon us by the French, it grieves our hearts indeed; and God forbid that we should become the slaves of the white man; our wives and children shall not become the slaves of foreigners, and we will never let this land be ruled by other than you, the descendant of Andrianimpòinimèrina and Lèhidàma, except, perhaps (and that is not likely) there is not a single man of us left; for as long as there remain any men at all, be assured that to you alone belong this land and kingdom. Is it not so, O ye soldiers?"

"And as regards my governorship over these soldiers, whether my leading them on the march or my disposition of them at their posts, especially with regard to a just apportioning to each one his duty, be assured, O lady, that I shall govern with justness and fairness.

"And to you, sir, prime minister, we are only an insignificant fraction of those who serve; yet, sir, we thank you for the good report of us conveyed to the queen, which has earned for us our promotion. May God bless you, and grant you a long life.

"We also give you our word of assurance, sir, that we shall observe the words conveyed by the queen through you, for you are not sending off fools, who will become a shame to you and to the queen and to the people.

"So then let you, Mr. Prime Minister and the officers of the court, watch over the welfare of the queen, and we will settle matters afar off. 1885.

"Lastly, it is not the shortness of my speech that shows incapacity, nor many words that prove wisdom, but our actions shall be the best proof.

"Let us then bid farewell to the queen, for we depart. Prosperity to you, O lady, and long life among your people."

The troops were then marched off to their respective destinations. The spirit of the troops is well exemplified by the speech of their leader.

A severe cyclone devastated the east coast on the 23d and 24th February, the details of which are recorded in vol. i. chap. vi. The French squadron escaped without any very serious damage. During the month of February the health of the troops, who were now better housed, was reported fairly good, there being five per cent of sick afloat, and from ten to twelve per cent ashore. The sanitation was more strictly attended to, with good results. In this month Captain Pennequin visited, from his post at Ambòdimadiro, the territories of the chiefs Mònja and Bènaò (the *soi-disant* Sàkalàva queen), which include the promontory of Bàvatòby, the neighbourhood of Ankify, and the district drained by the river Sàmbiràno. He found the population quiet and engaged in cultivation. The proposals which he made for the formation of a native corps for service at Ambòdimadiro were favourably received, and one company of 100 men was formed, and the formation of three more reported in progress. The same officer also visited the river Bèràndra and the road to Ankaràmy, near Anòrontsànga, where the slight opposition encountered was subdued. The security of this district (which is within easy distance of the French colony at Nòsy-Bé) was thus assured, and the only operation necessary to complete it was the permanent occupation of Anòrontsànga, which Admiral Miot now contemplated.

Feb. 23, 24.
Severe
cyclone.

February.
Formation
of a Sàka-
làva corps.

The object of the Friends' deputation to Paris in the autumn of 1884, previously alluded to (p. 409), had been, as already pointed out, confined to the enlightenment of those among the French people who were at once influential and liberally disposed on the real merits of the Madagascar imbroglio. M. Saillens's book¹ was duly written, and, prefaced

Feb. 15.
M. Sail-
lens's work

¹ *Nos Droits sur Madagascar et nos Grièfs contre les Hóvas examinés impartialement*, par R. Saillens, avec une préface de M. Frédéric Passy, Membre de l'Institut, et un Appendice contenant des documents officiels inédits.

1885.
Feb. 15.

M. Passy's
introduc-
tion.

with an introduction written by M. Frédéric Passy, was distributed among the senators and deputies by the middle of February. In his introduction M. Passy stated that the sole intention of the work was to call attention to documents hitherto unknown, and by such enlightenment induce a healthier appreciation of facts, thereby rendering more easy the solution of the long and distressing conflict in Madagascar.¹ M. Passy took the opportunity of refuting the mendacious reports circulated in Paris to the effect that he had presided at a discussion on the foreign policy of France, at which he had permitted strangers to insult the national flag; or that, after the meeting, its principal instigator, Mr. Alexander, had written letters to the Hóvas urging them to resistance, etc. Although the distribution of M. Saillens's work caused much irritation among the supporters of M. Ferry's policy, the result of the Friends' mediation was undoubtedly to place the facts of the case in their true light before France; and the alteration in public feeling was soon perceived both within and without the Chamber of Deputies.

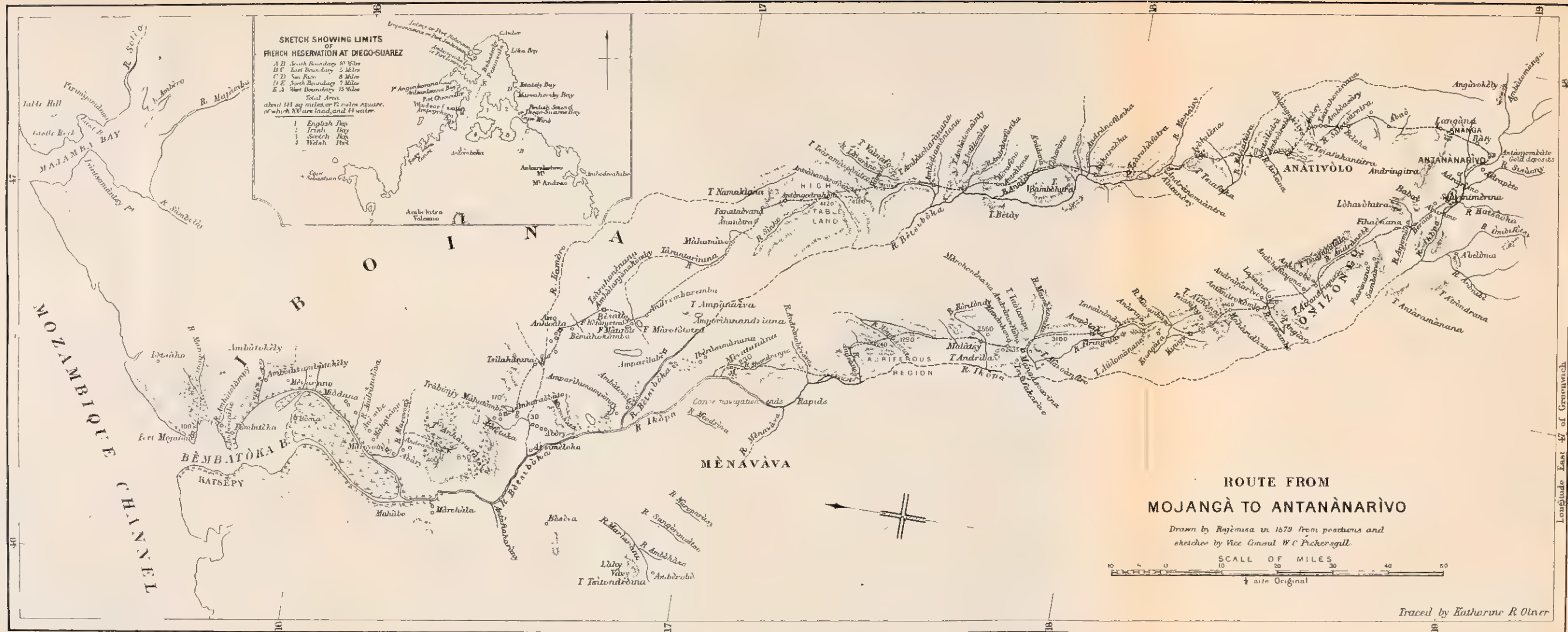
Feb. 26.

On the 26th February a Government notice was issued from the Anàtiròva at Antanànarivo, stating that any foreigner found working, buying, or unlawfully having in possession Malagasy minerals, would be handed over to his consul, to be dealt with according to the treaty obligations.

March 4.

On 4th March it was reported at Antanànarivo that the French, aided by the rebel Sàkalàva in the north, had surrounded the Hóva fort of Antòmboka, south of Diego-Suarez Bay. Tsiàlàna, the Sàkalàva chief, it was said, had approached Antòmboka by sea, the local natives in rebellion surrounding the place by land. Captain Pennequin again ascended the

¹ "S'il était vrai, ce que je laisse à chacun le soin d'apprécier par lui-même et pour lui-même, que de l'examen des faits et des documents produits dans ce volume [M. Saillens's book], ou de tous autres éclaircissements qui pourraient l'être ailleurs, il résulât pour tel ou tel la conviction que le gouvernement de la France, ici ou là à Madagascar ou sur quelque autre point du monde, n'a pas toujours tenu la conduite la plus habile ou la plus généreuse, la plus conforme aux véritables intérêts de la France, ou la plus digne de sa magnanimité et de son équité, non seulement il n'y aurait ni faute ni honte à le dire, mais il y aurait crime et forfaiture à ne pas le dire. La France est assez grande pour entendre la vérité, même sur son compte; assez puissante pour s'incliner, sans que personne la puisse soupçonner de faiblesse, devant les arrêts de sa propre conscience; assez maîtresse d'elle-même, en un mot, pour se faire à elle-même sa loi, comme pour ne subir la loi de personne. On met devant elle, à côté de beaucoup d'autres, quelques-uns des éléments d'une des grandes questions qu'elle a à trancher. Qu'elle juge et qu'elle prononce" (*Frédéric Passy*).



Sambirano river for a distance of from 35 to 45 miles, finding the natives quiet, and no trace of the Hóvas. 1885.

Admiral Miot, writing on the 14th March from the seat of war, states: "The Hóvas are massed and fortifying themselves at Mojangà. They have built a veritable fort, and constructed a formidable retrenched camp on the right bank commanding the river. There can be no doubt as to the skill exhibited, and it is certain that they have the advice of European officers." In a postscript to this letter the admiral writes: "I have just received, at the last moment, news from Mojangà. Note the following enumeration of the Hóva forces in front of Mojangà:—

March 14.
State of
affairs at
Mojangà.

	No. of men.	Estimated Hóva force near Mo- jangà.
At Andrètsika and other outposts lately recon- noitred	900	
At twenty minutes from Andrètsika	800	
In the bight of the bay of Mojangà, post of obser- vation	200	
At twenty minutes' distance farther off, at Betsako	800	
At the camp of Ramàmbazàfy, general in command	9,000	
Beyond to Ambàtolafia	160	
At Mòraràmana	125	
Scattered along the right bank of the river about	120	
Besides at Màrovoà	1,000	
Total about	12,895	

"In the outposts before Mojangà there are about 2500 (at about eight kilomètres distance). I estimate some 2000 to be slaves or servants, which leaves a force of 10,000 men, with whom we have to deal, for they are the best soldiers of Imèrina. They have breechloading field-guns."

"It is impossible," writes the admiral, "but that the actual state of affairs which we now sustain in Madagascar will year by year involve a far greater development in our means of action. It is sufficient to take account by recalling to mind the military situation which the Hóvas occupied in June 1883, and to compare it with what they occupy to-day. Should the year 1885 pass away without our accomplishing anything more than what we have already done, it will be regrettable. The Hóvas assemble troops, intrench and fortify themselves, organise armies, and exhibit their force to the eyes of the populations and tribes, who realise that they still have the power, and that if not invincible, they are at all events unconquered. By driving them out of Màrovoà, Ankaràmy,

1885.
March 14.
Admiral
Miot asks
for 3000
men.

and Fàrafàtra, I am convinced that there would be no need to march on Antanànarivo. The people, tired out with the war, would impose peace on the prime minister. What is needed for this purpose?—3000 men, more or less. In 1884 they saw Vòhimàro, Diego-Suarez, and Pàsindàva fall into our hands, and however arduous the duties imposed on us by honour, it is pre-eminently necessary to accomplish them by some fresh action. In my opinion we ought to act about September on the east coast, and towards the end of June on the west coast. The means which I can dispose of for this purpose are absolutely insufficient. I shall limit myself to retaining what I occupy, but a large proportion of the marine infantry and the battalion of marine fusiliers are weakened by the hot season, and require relieving.” With regard to the volunteers from Réunion, the admiral stated: “Up till now, and under circumstances which the governor of Réunion will explain to you better than I can, the 600 volunteers of that island have never attained an effective strength of over 345 men or thereabouts.” Later, Admiral Galiber showed the Madagascar Committee that, in fact, Réunion, which should have furnished an effective of 625 men, never furnished in reality more than 270 (see M. Georges Perin’s speech, 29th July 1885).

March 23.
Proceed-
ings in
French
Chamber.

On the 23d March a bill sanctioning a credit of 12,190,000 francs was submitted to the Chamber by Admiral Peyron for the carrying on of the operations in Madagascar, but the debate did not take place under M. Ferry’s administration. It was said that nearly 4,000,000 of this amount had already been spent in advance, calculated at the rate of 1,000,000 francs per month of the current year. A committee, presided over by M. de Mahy, was appointed to report on the *projet de loi*. With him were associated Baron Boissy d’Anglas (secretary), MM. Rivet, Peytral, Hovius, Fougeirol, Pierre Alype, Georges Perin, le Comte de Lanjuinais, Dutailly, and M. de Lanessan; the last-named gentleman drew up the reports.

March 19
to 31.
Camp of
instruction
at Andrô-
hibè.

By the end of March the rainy season had come to an end, whereupon the Malagasy Government commenced active preparations for carrying on the war. Fresh levies were called out, and a large force of over 15,000 men was encamped at Andrôhibè under command of Colonel Shervington, who was entrusted by General Willoughby with the drill and instruction of the troops. The prime minister visited this camp on the

19th, and again on the 31st March. At Manjakandrianombàna the Hóva troops had been undisturbed for a considerable time. It was said that there were twenty congregations with churches in the camp, and the children attended school regularly as if in time of peace. The force which General Willoughby could put in line outside Tamatave must at this time have numbered not less than 20,000 men, and every day added to their efficiency. The only serious drawback which caused their commander-in-chief anxiety was the want of reliable ammunition. A general system of vaccination was enforced at the camp, and throughout all the garrisons of the east coast.

1885.
Manjakandrianombàna.

The health of the French forces on shore during March was reported to be very bad, the sick-rate at Tamatave attaining a maximum of fifty per cent. The invalids were collected from the several garrisons, and conveyed to Réunion for transhipment to France.

Evacuation
of French
sick.

The unpopularity of the colonial policy of the French premier, as carried out in Madagascar, was largely increased by the publication of M. Saillens's book. This growing dissatisfaction, coupled with the reverses of General Négrier in Tonquin, and the animosities of various political groups and parties in France, combined at the end of March to overthrow the government of M. Jules Ferry. An attempt made by M. de Freycinet to form a ministry in like manner was rendered impossible by the jealousies of the same groups which had ousted M. Ferry from office, and finally M. Brisson, on the 4th April, accepted the task of forming a Cabinet, in which Admiral Galiber was appointed minister of marine and the colonies. Admiral Galiber had never concealed his disapprobation of the ambitious schemes and impracticable projects for the conquest of Madagascar, and therefore his advent to office was a guarantee that matters would be brought to a conclusion on the Malagasy coasts at the first opportunity afforded for receding from the entanglement into which the Republic had been drawn. It is no doubt owing to the courage of Admiral Galiber in exposing unpalatable facts to the French public that the claims of France were ultimately withdrawn.

March.
Overthrow
of M.
Ferry's
Government.

April 4.
M. Brisson
forms a
Cabinet.

In spite of the blockade, the Madagascar market during the past months appeared to have been steadily supplied with just enough of what the natives required, the various articles being introduced by old experienced merchants, who, having got rid of many timid competitors, obtained good prices for

March.
Effects of
blockade.

1885.
Vatomàndry.

their goods. Vatomàndry, indeed, at this period was reported as being momentarily overstocked with goods. The majority of the trading vessels now proceeded to Vatomàndry, running from Tamatave for the account of several Mauritian firms at Tamatave. It is remarkable that the port of Vatomàndry should have thus been left open whilst ports more distant from Tamatave were blockaded more or less strictly. But we know that Admiral Miot had received instructions from Admiral Galiber, minister of marine under M. Brisson's Government, to make the blockade as easy as possible to neutrals and allies; and Admiral Miot saw the good policy of keeping on good terms with the colony of Mauritius, which island, with Réunion, suffered most from the blockade of the Malagasy ports. Vatomàndry in fact had now become an important trading town, and M. Pellicier was acting there as British vice-consul. Mahanòro, on the other hand, was quite deserted, the greater part of the foreigners emigrating north and south. Mananjàra and Mahèla were still open, and cotton goods fetched a higher price there than at Vatomàndry. Natural produce was comparatively scarce at this date, especially hides, for the people did not kill so many oxen as formerly. Later accounts (March) reported American cottons getting scarcer and prices rising.

Mahanòro.

The Hóva garrison, being driven from Vòhimàro, established itself at a point 30 miles south-west towards Màndritsàra and Ambàtondrazàka, the garrisons of which were reinforced from the capital. The intention of the Hóvas was to form a base for the troops on the north-east and north-west to fall back upon should the French endeavour to march upon the capital from the north, and to intercept any cattle sent by that route to Nòsy-Bé.

April.
Affair of
Diego-
Suarez.

Early in April a small detachment of forty men from the "Creuse," lying in Diego-Suarez Bay, proceeded inland some distance on a foraging expedition under Midshipman Crova, and was surprised by a band of Hóvas on its return. M. Crova was slightly wounded, but the party effected its retreat in safety under Dr. Ferraud. This showed that the Hóvas still maintained a certain hold on the country even north of Vòhimàro.

Formation
of a discipli-
nary com-
pany.

A disciplinary company of 240 men had been formed at the island of Oléron, the dépôt of the marine disciplinary companies, for special service in Madagascar (an evidence of the

distasteful nature of the service). This company, together with a draft of 300 marine infantry, embarked at Marseilles in the "Rhin" on the first of April, and reached Tamatave about the end of the month. 1885.

The aged war minister of the Hóvas, Rainilàmbo, 15th vtra., died on the 18th April, and was buried with great pomp at Anjànahàry. He was said to have been over ninety years of age, and had attained great distinction, having fought under Radàma I. and the Queen Ranavàlona I. in forty-eight engagements, twice wounded with gunshots and once with spear. April 18.
Death of the Hóva war-minister.

During May it was reported that Hóva reinforcements to the number of 1500 men were sent from the capital to surround Mojangà. May.

On the 9th May Admiral Miot wrote to Admiral Galiber that he was convinced Rainilaiàrivòny would treat if Màrovoàny were taken, the first stage on the route from Mojangà to the capital, an operation which would require at least 4000 men. A march to Antanànarivo was practicable, but when the French flag was hoisted on the Silver Palace there would still be garrisons needed to occupy the numerous points on the coast. It would be necessary to accept or impose a protectorate, to utilise the Hóva forces, and maintain only a weak French garrison. The conquest of the country would need a minimum of 6000 men *en permanence* for perhaps twenty years. For the present, and until further reinforcements should arrive, he could only hold the points already occupied. This protectorate, he added, ought only to be discussed or negotiated by those who had not hitherto been mixed up in the commencement of the hostilities, implying that his colleague, M. Baudais, was not a *persona grata* to the Hóva authorities. In order to bring about these negotiations, a successful *coup* was necessary, and for this purpose 4000 land forces, under a military general, should make a rapid advance and seize Màrovoàny from Mojangà. May 9.
Admiral Galiber asks for 4000 men.

A substitute for M. Baudais required.

About the 14th May three French war vessels were cruising opposite Mòrondàva, Bèlo, and Rànopàsy, on the west coast, evidently on the look-out for ships landing war *matériel*. On the 21st May an attack on Mojangà was repulsed with a loss of six Hóvas; Rànimiaràna, the Hóva officer commanding, was shot on this occasion. May 14.
The west coast.
May 21.

About this time somewhat contradictory accounts of the state of affairs were received in Paris. On the one hand it

1885. was rumoured that the French were compelled to keep entirely on the defensive, and that three companies of infantry and a company of marine fusiliers were besieged at Mojangà by 12,000 Hóvas, who were masters of the neighbourhood ; while, on the other hand, a letter of the 23d May reported that the Hóvas, although in large force in the vicinity (8000 to 12,000), were not within three miles of the town, whose garrison of 360 men could take good care of themselves. Another unfounded report was spread to the effect that the Hóvas had left the coast and retired into the mountains to avoid the unhealthy climate.

June 3. On the 3d June Sr. D. Maigrot, consul for Italy, arrived at the capital, where he was welcomed in the time-honoured fashion with presents, etc. After an interchange of official visits a banquet was given to the Italian representative, who in his speech said that he trusted Madagascar would find a friendly support from the great powers. He warned the Malagasy against the dangers of a too rapid foreign immigration, and the effects of rival ambitions.

June 4. M. Baudais wrote from Tamatave on the 4th June to M. de Freycinet, impressing on him that the occupation of Màrovoà (recommended by Admiral Miot) would effect no result, and that a determined advance on the capital was the only solution of the affair.

June 6. About seven A.M. on the 6th June a French gunboat ascended the river to Mèvaràno. Ramàmbazafy, 14 vtra., and Rainizàfindàndy, 13 vtra., were in command at Andrangàna, where the earthworks were manned by the Hóvas. An interchange of shots took place at long range, and one of the Hóva buildings was set on fire, but no casualties were reported. The gunboat then proceeded to Ambàtolafia, where it is said she was struck by the projectiles from the Malagasy battery. Rice was said to be 2s. per 100 lb. at Mojangà.

June 13. On the 13th June Rainilaiàrivòny entrusted M. Maigrot, who had offered his mediation, with a letter to Admiral Miot, in which he proposed (1) an armistice to prevent further bloodshed ; and (2) the reopening of negotiations, the details of which would be arranged through the kind offices of the Italian consul. The following preliminaries were proposed by the Malagasy Government for acceptance by the French plenipotentiaries, and forwarded through M. Maigrot. (1) France to recognise the title of Her Majesty as Queen of Madagascar,

Mediation
of the
Italian
consul.

Prelimi-
naries of
peace.

and her right of sovereignty over the whole island. (2) The withdrawal of her troops from points occupied by her within a stated period. (3) The renunciation by her of her special protectorate over the north and north-west coasts, with the reservation of an amnesty for all the populations. (4) Her undertaking to respect and defend the autonomy of the kingdom, as well as the succession to the throne, according to the laws and customs of the country. (5) Her promise, when practicable and if required, to furnish to the Government of the queen military instructors to discipline the army, transports or men-of-war to convey the queen's troops and protect their landing and assure their retreat on whatever points of the coast it might be necessary to despatch troops to reduce the people unsubmissive to the authority of the queen. (6) Renunciation to the right of absolute freehold possession of land, in return for long leases, of which the periods should be fixed. (7) The "Haute Garantie" of France is accepted by Madagascar. By the term "haute garantie" it is understood that, since France engages to respect the autonomy of the Hôva Government, Madagascar and her Government cannot, under any pretext whatever, make with foreign powers any convention conferring a special privilege or any relinquishment (*abandon*) of territory; that such privilege or cession shall be null and void, of right, if made to the prejudice of France; that France shall reserve to herself, in such case, the exercise of her liberty, and the support by all means, even by arms, of all her claims.

1885.
June 13.

Meantime active preparations were not discontinued at the capital, and the Malagasy Government were continually training and despatching officers and men to all parts of the island. On the 17th June an expedition of 1000 picked men was sent north under Andriantsilavo, 14 vtra., and Rainikêtabaò. Colonel Shervington, the military secretary, was especially entrusted by General Willoughby with the conduct of this operation.

June 17.
Despatch
of special
expedition.

On the same date Admiral Galiber, minister of marine, having received the communication from Admiral Miot, of the 9th May, relative to the establishment of a protectorate as the object of the expedition rather than a conquest, forwarded the despatch to M. de Freycinet,¹ with his approval, and added

¹ Admiral Galiber wrote: "On peut considérer le paragraphe suivant comme résumant son opinion [Admiral Miot's]:—'Les renforts entraînerait le pays dans des entreprises fort coûteuses, fort longues et fort pénibles, s'ils ont un autre but

1885.

his recommendation that this protectorate should not be negotiated by the colleague of Admiral Miot. On this important point both Admirals Miot and Galiber were decided; it would be essential to introduce a new plenipotentiary to the Hóvas. In short, to come to any terms with the Hóvas, M. Baudais must be got rid of.

June 21.
A new
diplomatic
agent
sought.

M. de Freycinet promised to support Admiral Galiber's views, and select a diplomatic agent who should be sent on a special mission to Madagascar with the title and powers of a minister plenipotentiary. This officer would be commissioned to assure himself of the true disposition of the Hóvas, and to enter into negotiations with the Government of Antanànarivo, by such means as he might judge compatible with the maintenance of French prestige, on the basis of the establishment of the protectorate of France over Madagascar on certain conditions. The recent proceedings of the Germans on the coast of Zanzibar, and the precautions necessary to prevent any counter-stroke prejudicing the French interests in the Comoro archipelago, were motives which justified the necessity of sending a special agent of the French Government into the Indian Ocean. M. de Freycinet pointed out to the minister the proximity of the bad season, and urged on him the importance of acquiring as speedily as possible full information as to the practicable means to be employed in carrying out the execution of this project.

June 22.
Report of
M. de
Mahy's
committee.

The report of the committee on the vote of 12,190,000 francs for the Madagascar expedition was published by the French Government on the 22d June, the debate being fixed for the 24th July. As in the former committee M. Georges Perin was the one dissentient member who refused to vote the credits asked for by the Government. He declared that the so-called historical rights of France, which the Chamber had proclaimed in March 1884, could be abandoned without dishonour, and that they were out of all proportion to the sacrifices they would cost to enforce and the benefits which

que d'imposer un protectorat qui nous permettrait de terminer honorablement l'entreprise.' Je crois de plus, comme l'amiral Miot, que ce protectorat ne pourrait être utilement discuté que par des hommes n'ayant point été mêlés au commencement des hostilités. J'ai la conviction que, pour les mener à bien, il serait essentiel de mettre les Hóvas en présence d'un plénipotentiaire nouveau. Le fait seul de l'arrivée de ce plénipotentiaire nouveau constituerait peut-être la circonstance heureuse qui permettrait de reprendre des pourparlers sérieux " Yellow Book (1884-1886) No. 26, p. 124.

they could confer. If these rights, which had been neglected by France during 250 years, were renounced it would be easy to come to terms with the Hóvas. The majority of the committee, however, were in accord with the Government, whose ministers were examined on the 10th June:—"It appears, from the communications made to the committee by the president of council and the minister of foreign affairs, that the Government adopt in its entirety the order of the day voted by the Chamber on the 27th March 1884, and that it interprets this in the sense of a 'revindication of all the rights of France over the whole of Madagascar,' but that it will be necessary to await the termination of affairs in Tonquin to assert the definite action which the resolutions of the Chamber would require. For the present the Government is taking measures that Admiral Miot may be able to hold in stable conditions the positions occupied by our troops, and is prepared to send as soon as the credits are voted 1200 fresh reinforcements of troops. The committee do not trace out any line of conduct for the Government, leaving to the executive power the entire responsibility of the operations. The committee point out that the delay of energetic action on the part of France has allowed the Hóvas to fortify themselves, to inure themselves to war, to arm and train themselves, and consequently to become more difficult to reduce. Two years ago their resistance could have been overcome with 1000 men. By this time with 2350 soldiers and eleven ships manned by 2200 sailors, it was only possible to occupy the positions already conquered."—The committee therefore recommended the vote of money required.

1885.
June 22.

Meantime Sr. Maigrot arrived outside Tamatave on the 22d June and awaited at the Hóva camp permission from Admiral Miot to bring him the prime minister's letter under a flag of truce. The French commandant sent bearers and *filanjana* to meet the Italian consul, and after a conference with that officer wrote to the Malagasy plenipotentiary a reply to the following effect:—"That in common with the prime minister it would give great pleasure to himself and M. Baudais, as French plenipotentiaries, to put an end to the actual distressing conflict. Before entering upon negotiations, however, the following principal bases for negotiation must be accepted as preliminaries—(1) The protectorate of France is accepted by the Malagasy Government over the whole island of Mada-

June 25.
The
admiral's
conditions.

1885.
June 25.

French
ministry
kept in
ignorance
of the
negotia-
tions.

gascar," etc. (see note below).¹ In short, Admiral Miot and M. Baudais would accept nothing less than an absolute protectorate over the island, as opposed to what the Malagasy termed "la Haute Garantie," although the definition of the two terms was well-nigh convertible in all but name.

On the 25th June M. Baudais also wrote to the minister of foreign affairs, but he did not even allude to the proposed mediation of Sr. Maigrot. The French commissioner indeed announced the resumption of the *pourparlers* with the Hôvas, whose desire to re-enter into negotiations he attributed to the news of the conclusion of a peace between France and China, and to the reception of intelligence that the French troops from

¹ "1.—Le Protectorat de la France est accepté par le Gouvernement Malgache sur toute l'île de Madagascar. (Le mot 'protectorat' signifie entre autres choses : que puisque la France s'engage à respecter l'autonomie du Gouvernement Malgache, Madagascar et son Gouvernement ne peuvent, sous quelque prétexte que ce soit, faire avec des Puissances Étrangères aucune convention consacrant un privilège spécial ou un abandon de territoire ; que ce privilège ou cette cession serait nulle de plein-droit si elle était faite à l'insu de la France ; que la France se réserverait dans ce cas de reprendre l'exercice de sa liberté et de soutenir, par tous les moyens, même par les armes, toutes ses prétentions.)

"2.—La France reconnaîtrait le titre de sa Majesté comme 'Reine de Madagascar' et son droit de domination sur toute l'Île.

"3.—Retirerait ses troupes des points désignés par elle en des délais convenus.

"4.—Renoncerait à son Protectorat spécial de la Côte Nord et N. O. sous la réserve d'amnistie pour toutes les populations.

"5.—Elle s'engage à respecter et à défendre l'autonomie du Royaume, ainsi que la succession au Trône d'après les lois et coutumes du pays.

"6.—Elle promet, en tant que possible, et si la demande lui en est faite, au Gouvernement de la Reine, les officiers instructeurs pour organiser son armée, les transports ou navires de guerre pour transporter les troupes de la Reine et protéger leur débarquement, et assurer leur retraite, sur les points de la côte où il serait nécessaire d'envoyer des troupes pour réduire les peuplades insoumises à l'autorité de la Reine. Le tout, aux frais du Gouvernement Malgache, et avec cette réserve absolue que les opérations seront dirigées par les officiers français.

"7.—Elle renoncerait au droit de propriété absolue des terres, contre des locations dont la durée serait fixée par les termes du Traité à intervenir dans l'exercice du Protectorat.

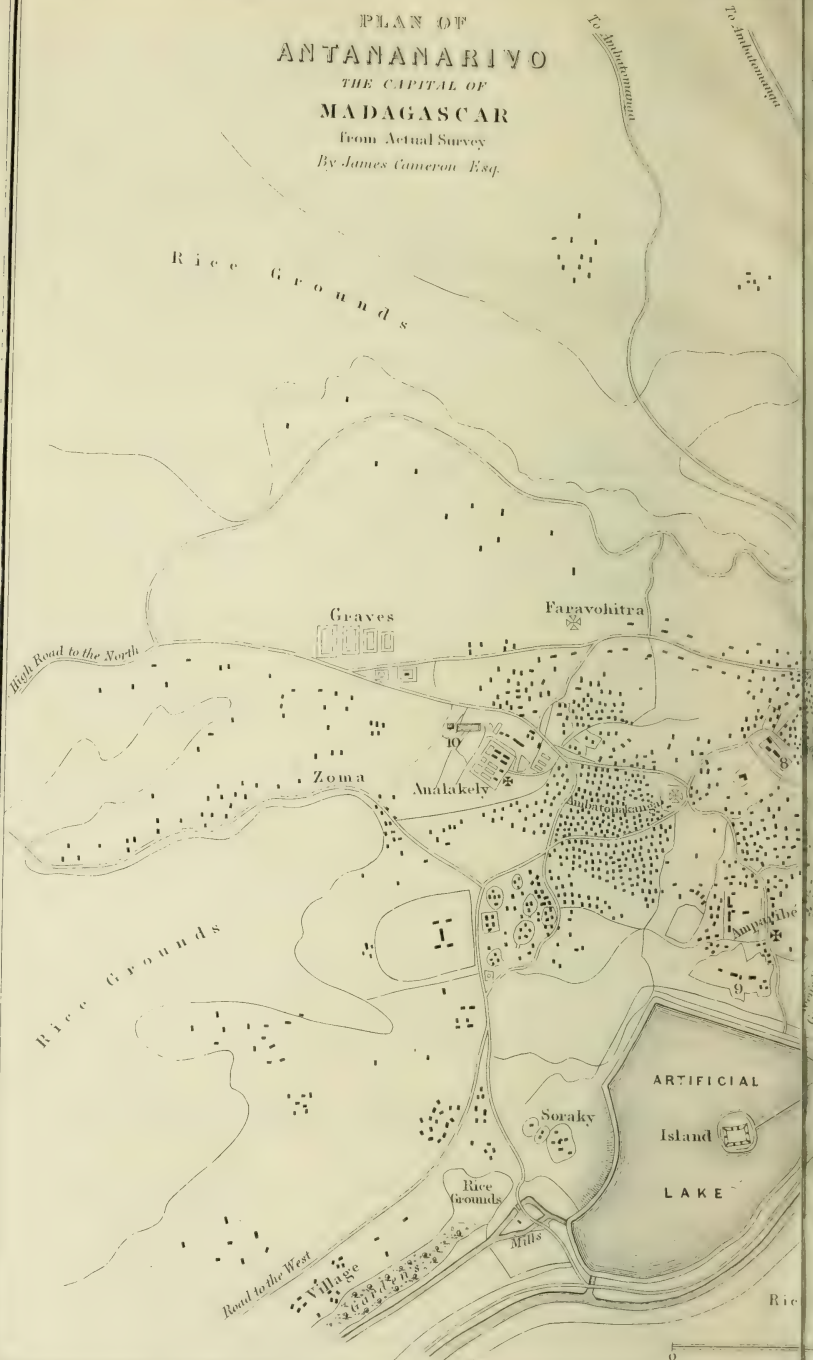
"8.—Les hostilités seront suspendues jusqu'à la fin des conférences qui régleront dans un délai déterminé les conditions dans lesquelles le Protectorat devra s'exercer.

"9.—Pendant l'armistice qui sera conclu à cet égard, les deux parties garderont les positions qu'elles occupent, sans pouvoir en rien les améliorer, soit par des travaux de défense, soit par des mesures que faciliterait l'état d'armistice.

"10.—Le montant des indemnités à payer par le Gouvernement Malgache reste subordonné aux réclamations des propriétaires ou industriels qui auraient subi des pertes par le fait de la guerre. Les demandes seront soumises et examinées par une commission mixte, et le Gouvernement Malgache s'en remet pour le reste aux sentiments généreux de la France."

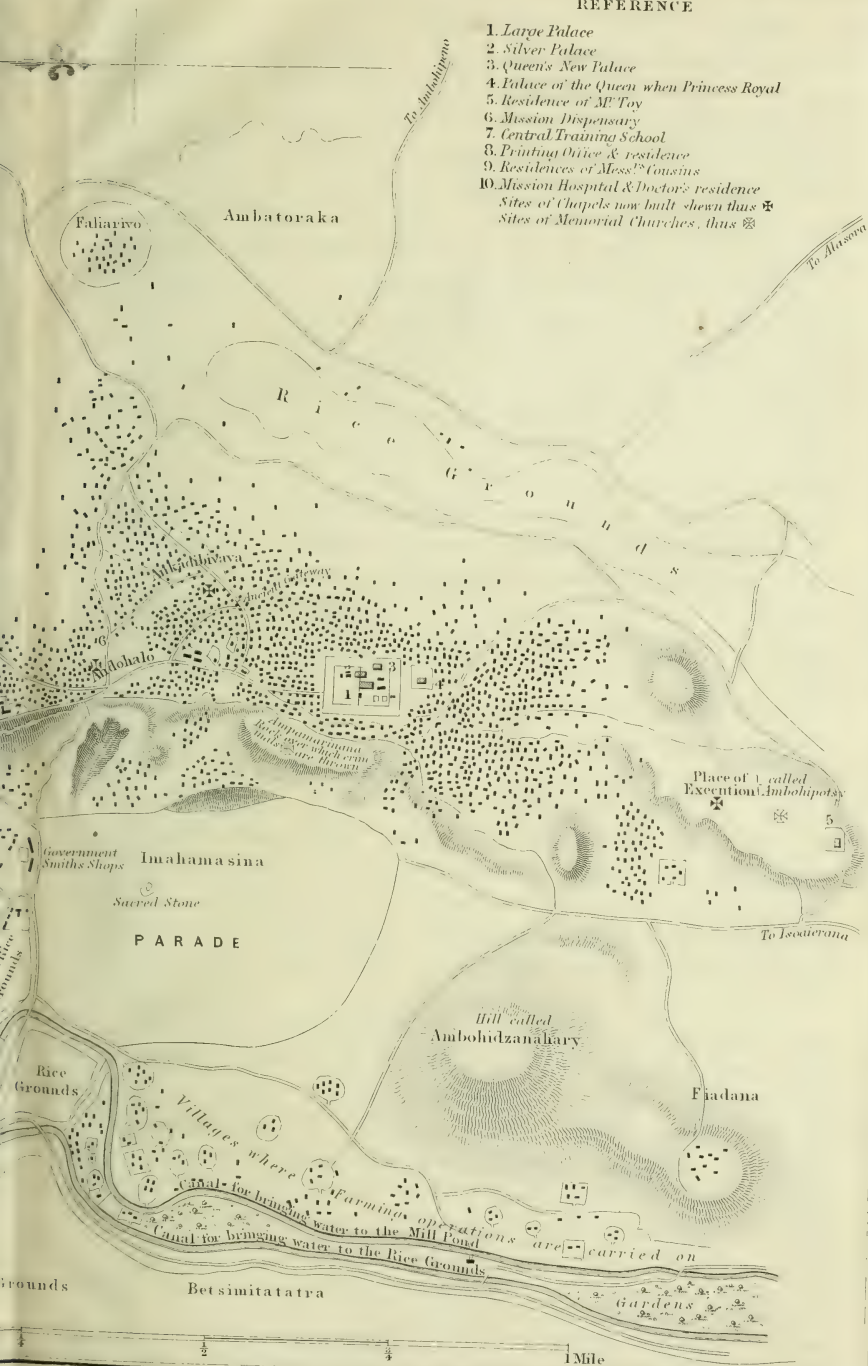
PLAN OF
ANTANANARIVO
THE CAPITAL OF
MADAGASCAR

From Actual Survey
By James Cameron Esq.



REFERENCE

1. Large Palace
 2. Silver Palace
 3. Queen's New Palace
 4. Palace of the Queen when Princess Royal
 5. Residence of M^r Toy
 6. Mission Dispensary
 7. Central Training School
 8. Printing Office & residence
 9. Residences of Mess^{rs} Cousins
 10. Mission Hospital & Doctor's residence
- Sites of Chapels now built shown thus ✕
 Sites of Memorial Churches thus ☼



China would arrive in Madagascar. In his despatch M. 1885. Baudais for the first time deprecated the idea of a conquest of Madagascar, and advocated a protectorate alone. "A protectorate on a wide basis, leaving the interior administration of the country to the Hóvas, under the control of French residents, not interfering with their usages, customs, and laws, which could be modified by degrees as a progress in civilisation was effected. The French should reserve to themselves the right to preside over all relations between the Hóva Government and foreign powers, to administer justice in civil affairs and commercial disputes between natives and foreigners of all nationalities (by French law), to superintend the custom-house duties, of which a certain portion of revenue would be handed over to the Hóvas. A corps of French troops would reside at the capital, and public works, such as the roads of communication and lines of telegraph, should be imposed on the Malagasy Government and executed under French engineers."

M. de Freycinet announced to Admiral Galiber on the 26th June that he had come to the conclusion that M. Baudais's presence was an obstacle to further negotiations with the Hóvas, and that he intended to send out a diplomatic agent of high standing to watch events in the Indian Ocean at Zanzibar and elsewhere. This agent would be instructed to place himself in communication with Admiral Miot and learn from him if there was any chance of the Hóvas renewing negotiations with a diplomatic agent other than M. Baudais. In the case of a negative he would simply continue his mission in the Indian Ocean. In the case of an affirmative, he would send home M. Baudais to report upon the situation and hold himself in readiness to enter upon negotiations when called upon by Admiral Miot.

June 26.
Recall of
M. Bau-
dais.

Meantime the unauthorised negotiations at Tamatave were carried on without the knowledge of M. de Freycinet or of Admiral Galiber. M. Maigrot wrote to the French authorities from Sòanieràna in reference to their last programme of the preliminaries, that the sole real difficulty was the term "protectorate" replacing the words "haute garantie" in the text of the articles submitted to the Hóva Government.¹ MM.

June 26.
Red Book.

¹ *M. Maigrot*. "Voilà la vraie situation. Le mot Protectorat n'ayant pas été écrit à Antanànarivo, ne peut être accepté ici."

MM. Miot et Baudais. "Nous pensions vous avoir suffisamment expliqué ce que nous entendions par ce mot 'Protectorat,' qui est adopté par toutes les Puissances civilisées en pareil cas. Il n'y a pas dans la langue diplomatique une

1885. . Miot and Baudais refused to alter the term and informed the envoys of their decision; at the same time Admiral Miot wrote to M. Maigrot that if the word "protectorate" was not accepted the time had come when it must be enforced by arms. "If," he added, "our reinforcements, which are to start on the 1st July, arrive before the signature of the peace we can no longer continue the negotiations, and it is to be feared that the French Government will only treat at Antananarivo. A despatch from our consul at Aden assures me that peace with China was signed on the 9th June, and that in a short time the troops from Formosa and Tonquin will be directed to Madagascar." On the 29th June Admiral Miot suggested in a note to M. Maigrot that the distasteful word "protectorate" should only appear in the French version of the treaty; its Malagasy equivalent only in the Malagasy text, with a final note that the French text only would be officially recognised as binding, etc.

June 30. On the 30th June, by way of enforcing the preliminaries of peace, several shells were fired into the Hóva camp from the heavy gun mounted in the fort of Tamatave.

July 3. Up to the 3d July the French gunboats continued making frequent cruises, at stated intervals, up the Bètsibòka river, firing into Màrovoà, Mèvaràno, and other points occupied by the Hóvas.

July 14.
Hóva
proposals. On the 14th July Ràinilaiàrivòny again addressed himself to the French plenipotentiaries, and forwarded fresh instructions to the Hóva envoys outside Tamatave. The preliminaries¹

autre expression pour expliquer la 'Haute Garantie' dont vous parlez; nous ne pouvons et nous ne pourrions en employer un autre."

Admiral Miot. "Si donc le mot ne peut être accepté par un traité dont les préliminaires témoignaient de tant de bienveillance, nous en déciderons par les armes et le moment est venu."

¹ "PRÉLIMINAIRES de PAIX entre Madagascar et la France, proposés par le Gouvernement Malgache aux Plénipotentiaires Français, le 14 Juillet 1885.

"1. Le Gouvernement Malgache, animé du désir de mettre fin aux hostilités, afin de conclure une Paix durable avec la France, accepte la Protectorat de la France pour être maintenu dans ces Préliminaires, mais il est toutefois convenu dès maintenant, qu'à la discussion du Traité définitif, le mot *Protectorat* sera changé par un autre à la convenance des deux Gouvernements, attendu que le mot Protectorat pourrait causer au Gouvernement Malgache des embarras intérieurs sérieux.

"2. Madagascar et son Gouvernement s'engagent à ne faire, sous quelque prétexte que ce soit, avec des Puissances Étrangères, aucune convention consacrant un privilège spécial ou un abandon de territoire; que ce privilège spécial ou cette cession de territoire serait nulle de plein-droit si elle était faite à l'insu

proposed by the Malagasy Government on this date, however, 1885. did not meet with the approval of the admiral and commissioner, who were unable to accept the modifications suggested. The word "protectorate," they said, must appear in any diplomatic instrument having for its objective the establishment of a protectorate.

A battalion of marines under Chef-de-bataillon Toureng, made up of four companies of the 2d and 4th Regiments of Marine Infantry, and consisting of 20 officers, 47 non-com-
July 24.
Reinforce-
ments from
France.

de la France ; que la France se réserverait dans ce cas de reprendre l'exercice de sa liberté et de soutenir par tous les moyens, même par les armes, toutes ses prétentions.

"3. Le Gouvernement Malgache s'engage à accorder pleine et entière liberté de Culte et de Religion, de telle façon que par des moyens indirects la liberté de conscience d'aucun ne puisse être violée.

"4. La France reconnaît le titre de Sa Majesté comme 'Reine de Madagascar' pour elle et pour ses successeurs et leur droit de domination sur toute l'île.

"5. La France s'engage à retirer ses troupes des points occupés par elle en des délais convenus.

"6. La France renonce à son Protectorat de la Côte Nord et N. O. sous la réserve d'amnistie par la Reine de Madagascar de toutes les populations.

"7. La France s'engage à respecter et à faire respecter l'autonomie du Royaume de Madagascar, ainsi que la succession au trône d'après les lois et coutumes du pays.

"8. La France promet, si la demande lui en est faite, de fournir en tant que possible, au Gouvernement de la Reine, des officiers instructeurs pour organiser son armée, les transports ou navires de guerre pour transporter les troupes de la Reine et protéger leur débarquement et assurer leur retraite sur les points de la côte où il serait nécessaire d'envoyer des troupes pour réduire les peuplades insoumises à l'autorité de la Reine. Le tout aux frais du Gouvernement Malgache et avec cette réserve absolue que les opérations seront dirigées par les officiers français.

"9. La France renonce, pour ses nationaux, au droit de propriété absolue des terres contre des locations dont la durée serait fixée par les termes du Traité à intervenir.

"10. Les hostilités seront suspendues jusqu'à la fin des conférences qui régleront dans un délai déterminé, les conditions du Traité définitif.

"11. Pendant l'armistice qui sera conclu à cet égard, les deux parties garderont les positions qu'elles occupent, sans pouvoir en rien les améliorer, soit par des travaux de défense soit par des mesures que faciliterait l'état d'armistice.

"12. La France s'oblige à tenir les Sakalàvas habitant les points occupés par elle, au respect et à l'observation complète de l'armistice.

"13. Le montant des indemnités à payer par le Gouvernement Malgache reste subordonné aux réclamations de propriétaires, traitants ou industriels qui auraient subi des pertes par le fait de la guerre. Les demandes seront soumises et examinées par une Commission mixte ; et le Gouvernement Malgache s'en remet pour le reste aux sentiments généreux de la France.

"14. Il est bien entendu, qu'après la signature du Traité définitif, ou qu'on n'arriverait pas à s'entendre sur certains points pour la conclusion définitive du dit Traité, ce qu'à Dieu ne plaise, les présents Préliminaires seront annulés."

1885.

missioned officers, and 564 rank and file, embarked at Toulon on the 1st July in the "Sydney" for Réunion, where they were transhipped to the "Ebro" for passage to Tamatave, arriving in Madagascar on the 24th July. The early despatch of two more companies was also announced; and, at this time, the company of marines at Vohimàro was said to have eighty per cent of sick. A hospital and barracks were being erected on the coast of Ste. Marie, and huts and cantonments in Diego-Suarez and Vohimàro Bays.

July 25.

The French plenipotentiaries forwarded on the 25th July¹ a new version of conditions which they proposed, on the thorough understanding that the hostilities were not to be suspended until such preliminaries should have been signed.

Debate on
the credits.
M. Georges
Perin.

M. Georges Perin, the dissentient member of the Madagascar Committee, opened the discussion in the Chamber on the vote of credit on the 25th July. In the course of a long speech he took occasion to deprecate the outrage by which the Hóva representatives were driven away from their hotel in Paris in 1882, and to rebuke M. Jules Ferry for having, when

¹ "PRÉLIMINAIRES de PAIX proposés par MM. les Plénipotentiaires Français au Gouvernement Malgache, le 25 Juillet 1885.

"Le Gouvernement de la République Française et le Gouvernement Malgache voulant au moyen d'une convention préliminaire dont les dispositions serviront de base à un Traité de Paix définitif, mettre un terme à la guerre et rétablir immédiatement les relations d'amitié qui doivent exister entre les deux nations. Ont nommé pour leurs Plénipotentiaires respectifs, savoir. . . . Lesquels après avoir échangé leurs pleins-pouvoirs trouvés en bonne et due forme, sont convenus des articles suivants :—

"Art. 1. Le Protectorat de la France est accepté par le Gouvernement Malgache sur toute l'Île de Madagascar, c'est-à-dire que la France présidera aux relations de toutes les Puissances Étrangères avec le Gouvernement Malgache qui ne pourra communiquer avec lesdites Puissances que par l'intermédiaire de la France. Un Résident français séjournera à la capitale et des Consuls ou Résidents seront placés dans chaque localité où la France jugera nécessaire d'en établir un. Une garde d'honneur dont l'effectif sera fixé par le Traité à intervenir sera placée auprès du Résident à la capitale. Les gouverneurs Malgaches administreront les provinces sans aucun contrôle de la France, sauf en ce qui concerne les douanes."

Articles 2 to 13. All identical with those proposed by the Hóva minister on the 14th July (see *ante*, p. 434 note).

"Art. 14. Dès que la présente convention aura été signée, les Plénipotentiaires des deux Gouvernements se réuniront dans un délai de vingt jours pour élaborer un Traité définitif sur les bases fixées par les articles précédents."

To Article 1 Admiral Miot alone added: "Les conditions ci-dessus étant acceptées maintenant par le Gouvernement Malgache qui estime que le mot 'protectorat' pourrait lui causer des embarras intérieurs sérieux, le Gouvernement Français consent à ce que le mot protectorat ne soit pas inscrit, dans le Traité définitif, les clauses ci-dessus suffisaient à définir les conséquences des rapports établis entre les deux Gouvernements."

president of council, raised a laugh in the House at the expense of the ambassadors for not paying their hotel bill, when M. Duclerc had in reality assured the envoys that their expenses would be defrayed by the French Government. M. Perin said, that if, to carry out a brilliant policy, France needed fields of battle on which to distinguish herself, these fields of battle were not to be found in South Asia, in Indo-China, nor in South Africa, nor at Madagascar. “Je ferais injure au patriotisme de la Chambre en disant où sont ces champs de bataille.”

1885.
July 25.

M. de Mahy followed with an impassioned harangue, in which he eulogised “la hardiesse, l’habileté, le retentissant éclat du commandant Le Timbre, les exploits et la mort de l’amiral Pierre, héros et martyr de cette cause française,” and finished his peroration with this hit at the British: “Mais ce sera un bonheur inouï pour nos rivaux, qui s’empresseront de recueillir le fruit même, l’héritage opime ensemencé de notre sang.”

M. de
Mahy.

M. Camille Pelletan said the sole question was this: “Will you or will you not attempt a conquest?” Upon which, “Do you wish to abandon Madagascar?” asked M. Peytral. “Voulez-vous la conquête ou l’abandon? Voilà la question!” said M. Clémenceau. The unanimous wish of France, added M. Pelletan, was to put an end to these enterprises of distant conquests, for which not a centime should be voted. The vote would be on the question whether the policy of distant expeditions should be affirmed, or whether the House wished to put an end to further adventures.

M. Camille
Pelletan.

The debate was resumed on the 27th July by M. de Freycinet, the minister for foreign affairs, who, noticing that the late debate had deviated considerably from the question before the House, thought it desirable to fix more precisely the lines of the discussion. There were two questions, very distinct,—one, that of the conquest of Madagascar; the other, that of the maintenance of French rights, and of the respect to be assured to all French subjects. Did the Government desire the means necessary to conquer Madagascar, credits far more considerable than those proposed would be asked for. The actual credit had for its object the maintenance of the situations already acquired. “Il faut donner à votre Gouvernement la force nécessaire pour maintenir les positions qu’il a prises en vertu de l’assentiment presque unanime de cette Assemblée.” “En présence d’une attitude vigoureuse, de la fermeté du vote que vous allez émettre et du retentissement qu’il aura au loin,

July 27.
M. de
Freycinet.

1885.
July 27.

la soumission de ce peuple ne peut manquer de se produire, quand surtout il verra que vos résolutions sont inébranlables et que rien ne pourra lasser la persévérance et l'énergie de la République française."

M. Fréd-
éric Passy.

After the eloquent appeals of M. de Mahy, the *spirituelles railleries* of M. Pelletan, and the severe deductions of M. Perin, the plainly-spoken, dispassionate utterances of M. Frédéric Passy were chilling in their effect upon the patriotic enthusiasm of the Chamber. M. Passy, after dwelling upon the inefficacy of these ruinous operations, for the carrying on of which ever-increasing credits would be needed, asked if France was willing to have some 150,000 men, and perhaps more, lost in all corners of the horizon, and if she wished habitually to have every year 200 millions inscribed on her budget for distant expeditions. Whether, on the contrary, she did not rather wish, while taking good care of her honour and interests, to put a stop to the expenses, and restrain with a manly resolution these costly operations, these dangerous expeditions, this scattering to incalculable consequences; in short, to put the force and riches of France at the service of France to concentrate her power by unity; in fact, to weld France in a united body, vigorous and strong, instead of disseminating her resources and dispersing her members to all the winds, to the great delight of her enemies and the profound grief of her true friends.

M. de
Lanessan.

M. de Lanessan having drawn up the report, simply echoed the substance of it. He was certain that, gaining by past experience, the Government would know how to conduct this work of colonial expansion in such a manner as to guard the honour of France and to give to his country a renewed grandeur.

M. Georges Perin, who followed, thought that the time had come to cease talking of their ancient rights; and that as for the solution of the minor questions, the naval forces in Malagasy waters were amply sufficient to watch them.

M. Brisson.

M. Henri Brisson, president of council, announced the intention of the Government by which it held itself bound. The Cabinet, he said, was resolved not to abandon either the rights, the honour, or the interests of France. With regard, however, to the executive portion of the question, and taking into consideration the advanced season, the Government reserved to itself its liberty of action, but, he repeated, it would abandon

nothing either of the interests, the rights, or the honour of this great country. 1885.

The debate was resumed again on the 28th July, when M. Jules Ferry addressed the House amidst great interruptions and at great length: "Messieurs, il faut parler plus haut et plus vrai ! il faut dire ouvertement, qu'en effet les races supérieures ont un droit vis-à-vis des races inférieures. . . . Je répète qu'il y a pour les races supérieures un droit parce qu'il y a un devoir pour elles. Elles ont la devoir de civiliser les races inférieures." M. Ferry quoted later on Admiral Peyron's statement in reply to the question as to what would happen if a naval war occurred—that, if a great maritime war broke out, at that time the French fleets would be precisely in those waters where their action would be efficacious. They would be in the Indian Ocean and China seas, thereby preventing the blockade of French squadrons in the Mediterranean. "What does this declaration of Admiral Peyron signify ?" asked M. Ferry. "It signifies that in the next naval war it will not be in the Mediterranean or in the Channel that the game of war will be played. Neither in the Channel nor in the Mediterranean sea will the decisive battle of the future be fought out ; and Marseilles and Toulon will be as effectually defended in the Indian Ocean and China seas as in the Mediterranean and the Channel. The conditions of naval warfare are greatly modified. At present, a man-of-war, however perfect her organisation, cannot carry more than fourteen days' coal, and a vessel without coal is a mere waif on the surface of the sea abandoned to the first comer. Hence the necessity of having on the seas, roads, and harbours, ports of defence and victualling yards. It is for this reason that we need Tunis, Saigon, and Cochin-China. On this account Madagascar is necessary, viz. we are at Diego-Suarez, and at Vohimàro, and these we shall never quit."

July 28.
M. Jules
Ferry.

The fourth day's debate on Madagascar was resumed by M. Clémenceau. "At Tunis, at Tonquin, in Annam, at the Congo, at Obock, at Madagascar, everywhere . . . and elsewhere, we have made, are making, and shall make, colonial expeditions. We have spent an immensity of money, and we shall spend more ; we have expended plenty of French blood and shall lose more. It is at last time to ask wherefore. . . . The country has not been consulted, the truth has been systematically concealed. According to M. Ferry, we have rights everywhere, we have a large number at different points of the

July 30.
M. Clémenceau.

1885.
July 30.

globe; they may sleep, it does not do to rouse them all up at once, but successively. An enterprise in Tonquin is pressed home, whilst Madagascar awaits till Tonquin is conquered, when we shall be at liberty to conquer Madagascar. At this rate we shall always have a new conquest in hand. Until M. Ferry came to the front, the national honour did not require any expedition. M. Ferry appears, when the national honour is forthwith compromised in Africa, in Asia, everywhere. Before M. Ferry's day we had no expeditions anywhere. He arrives in power, we have expeditions engaged everywhere. M. Jules Ferry's theory of colonial expansion is all very well to be discussed as a purely academic question in abstract. As for ourselves, we have confidence in the Government; it is our hope for the reorganisation of the party. But it should be known in the country if you (M. Jules Ferry), fallen! you hurled from power! you have the pretension still to monopolise the government; we wish to learn who is minister, M. Brisson or M. Ferry! Nous demandons où est le ministère, où est la politique."

M. Brisson.

The president of council, M. Henri Brisson, assured the representatives that the first preoccupation of the Cabinet was the best means of managing their new possessions. In that spirit it was that they asked the credit for Madagascar to be voted; and in the spirit of conciliation as well, of what remained of possible conciliation between republicans, whom he adjured to bring to a close the debate which not only made a spectacle of their quarrels but furnished them with fresh fuel.

Result of
the scrutiny.

The result of the scrutiny gave a vote for the Government of 277 against 120, *i.e.* a majority of 157. It will be remembered that the voting of 21st July 1884 resulted in a majority of 279, the numbers being 360 to 81. Thus the percentage of dissentients had risen from 18·36 to 30·82.

August 1.
M. Lenoël's
report.

The report of M. Emile Lenoël was read before the Senate on the 1st August, and he divided his *résumé* into three epochs, viz. 1642-1816, 1816-1868, and 1868-1885. M. Lenoël particularly affirmed the statement previously insisted on by M. de Lanessan. "Cette souveraineté de la France sur Madagascar, qui n'avait jamais été contestée par les nations européennes, a été expressément reconnue par l'Angleterre en 1817, dans les conditions qu'il ne faut pas oublier." "By a despatch," he said, "of the 18th October 1816 [see vol. i. chap.

i., Appendix A, p. 138], the English Cabinet advised us that it had ordered its representative at Mauritius to hand over to the administration of Réunion the former French settlements in Madagascar, and to retire from Tamatave and Foule Point their British garrisons. The evacuation," he added, "was effectually carried out, and after the month of March 1817 French ships visited all the important points on the coast and exercised acts of sovereignty." (Remarks on the view of the retrocession are to be found in vol i., chap. i., Appendix A.) After recounting the principal events of the second epoch, 1816-1868, M. Lenoël admitted that imprudent qualifications in the treaty of 1868 served as a pretext to the Hóvas in support of their claim that their sovereignty over the entire island was recognised by France. With regard to the late events M. Lenoël pointed out that during the delay which had ensued since the commencement of hostilities, the numbers, discipline, and armament of the Hóvas had been wonderfully increased and improved; that whereas in the previous December Admiral Miot had only asked for 2000 men, by the last requisition he demanded from 3000 to 4000 fresh troops; and in another year he would require double that number. The Government of M. Brisson, supported by the vote of the Chamber, he added, were in favour of holding the Hóvas in check, and thereby improving the *moral* of the French native allies, the Sàkalàva and the Antankàrana, until the next healthy season of 1886; leaving a definite resolution of conquest or abandonment to the future newly-elected legislature.

The discussion took place on the 4th August, when the Marquis de l'Angle Beaumanoir ridiculed the expenditure of small sums and the frittering away of handfuls of men in wretched expeditions with no serious object. He would willingly vote a large credit for a definite conquest of Malagasy territory, but otherwise he was of opinion that the Admiral with a strong squadron could well maintain the rights of France on all occasions.

Admiral Peyron, minister in the late Cabinet of M. Ferry, made an important declaration, that when minister of marine and the colonies he had asked for 12,000,000 francs because the expedition was costing at the rate of 1,000,000 per *ensem.* "Never," he said, "have we had the intention of making the conquest of Madagascar. Whilst altogether reserving our historic rights over Madagascar, we only wished to establish

1885.
August 1.
Report
read in the
Senate.

August 4.
Debate in
the Senate.

Admiral
Peyron.

1885.
August 4.

our protection over the north-west coast, over the territories which had been ceded by the treaties in 1841, by the Sàkalàva and Antankàrana. This population was oppressed by the Hóvas."

Baron de
Lareinty.

Baron de Lareinty, who followed, aired some curious theories. In setting forth the advantages of the African island he remarked that Madagascar guarded the entrance of the Persian Gulf.¹

M. Emile Lenoël deprecated the constant and regrettable half-measures taken by former Governments and the general policy of procrastination which had prevailed: "l'atermoiement dura toujours."

M. Milhet-Fontarabie declaimed against the encouragement given to the Hóvas by the English.²

M. de
Freycinet.

M. de Freycinet, minister for foreign affairs, concluded the debate by stating that the question was not between the conquest of Madagascar and the abandonment, but between the vote of credit and the abandonment; and that the precise signification of the vote was, the maintenance of the actual situation in a manner to reserve fully the ulterior decision of France.

Majority
of 174.

The scrutiny resulted in 197 *ayes* being recorded against 23 *noes*, giving a majority of 174 for the adoption of the credit.

Early in August a mountain battery and a company of

¹ "Madagascar est loin de nos possessions de l'Etrême Orient : Madagascar est une île qui garde l'entrée du golfe Persique ; Madagascar est un pays qui, seul de toutes les colonies dont je viens de parler, peut-être peuplé par les Européens. . .

"*M. Tolain*.—Je dis que Madagascar ne me paraît absolument défendre l'entrée du golfe Persique.

"*M. de Lareinty*.—En tous cas elle est à l'entrée du golfe Persique et près de l'île de la Réunion. Je crois que cette situation géographique est exceptionnelle, d'autant plus que c'est la seule colonie dans la quelle les populations Européennes peuvent se multiplier et faire des établissements durables. Cette île de la Réunion est peuplée de Français aussi patriotes que ceux de la métropole, car ils ont donné deux compagnies de volontaires pour venir au secours de nos soldats et partager leurs fatigues et leurs dangers. Vous avez à l'île Maurice 40,000 Français qui vivent sous le pavillon anglais et qui sont prêts à s'établir à Madagascar."

² "Les Hóvas, ainsi installés à Fàrafàtra, si considèrent encore comme une puissance invincible, maîtresse du pays, et ils sont encouragés dans cette idée par ceux qui les entourent et qui les aident aussi bien de leurs conseils que de leurs connaissances techniques. Ces hommes sont des Européens—on ne vous a pas dit leur nom, mais il faut le dire—ce sont des Anglais. . .

"*M. Pouyer Quartier*.—Nos amis, toujours ! nous les rencontrons partout.

"*M. Milhet-Fontarabie*.— . . . Nos amis, en effet, que nous rencontrons partout."

marine infantry arrived at Tamatave from Tonquin, but so bad was the health of the force that Admiral Miot sent an urgent request for more naval surgeons, and reiterated his requests for further reinforcements. A number of portable barracks were now being prepared in France for shipment to Madagascar.

1885.
August 6.

The following particulars regarding the various points militarily occupied in the month of August were published in the *Temps*:—The store-houses at Nòsy-Vé (not to be confounded with Nòsy-Bé, the French colony), in St. Augustine's Bay, are defended by strong stockades armed with four guns. A few miles inland from Mòrondava the Hóvas possess an intrenched camp on the direct road to the capital. The arms and ammunition introduced by neutrals are principally landed here. Mojangà is defended on the land side by a long high palisade provided with banquettes and loopholed for musketry. The garrison is distributed among five or six posts along this *enceinte*. The fort is detached away from the town on a promontory to the north-west. In addition to the French garrison of four and a half companies, there are sixty Macouas, formerly slaves from the Mozambique, who have been drilled and armed with muzzle-loading muskets. The troops are quartered in rough log huts pending the arrival of the movable barracks expected from France. The ground in the neighbourhood is broken and hilly, and mostly covered by thick brushwood. The Bètsibòka is navigable only as far as Màrovoà at flood tide, and that only for gunboats of light draught such as the "Tirailleuse." Above Màrovoà lighters drawing up to two feet can reach Mèvatanàna on the Ikòpa. The Hóva force round Mojangà, estimated at 6000 men, occupies a series of posts, eleven in number, defended by earthworks and palisades; the nearest of these is at Andrètika, a distance of six miles. Their principal post is Ambòhitròmbikèly, the camp of the commander, Ramàmbazàfy, where there are 2000 Hóvas with four breechloading guns. Màrovoà is held by 600 Hóvas with five guns. Ambòdimadiro has been converted into an intrenched camp. It consists of a large rectangular closed and palisaded work, with platforms at the north and south, angles for guns *en barbette*. The men's sleeping-quarters are placed along the interior of the faces of the work, so that during a night attack the soldiers have only to open the loopholes above their heads and fire through them. It is held by

Nòsy-Vé.

Mòron-
dàva.

Mojangà.

Estimate of
Hóva force.

Màrovoà.

Ambòdi-
madiro.

1885.
Vòhimàro.

a company of marine infantry and native auxiliaries. At Vòhimàro the fort of Ambòaniho occupies an admirable position, well covered by natural obstacles, the river Fanàmba, and marshy ground. The original Hóva fort has scarcely been altered, and consists, first, of a strong *abattis*, then of two interior palisaded *enceintes*, the inner one armed with guns, and, lastly, a *reduit* or interior retrenchment. Two companies are in garrison, and the "Capricorne" is anchored in the bay. The place is very unhealthy. The Hóvas still hold the district about Diego-Suarez, occupying a strong post at Ambòhimàrina, which is too formidable for the small French force available to attack. The "Dordogne," sailing vessel, is stationed here as a guardship, and two small redoubts, occupied by fifty men, have been erected on the promontory forming the south side of the bay. Maròantsètra and Fènoarivo are still strongly occupied by the Hóvas, who also occupy the fort of Tsiatòsika, some twelve miles inland from Mānanàra.

Diego-Suarez.

Maròant-sètra and Fènoarivo.

August 15.
End of negotiations.

His Excellency Rànilaiàrivòny, writing from Antanànarivo on the 15th August to the French plenipotentiaries, expressed the regret with which the Malagasy Government found itself unable to subscribe to the conditions of the preliminaries proposed on the 25th July by MM. Miot and Baudais without abdicating its sovereignty. It appeared to the minister that the concessions in article 2 of the Hóva proposals (14th July) constituted a sufficient guarantee for the satisfaction of France. However anxious the Malagasy Government was to make any sacrifice compatible with honour and the integrity of the kingdom, it could not abdicate its sovereign power without fighting in its defence. The Hóva minister wrote a flattering letter to M. Maigrot on the 17th thanking him for his kindly mediation, and this penultimate attempt to bring about an end to the disastrous hostilities was frustrated.

August 13, 14.
Mr. Parrett in Paris.

Early in August Mr. Parrett, who had long possessed the confidence of the prime minister, arrived in England prior to the termination of his honourable connection with the London Missionary Society, which had lasted a quarter of a century. Mr. Parrett was commissioned by Rànilaiàrivòny to represent certain arrangements to M. de Freycinet which the Hóva Government would be able to accept, and, at an early date after his arrival in Europe, Mr. Parrett, accompanied by Mr. J. Procter, the acting consul for Madagascar at London, proceeded to Paris, when an interview was obtained with the

premier and Admiral Galiber. The beginning of the end had at last been initiated. The results of this interview were favourable to the interests of peace, and no time was lost in communicating (24th August) the gratifying intelligence to Antanànarivo. Mr. Parrett's share in the important movement which led to the conclusion of permanent peace by the convincing the French Cabinet of the futility of pressing a French protectorate, should not be lost sight of in the history of the events which led up to the establishment of the Madagascar kingdom.

1885.
The beginning of the end.

The "Boursaint" again bombarded Mānanjāra, into the *rôva* of which place some thirty-three rounds of shell were fired, doing a considerable amount of damage, but no lives seem to have been lost on the occasion.

August 18.
Mānanjāra bombarded

After his conference with Mr. Parrett M. de Freycinet selected a gentleman of position, tact, and discretion, upon whom he relied for extrication from the entanglement in which the French Government was involved with the Madagascar question; and the premier telegraphed on the 19th August to M. Patrimonio, consul-général for France at Beyrout, that an appeal to his devotion was made, and he was required immediately on an important mission for some months in the Indian Ocean. He would have immediately the rank of minister plenipotentiary and retain the consulate at Beyrout. He was to come to Paris to receive his instructions. M. Patrimonio arrived in Paris by the 15th September.

August 19.
M. Patrimonio selected as envoy.

During the night of the 26th August the Hóvas set fire to the village of Jangôa, about fifteen miles from the post of Ambòdimadiro. Captain Pennequin, leaving in the fort a garrison sufficient for its defence, marched out to meet the enemy with a column of 120 men, of whom 70 were Sàkalàva. On the 27th he engaged the Hóvas in the valley of the Sàm-birāno, and completely routed them, with heavy loss. In this affair 1 non-commissioned officer was killed, and 11 of all ranks wounded, including 2 officers. A correspondent of the *Temps* states: "The Hóva position was admirably chosen on the scarp sides of the Andampy hill, flanking the route of the Sàm-birāno valley. Placing himself between the enemy and the river, intending, if necessary, to withdraw down stream, where the population was friendly and supplies had been already directed by sea, Captain Pennequin opened the fight by a few volleys, which were answered by two guns and

August 26, 27.
The fight at Andampy.

French version of the affair.

1885.
August 27.
Fight at
Andàmpy.

The Hóvas
charge the
French
square.

a well-sustained musketry fire. The extent of the Hóva position was soon ascertained; it covered about 1100 yards of front, and was occupied in methodical form by skirmishers, supports, and reserves, the guns being posted under escort on the extreme right. The Hóvas swept the ground with a hail of bullets, but the French force, being disposed behind thick cover afforded by the trunks of fallen trees in a burnt wood, suffered little. The enemy's fire was gradually subdued, and a small party, creeping up to within 900 yards of the guns, succeeded in silencing them, and they were withdrawn. The strength of the Hóva position, separated from the French column by an intervening steeply scarped ravine, made it unassailable in front and on the right flank; on the left, however, the ground was more favourable for attack, and Captain Pennequin decided to withdraw his men gradually from the front towards this flank. While this movement was being carried out, under cover of an intermittent fire, the Hóvas, under the probable impression that the French were retiring, rushed down with loud shouts from their position. Captain Pennequin formed his men into square on a mound overlooking the dip in the ground, and just within the border of a wood, which enabled him to watch the enemy while his own movements were concealed. Hidden in the bush they awaited the attack with fixed bayonets. The foremost Hóvas were confronted with a volley at from ten to twenty paces from the front face, and successive attacks on the flank faces were likewise repulsed with great slaughter. A final effort, by a general rush from all sides, met with no greater success, and the enemy then broke and fled, followed by the French fire. Immediately around the squares were found forty-eight bodies; while, of the French, one sergeant was killed and fourteen wounded. The fight had lasted three to four hours, and the French, exhausted and deficient in ammunition, were too numerically weak to continue the pursuit. Some patrols, however, were sent out, who, coming up with the fugitives, rescued the wounded whom Captain Pennequin had already despatched by the Jangòà route before commencing his flank movement, and who had been deserted by their bearers. The Hóvas appear to have eventually reached Ankaramy by a detour around Jangòà, which village the French reached the same evening. From the report of a spy it was ascertained that the enemy, some 2000 strong, had recently arrived from

Antanànarivo, half of the force being well trained and armed with Sniders, the remainder recruits with old flint guns. Although nominally under command of Andriantsilavo, formerly governor of Ambòdimadiro, the virtual command was exercised by Colonel Shervington. The methodical occupation of the Andàmpy position and the continuous well-directed fire all pointed to European command. The Sàkalava company is affirmed to have behaved admirably, to have been well in hand, and to have delivered its fire deliberately, while its scouting was highly commended. The affair seems to have been well contested, and the Hóvas on their side also claimed it as a victory."

1885.
August 27.

The troops which left Antanànarivo in June were directed to proceed to Ampàsindava Bay and punish the Sàkalava of Jangòà who had joined the French. Colonel Shervington was entrusted by General Willoughby with the conduct of the expedition which approached Jangòà from the south-east, where the country is mountainous and covered with thick forest. The Sàkalava discovered the intentions of the Hóva force when it arrived within fifty miles of their village, and immediately acquainted Captain Pennequin, at Ambòdimadiro, of the arrival of the enemy in their neighbourhood. Meantime Colonel Shervington cut a track for his troops through the forest for a distance of forty miles. This arduous undertaking took up three days and a half; and at midnight on the fourth day the Hóva brigade debouched from the woods on to the open country, within eight miles of Jangòà, and before daybreak on the 26th August the town was surrounded, sacked, and burnt.¹ The French, hearing of this successful attack, as before related, came out to meet the Hóvas, who advanced from Jangòà, pushing northward until they took up a position at Bèfatina, near Andàmpy. According to the Hóva account, the French advanced with 250 regulars and three machine guns. The Hóvas had two Hotchkiss guns, with which they opened fire on the advancing French troops at 650 yards range. The Hóvas reported that a French sergeant was killed among the first. The French maintained a heavy fire, but ill directed. Meantime a horde of undisciplined

August 26.
Hóva
account.
Andàmpy,
or Bèfatina.

¹ M. de Mahy writes: "Les Hóvas, ont commis des atrocités contre les habitants de ces villages: des femmes, des enfants ont été attachés à des poteaux et brûlés vifs." Colonel Shervington can never have countenanced such deeds, which are in direct contradiction to the admitted merciful and generous behaviour which has characterised the Hóva troops throughout the war. (See Appendix K.)

1885.
August 27.
Béfatina.

Sàkalàva threatened the Hóva right flank and nearly effected a surprise; but, quickly rallying, the disciplined Hóvas found no difficulty in putting the Sàkalàva to flight. The French now ceased their advance and, hesitating apparently, formed square, upon which the Hóvas took courage and 400 of them charged down on the square with loud shouts. The Hóvas state that the square was broken, and that the men fled; but they admit that the French officer retired fighting his guns, so that order must have been preserved during the retirement. The Hóvas claimed to have pursued the enemy for several miles down the valley, and declared that 100 out of the 250 French troops were missing, whilst the bay next morning was covered with boats picking up the refugees. The Hóva loss was eight killed and fourteen wounded.

August 27.
Reticence
of M.
Baudais.
Yellow
Book No.
36.

M. Baudais up to this date had given no intimation of the unsuccessful negotiations which he and Admiral Miot had carried on through the mediation of the Italian consul. He now wrote a report on the 27th August, beginning at the first offer made by Sr. Maigrot in the previous May before proceeding to Antanànarìvo, and concluding with the final refusal of the prime minister to accept the conditions proposed, in the letter which reached Tamatave on the 25th August. He added: "To-day M. Maigrot, who never doubted of success, has become convinced, like most others, that so long as nothing is attempted against the Hóvas, so long as we have not obtained an advantage over them, there is no good in treating with them. All hope must be abandoned of obtaining a pacific solution, a convention, or any treaty whatever, until a serious check has been inflicted on them." This despatch did not reach Paris until 25th September; and M. Baudais appears to have had serious misgivings (which were not unfounded) as to how the news of his unauthorised negotiations would be received by M. de Freycinet and his colleagues, for he at once started for France, and travelled in the same steamer which took his letter. Henceforth the prospects of peace opened rapidly.

Hasty
departure
of M. Bau-
dais.

August
28-30.
Desultory
firing at
Màrovoà.

Towards the end of August the two gunboats "Tirailleuse" and "Redoute" made their way up the Bètсібòka river, passing by night an intrenched camp of the Hóvas, and arrived within two miles of Màrovoà. The Hóvas opened fire upon the vessels with rifled guns, to which the boats replied, at first with their 10-cm. guns, and afterwards with their Hotchkiss shell guns, and succeeded in silencing the enemy's fire, and

dispersing the defenders with, according to the report of spies, 1885. considerable loss.

At the beginning of September the French troops of occupation in Madagascar were distributed somewhat as follows: At Mojangà, 2 companies marine infantry, 1 company marine fusiliers, 1 company volunteers from Réunion, $\frac{1}{2}$ disciplinary company. At Ambòdimadiro, 1 company marine infantry. At Diego-Suarez, $\frac{1}{2}$ company marine infantry. At Vòhimàro and Ambòaniho, 1 company marine infantry, 1 company volunteers of Réunion. At Ste. Marie, 50 men of the disciplinary company. At Tamatave, 6 companies marine infantry, 2 companies volunteers of Réunion, and 2 batteries marine artillery. The naval division under Admiral Miot at this period consisted of the following vessels: *Cruisers*—"Naiäde," "Nielly," "Vaudreuil," "Limier," "Bourdonnais," "Bisson," "Romanche," and "Forfait." *Gunboats*—"Scorpion," "Capricorne," "Chacal," "Pique," "Tirailleuse," and "Redoute." *Transports*—"Corrèze," "Dordogne," and "Creuse" (see Major Cooke's *précis*).

September.
Distribu-
tion of
French
forces.

Detail of
French
squadron.

Fort Dauphin was bombarded on 3d and 4th September for some hours on each day. Sept. 3, 4.

The long-prepared attack in force upon the Hóva position at Manjakandrianombàna was put into execution on the 10th September, when Admiral Miot in person led a column towards the fort of Sàhamàfy, opposite the extreme right of the Malagasy lines, and advanced to within 650 yards of the defences. The strength of the enemy was estimated by the admiral at 7000 or 8000 men, whereas it is now known that at least three times that number were effective in the Hóva camp at that date.

Sept. 10.
Attack on
the Hóva
position.

The following detailed account of the action, the only serious engagement during the war, is given by the correspondent of *Le Temps*: "The plain of Tamatave is in the shape of a trapezium, of which one face is formed by the sea and the other by various river-lines which completely enclose it, viz. the Ivòndrona, which flows into the sea, the Vòrina, an affluent of the Ivòndrona, the Sangàlatra, an affluent of the Vòrina, the Tetezampàsy, which flows into the Rànomaity, which in its turn joins the Ivolòina, flowing into the sea. This trapezium is about ten miles long from north to south and four and a half miles wide from east to west. The plain is extremely broken, covered in many places with trees (mangoes, lemons, etc.) and brushwood, and intersected by large rivulets. It is bounded by sandhills, and obstructed by

Battle of
Sàhamàfy.

1885.
Sept. 10.
Sàhamàfy.

numerous marshes, some of which are of considerable depth. From a military point of view the ground is exceedingly difficult. The Hóvas have taken up a fortified position along the line of rivers just enumerated. The intrenched camp of Fàrafàtra, or Manjàkandrianombàna, is situated on a hill, four and one-third miles in a straight line inland from Tamatave, and is strongly palisaded, and provided with batteries. To the right and left, on both sides of the covering river-line, they have established other posts, on well-chosen sites, so as to completely close the plain. Sàhamàfy is a point on the Sangàlatra, four miles to the left of Fàrafàtra. The Hóvas have about 4000 men along this fortified line, and in rear of it, about a large village, are their main body and their artillery. The position and strength of their posts farther inland are not known."

Version of
French cor-
respondent

After commenting on the facility with which, at the commencement of the operations in 1883, the Hóvas, then badly armed and undisciplined, might have been driven from their works, had Admiral Galiber possessed a force sufficient for the purpose, and the enormously increased difficulty of the task now, owing to the Hóva forces having been largely increased and their troops drilled and led by English and American officers, and provided with rifles, ordnance, and ammunition, the correspondent proceeds to criticise severely the decision arrived at by Admiral Miot to attack the position, and points out the great difficulty of holding it, supposing the attack to have succeeded, owing to its unhealthy position and its distance from the sea. Unfortunately, he says, the counsels of prudence were overridden by the impatience of the French leaders, while the projected attack was far too openly discussed beforehand, so that the Hóvas had full information as to the time and direction of the assault, by means of their spies. He then continues: "At 4.45 A.M., on the 10th September, a column, preceded by fifteen gendarmes and consisting of 1300 men, marched in a south-westerly direction towards Sàhamàfy, while a second column of 200 men made a diversion towards the north." (It appears from another account that the former column was composed of marine infantry, Réunion volunteers, marine fusiliers, marine artillery, and a few Europeans directing the Malagasy bearers. The second column consisted of the landing companies of the "Naiade" and "Nielly," under Captain Lecuve. Admiral Miot's chief of the staff was Lieut.-Colonel Romouil, of the marine infantry, who had recently

arrived from France with the object of taking over the chief command of the whole infantry force. The "Naiäde," "Nielly," "Bisson," and "Corrèze" were in the roadstead, and their guns, with the 5½-inch gun in the fort, covered the advance.) The following was the plan of attack: to seize Sàhamàfy, where little resistance was anticipated, to secure the bridge of boats near this village, find a ford known to exist, cross the Sangàlatra, carry the village on the Hóva right rear, and from that point take the camp in reverse. The troops were in excellent spirits. The principal column advanced slowly, the paths being narrow and the marshes difficult. It was accompanied by a battery of artillery, and followed by a small pontoon-train and a long string of mules with food and ammunition. At 9 A.M. the first touch with the enemy was made. The scouts pressed on, but in front and on the right the enemy opened a steady, well-directed infantry fire, supported by several rounds from their artillery. It became necessary to halt and close up. At the end of the path, at about 750 yards' distance, appeared the palisades and huts of Sàhamàfy; on the right, on the other side of the Sangàlatra, at 550 yards, was a redoubt consisting of a palisaded earthwork, the existence of which had not been previously ascertained. About 9.30 A.M. the scouts dismounted and came into action, to give time for the advanced guard to come up. The ground towards Sàhamàfy was covered with thick brushwood, but had been cleared near the redoubt. The existence of a stream in front of the latter was inferred from the high grass gleaming in the sun; the ford was probably there. The infantry came up and opened a heavy fire on the work, which replied vigorously, and the French soon had nineteen men placed *hors de combat*. The battery of artillery was now advanced, and came into action at 550 yards from the work, the enemy replying with a volley to each round. The artillery sustained severe losses; a sergeant-major was killed, a captain and a lieutenant were wounded, the former mortally. The gunners behaved with admirable bravery, and continued to work their guns under a galling fire. Admiral Miot at length determined to fall back, and ordered a retreat, which was carried out in good order, and but slightly harassed by the enemy. The second column had successfully accomplished its task, having met with but few of the enemy, and those it drove across the Rànomainty without any casualties. The French loss was two men killed and

1885.
Sept. 10.
Sàhamàfy.

1885.
French
losses.

thirty-two wounded, including five officers; three of the wounded, including the captain of artillery before mentioned, subsequently died of their wounds. The attack resulted unquestionably in a complete repulse of the French. Admiral Miot was said to have shown great personal bravery; but his dispositions for the attack were severely criticised, especially the bringing a battery into action at so short a range from the enemy's work. He issued a general order, on the 13th September, in which he congratulated the troops on their admirable conduct, and specially mentioned several officers and men"¹ (War Office *précis*).

Sept. 12,
13.
The Hóvas
attack
Tamatave.

Māhanoro was again bombarded on the 10th September, and a few huts destroyed. On the nights of the 12th and 13th September the Hóvas, emboldened by their success on the 10th, appeared round the outposts of Tamatave and exchanged shots with the French troops, but were dispersed by a few rounds from the Hotchkiss guns.²

¹ M. de Mahy gave his version of the action, subsequently, as follows:—"Quant à l'action de M. l'amiral Miot sur Farafatra voici ce qui s'est passé. L'amiral, tout en se tenant dans une situation constamment défensive, voyait les Hóvas se fortifier autour de lui, le resserrer chaque jour, construire des redoutes, recevoir des canons et des armes perfectionnées. Dans ces conditions, il a voulu du moins savoir exactement quelle était la force de l'ennemi qu'il avait en face de lui; il a tenté une reconnaissance sur le point qui lui était désigné comme le plus fort, le plus important et le plus dangereux pour sa situation à Tamatave. Il est parti avec 1200 hommes environ, il s'est approché jusqu'à 300 mètres des ouvrages hóvas, derrière un gué. La tête de sa colonne était à 300 mètres des travaux, et le reste à 5 ou 600. Les Hóvas ont ouvert sur lui un feu nourri, de toutes leurs pièces, de toute leur artillerie et de toute leur mousqueterie. L'action a duré toute une demi-journée. D'après les rapports officiels, il paraîtrait que nous avons eu affaire là à plus de 10,000 Hóvas, qui, abrités derrière leurs retranchements, tiraient à coup sûr. Eh bien, quel mal nous ont-ils fait pendant cette demi-journée? Sur 1200 hommes, placés à 300 mètres, en face de 10,000 ennemis tirant à coup sûr, abrités par leurs retranchements, il n'aurait pas dû en rester un seul! Or, qu'est-il arrivé? Nous avons eu 30 hommes blessés dont un seul mortellement. Et c'est cette troupe Hóva qu'on présente comme formidable, contre laquelle on est venu dire que, si le traité n'était pas voté, il faudrait une armée de 25,000 hommes et 100 millions. Les déclarations officielles des agents du Gouvernement affirment que l'armée hóva est sans valeur. L'action militaire exécutée par l'amiral Miot le démontre" (Discours prononcé à la Séance de la Chambre des Députés, 27 Février 1886).

² "After the battle," states General Willoughby, "I fell short of ammunition, and I only had 100 rounds per man. This induced me at once to attack Tamatave for a strategical reason, because I was afraid that Admiral Miot, finding that my fire was slackening, would make another attack and compel me to retire from the camp. I therefore attacked Tamatave really in hopes of making him believe that I had abundance of ammunition, on the ground that no man in his senses, unless he had ample ammunition, would attack a place which otherwise he could not hold a single day" (Discussion, Royal United Service Institution).

M. de Freycinet having personally drawn up a scheme of the basis on the broad lines of which he proposed to come to an arrangement with the Malagasy Government, confided the carrying out of his delicate mission to M. Patrimonio on the 22d September. "According to information derived from the minister of marine it is not improbable that, during the progress of your mission to Zanzibar, Admiral Miot may call for your co-operation, in case the dispositions shown by the Hóvas permit the successful renewal of negotiations with them. Whatever small probability there may be of this coming to pass, I must meantime prepare for it and authorise you under such circumstances to respond to the invitation of Admiral Miot. The present letter confers on you provisional powers to treat meanwhile until, on information which you will transmit me by telegraph or by the quickest route, I can invest you with regular powers. With this view I enclose a scheme of arrangement, the acceptance of which you are required to negotiate, and from which you must not deviate without my consent."

1885.
Sept. 22.
M. de
Freycinet's
scheme.

"Le Gouvernement de la République française et celui de Sa Majesté la Reine de Madagascar, voulant empêcher à jamais le renouvellement des difficultés qui se sont produites récemment, et, désireux de resserrer leurs anciennes relations d'amitié, ont résolu de conclure une Convention à cet effet, et nommé pour Plénipotentiaires, savoir : . . . Lesquels sont convenus des articles qui suivent :—

Projet d'arrangement.

"1. Sa Majesté la Reine de Madagascar accepte le protectorat de la France tel qu'il est défini dans les articles suivant.

"2. Le Gouvernement de la République représentera Madagascar dans toutes ses relations extérieures. Les Malgaches à l'étranger seront placés sous la protection de la France.

"3. Un Résident, représentant le Gouvernement de la République, présidera aux relations extérieures de Madagascar sans s'immiscer dans l'administration intérieure des États de Sa Majesté la Reine.

"4. Il résidera à Tananarive avec une escorte militaire. Le Résident aura droit d'audience privée et personnelle auprès de Sa Majesté la Reine.

"5. Les autorités dépendant de la Reine n'interviendront pas dans les contestations entre Français, ou entre Français et étrangers. Les litiges entre Français et Malgaches seront jugés par le Résident assisté d'un juge malgache.

"6. Les Français seront régis par la loi française pour la répression de tous les crimes et délits commis par eux à Madagascar.

"7. Les citoyens Français pourront résider, circuler et faire le commerce librement dans toute l'étendue des États de la Reine. Ils auront la faculté de louer pour une durée indéterminée, par bail emphytéotique renouvelable au seul gré des parties, les terres, maisons, magasins, et toute propriété immobilière. Ils pourront choisir librement et prendre à leur service, à quelque titre que ce soit, tout Malgache libre de tout

1885.
Sept. 22.
Yellow
Book No.
35.

engagement antérieur. Les baux et contrats d'engagement de travailleurs seront passés, par acte authentique, devant le Résident Français et les magistrats du pays, et leur stricte exécution garantie par le Gouvernement. Dans le cas où un Français, devenu locataire d'une propriété immobilière, viendrait à mourir, ses héritiers entreraient en jouissance du bail conclu par lui, pour le temps qui resterait à courir, avec faculté de renouvellement. Les Français ne seront soumis qu'aux taxes foncières acquittées par les Malgaches. Nul ne pourra pénétrer dans les propriétés, établissements et maisons occupés par les Français, ou par les personnes au service des Français que sur leur consentement et avec l'agrément du Résident.

"8. Sa Majesté la Reine de Madagascar confirme expressément les garanties stipulées par le Traité du 7 août 1868, en faveur de la liberté de conscience et de la tolérance religieuse.

"9. Le Gouvernement de la Reine consent à ce que le Gouvernement de la République prélève, sur les produits des douanes de Tamatave et de Mojangà, une somme d'un million de francs applicable au règlement des réclamations françaises, liquides antérieurement au conflit survenu entre les deux États. Le Gouvernement de la Reine prendra, en outre, à sa charge, la réparation des dommages causés aux particuliers, sans distinction de nationalité, par ledit conflit. Le règlement des réclamations de cette dernière catégorie sera dévolu à une Commission formée, en nombre égal, de Représentants des deux Gouvernements. Des fonds nécessaires pour y faire face seront également prélevés par les soins du Gouvernement de la République sur les produits des douanes de Tamatave et Mojangà.

"10. Mojangà ou Tamatave (ou Tamatave seul) seront détenues par les Français à titre de gage jusqu'à entier accomplissement des obligations stipulées par l'article précédent.

"11. Aucune réclamation ne sera admise au sujet des mesures qui ont dû être prises jusqu'à ce jour par les autorités militaires Français.

"12. Le Gouvernement de la République s'engage à prêter assistance à la Reine de Madagascar pour la défense de ses États.

"13. Sa Majesté la Reine de Madagascar continuera comme par le passé à présider à l'Administration intérieure de ses États."

"14. En considération des engagements pris par Sa Majesté la Reine, le Gouvernement de la République consent à se désister de toute répétition à titre d'indemnité de guerre.

"15. Le Gouvernement de la République, afin de seconder la marche du Gouvernement et du peuple Hôva dans la voie de la civilisation et du progrès, s'engage à mettre à la disposition de la Reine les instructeurs militaires, ingénieurs, professeurs et chefs d'ateliers qui lui seront demandés.

"16. Le Gouvernement de la République conservera son autorité sur les territoires, où elle est actuellement établie, en vertu des Traités conclus par la France en 1841 et 1842, et qui s'étendent de la baie de Môrontsanga à l'ouest, jusques et y compris Vòhimàro à l'Est. Il déterminera le régime sous lequel auront lieu les rapports entre le Gouvernement Hôva et la population de ces territoires. Le produit des douanes de Vòhimàro appartiendra à Sa Majesté la Reine et pourra avec l'agrément du Gouvernement de la République, être perçu par les agents Hòvas.

"17. Le Président de la République et Sa Majesté la Reine de Madagascar accordent une amnistie générale, pleine et entière, avec levée

de tous les séquestres, mis sur leurs biens, à ceux de leurs sujets respectifs qui, jusqu'à la conclusion du Traité et auparavant, se sont compromis pour le service de l'autre partie contractante. 1885.
Sept. 22.

"18. Les Traités et Conventions existant actuellement entre le Gouvernement de la République et Sa Majesté la Reine de Madagascar sont expressément confirmés dans celles de leurs dispositions qui ne sont point contraires aux présentes stipulations.

"19. Le présent Traité ayant été rédigé en Français et en Malgache et les deux versions ayant également le même sens, le texte Français sera officiel et fera foi, sous tous les rapports aussi bien que le texte Malgache.

"20. Le present Traité sera ratifié."

The remaining portion of the battalion of marine fusiliers at Tamatave was now ordered home. It had suffered severely during its two and a half years' service in Tonquin and Madagascar, and was reduced to a skeleton. Leaving Tamatave in the "Orne" on 24th September, it is reported to have disembarked at Toulon only 113 strong out of its original effective of 600. The "Orne" had brought out a draft for the disciplinary company (War Office *précis*). Sept. 24.
Departure of marine battalion.

M. Baudais's despatch of the 27th August, informing the French Government of the unsuccessful attempt to come to terms with the Hóvas effected through the mediation of M. Maigrot, only reached the hands of M. de Freycinet on the 25th September, the day after he had received the first intimation of the Italian intervention from M. Ressmann, the Italian minister in Paris. Sept. 25.
Report of unsuccessful negotiations.

M. Waddington, ambassador in London, wrote from Albert Gate the 28th September to M. de Freycinet that Lord Salisbury had informed him that the Italian *chargé d'affaires* had offered the mediation of the Italian Government to put an end to the hostilities in Madagascar, that the English Government was most desirous to see the re-establishment of peace, but that it did not see its way to offering to intervene unless requested to do so. In reply M. de Freycinet telegraphed that five or six days previously he had been informed of the intervention exercised, *à titre officieux*, by M. Maigrot in Madagascar, a day before he had received any information on the subject from M. Baudais. The French minister added that he had thanked M. Ressmann for the amicable intentions, but he reserved his reply until he had fully studied the situation, with which he was as yet imperfectly acquainted. So far it did not fall in with his views to seek any mediation. Sept. 28.
Italian offers rejected.
Sept. 29.

1885.
Sept. 30.
Health of
troops.

The general health of the troops of the expedition was reported satisfactory at the end of September by Admiral Miot, but private advices stated nevertheless that there was a good deal of fever.

Oct. 2.
Censure of
Admiral
Miot.

On the 2d October Admiral Galiber sent a telegram to Admiral Miot to express the regret of the French Government at not having been kept *au courant* of the late negotiations or rather of the *pourparlers*, and at the insertion of certain conditions in the programme forwarded by the plenipotentiaries to the prime minister; and the admiral was further instructed to place himself in immediate communication with M. Patrimonio at Aden.

Oct. 3.
Return of
M. Baudais
to France.

By this time M. Patrimonio was on his way to the Mozambique, and on the 3d October M. de Freycinet telegraphed to the French vice-consul at Aden the following communication for the new plenipotentiary:—"M. Baudais has arrived in France. I have reason to believe that the *pourparlers* with the Hóvas fell through on account of the wide (extensive) interpretation which he reserved on the word 'protectorate,' which was implied by him to signify a direct intervention in the interior administration of the country; besides certain dispositions of the project formulated unknown to us deviated from our real views. It is of importance that the ideas of Admiral Miot should be set right at all events; will you therefore, if nothing unforeseen occurs, pass by Madagascar on your way to Zanzibar, and let the admiral know the views which I expressed in Paris, and you can concert together further proceedings? The Hóvas seem to have feared above everything some *arrière-pensées* on our part. The minister of marine has arranged for a man-of-war to await you at Seychelles, to take you either to Tamatave or Zanzibar." On the same date the blockade of Vatomandry was proclaimed by Admiral Miot.

Oct. 10.

A gunboat went up the river towards Màrovoà, and threw some shells into a position near Andraingana.

Oct. 15.

On the 15th October the Comte de Segnier, vice-consul at Corunna, was appointed French consul and commissioner at Madagascar *vice* M. Baudais recalled.

Dismissal
of M. Bau-
dais.

Immediately on the arrival of M. Baudais in France he was confronted with a demand for his reasons in writing for keeping back the course of the last negotiations from the knowledge of the French Government. His personal ex-

planations, which were furnished by the 10th October, do not seem to have been satisfactory; for on the 15th October M. de Freycinet wrote and notified officially to the late envoy that he had been put on half-pay.¹ 1885.

On the 16th October M. Patrimonio arrived at Tamatave, and remained a few days on board the "Naiade" flagship, consulting with Admiral Miot, who received the special commissioner with extreme cordiality. M. Patrimonio reported² to his chief on the 24th October, that "Admiral Miot remained firmly convinced that the Malagasy Government would never accept, of its free will, the protectorate of France, even limited to the exterior relations of Madagascar. This conviction induced M. Miot, when drawing up the last series of propositions for peace, to erase the expression 'protectorate.' Moreover, in these same propositions, no question at all is made of the part of the island over which France has rights, and intends to exercise in a certain measure her authority. He did not stipulate the taking possession, by definite right, of the anchorages of the north-east and north-west coasts, comprised within the territories stretching from the bay of Anòrontsànga to Vòhimàro. The Hóva Government has just published another Red Book, in which they recorded the conditions which MM. Miot and Baudais had proposed. As the Malagasy could not suppose that these conditions were but the views of individuals which required the sanction of the Republic, this added another difficulty to the situation." M. Patrimonio was convinced that the reopening at that time of negotiations would result in a miscarriage, which would impede the liberty of action of the Republic, and therefore requested Admiral Miot not to communicate with the Hóvas directly or indirectly. His (M. Patrimonio's) mission was to Zanzibar, and it was to be under-

Oct. 16.
M. Patri-
monio's
conference
with Ad-
miral Miot.

¹ "MONSIEUR—J'ai l'honneur de vous informer qu'à la suite des explications que vous avez été appelé à fournir le 10 courant en présence de M. le Président du Conseil, de M. le Ministre de la Marine et des Colonies et de moi-même, le Gouvernement a décidé que vous seriez mis en disponibilité. Il résulte, en effet, de ces explications et des pièces par vous adressées au département des Affaires étrangères :—

"1. Que le 25 juin vous avez entamé des négociations avec les Hóvas sans en donner avis au Gouvernement Français, bien que ce même jour vous m'ayez adressé un rapport sur votre mission.

"2. Que du 25 juin au 27 août, date de votre dernier rapport, vous avez continué ces négociations et échangé diverses lettres avec le Gouvernement Hóva, toujours sans aviser le Gouvernement Français.

"C. DE FREYCINET."

² No. 43 Despatch. Yellow Book (1884-1886).

1885. stood that he was only come to Tamatave to confer with the admiral on general French interests in the Mozambique Channel. Should Admiral Miot require him, he was to send a despatch-boat to Zanzibar for him, but that eventuality did not appear likely to occur soon. M. Patrimonio left Tamatave on the 25th October in the "Nielly" for Zanzibar.

Oct. 17. The French at Tamatave fired shell at long range into the Hóva lines at Manjàkandrianombàna. This bombardment was repeated on the 22d.

Oct. 22. M. de Mahy has given a graphic description¹ of a tour of
 Oct. 25. inspection which he made along the Malagasy coast during
 M. de October and November, in company with M. Dureau de
 Mahy's Vaulcomte and M. Pierre Parent. These visitors duly noted
 tour. the Hóvas, tolerated within five or six kilomètres of Tamatave, working as tranquilly as possible, under the direction of the "colonel-diplomate anglais," Digby Willoughby, at the construction of redoubts and siege works, which daily encroached closer around the French outposts, and which the artillery of the men-of-war, kept inactive in the bay, should destroy. They witnessed the Hóvas similarly tolerated in the environs of

Vòhimàro. Mojangà to such an extent that they were only fired at when they approached near enough to cut off the sentries, or to attach faggots for firing the palisades of the town and fort. On the other hand, at Vòhimàro the French deputies were loud in their praise of Commandant Escande's exploits at Andrapàrany and Ambòaniho. This officer had been succeeded by Commandants Pondra and Prouteau, three patriots of the same cast. Under their administration a French settlement had arisen from the dust, like the towns in Australia forty or fifty years ago. A stream of French immigration had set in, and numerous families were established, while public order was assured by a garrison of 200 infantry of marine, 60 volunteers from Réunion, and 200 Sàkalàva warriors, dispersed in the town and in the posts at Ampàsिमàsina and Ambòaniho. At Ampàsindàva Captain Pennequin had laid out plantations, a fort, buildings, a *champ de mars*, roads, etc. What his officers got out of the natives was surprising. Two hours' drill and four hours' hard work in the morning, and again four hours of work and two hours' drill in the afternoon. With this discipline health and spirits were maintained, and the tranquillity

Ampàsindàva.

¹ *Madagascar*, par M. Raoul Postel, avec un préface par M. de Mahy, député de l'île de la Réunion, ancien ministre, p. xii.

of the country for fifteen leagues round about. Commerce was re-established, and traffic with Nòsy-Bé flourished. MM. de Mahy and Parent witnessed the exercising of the Sàkalàva auxiliaries one morning at Ambòdimadiro, when the commands were given in French by Lieutenant Valette, repeated in French by the Sàkalàva sergeants, and the movements executed by the native soldiers with Germanic precision and French *prestesse*. At Ampàsिमèna the deputies saw the *soi-disant* Queen Bènào, who told them that she would furnish France with more soldiers if required. At Diego-Suarez M. de Mahy and his colleagues were enchanted with the preparations made by Commandant Caillet, with but slender resources, for the future naval establishment; and at Andàkabè (?) on the west coast, they visited a settlement of five Frenchmen who had been driven from Mòrondàva at the commencement of hostilities, and passed over the bodies of their Hóva assailants. Followed by a Sàkalàva tribe, numbering 100 persons, these hardy settlers had constructed a timber-yard and boat-building establishment, which was working well. More to the south, at Tolia, the tricolour was flying over the trading factories and two French barques loading with native produce. Farther, beyond St. Augustine's Bay, at Nòsy-Vé, the French flag was also hoisted. All along the west coast M. de Mahy states that he came in contact with the populations, and found them everywhere intelligent, hospitable, and sympathetic. The deputies, moreover, assisted at several kabàries, and envied the perfect order, the absolute silence, the profound attention, courtesy, and dignity which reigned in these assemblies of armed men; not the least interruption, not the slightest mark of distraction, each orator speaking in turn, always appositely, and often with spirit. M. de Mahy was especially struck with the speech and determination of an octogenarian chief Bèlàmbò, and a younger one Sitàmpy, who were interviewed at St. Augustine. Whilst at Mojangà the deputies were taken by Captain Wytz, the commandant of the garrison, for a trip up the river as far as Màrovoà, and some of the details of this journey are given at length below.¹ In the town itself M. de Mahy admired the

1885.
October 30.

Diego-Suarez.

Andàkabè.

Tolia.

Nov. 1.
Mojangà.

¹ "From Mojangà the left bank of the great river formed by the Ikòpa and the Bètsibòka was altogether freed from Hóvas during our visit, but they occupied the right bank, where they had for good reasons assembled their largest forces, for the estuary of Mojangà commands the route to the capital. There numerous batteries, armed with powerful artillery, with Krupp guns served by picked men, directed by skilled foreign officers in the pay of the queen, cover the

1885.

perfect order established by the commandant, the excellent barrack accommodation for the troops, the new buildings erected ready for the reinforcements expected from France, and the fine landing-stage constructed by the creole artificers of Réunion under Captain Pontet.

Anticipated renewal of negotiations.

Oct. 31.
Hóva overtures.

Meantime Rainilaiàrivòny had received the expected information from Messrs. Parrett and Procter after their interview (before mentioned, p. 445), with the ministers for foreign affairs and the colonies at Paris, whilst the departure of M. Baudais and the favourable reception of Mr. S. Procter (consul for Madagascar at London) by Admiral Miot, led the Government at Antananarivo to anticipate a more successful issue to the future negotiations. In a letter, dated 31st October, the prime minister addressed Admiral Miot, asking him if he would receive General Digby Willoughby, who would be accompanied by the chief of the staff, Rainizànàmanga, 13 vtra., as the representative of the Hóva Government.¹ A reception suitable

banks of the right shore between Mojangà and Màrovoà." Having heard that they could ascend to Màrovoà without risk under cover of the islands, M. de Mahy states: "We were conducted by Captain Wytz, accompanied by Colonel Romouil, Commandant Poudra, Adjutant du Bisson, Captain Pontet, of the artillery, in the gunboats "Tirailleuse" and "Redoute," commanded by Lieutenants Lacourné and Muller. At twenty kilomètres from Mojangà we could make out above the cliff the embrasures of the batteries at Ambàtokèly, which we passed at about 3000 mètres. The arm of the stream is here about a league across. The batteries fired at us, but their shells did not reach more than 1500 mètres. Farther on a large battery with sixteen embrasures, but only one smooth-bored gun, whose round-shot fell in the water at about 600 mètres from the muzzle. At Malviràno (sixty kilomètres from Mojangà) three batteries, one casemated, command a bend of the stream, the strongest and best found of all. They opened upon us a fire, which was suppressed in a twinkling by our gunboats. There was nothing else until Màrovoà, to which point, and indeed farther, we were anxious to proceed; but Captain Wytz could not remain longer away from Mojangà. Before returning, however, the commandant resolved to rest for a few hours, that the Anglo-Hóva colonel (Shervington) might not claim to having put us to flight. A sumptuous breakfast was served on the bridge, on seeing which the Hóvas re-opened their fire. For more than two hours they fired from all their guns on our two gunboats at anchor, immovable as two targets at 1000 mètres. During all this time, at this short range, there were only four shots alone which were even passable. One shell, which burst in the water at some 15 mètres abaft the "Tirailleuse," another between the gunboats anchored at 100 mètres apart, ahead of the "Redoute," and another at 150 or 200 mètres away. All the rest fell between us and the bank at varying distances from 400 to 600 mètres. At dessert our sailors turned their Hotchkiss guns and 3½-inch guns (*pièces de 90*), and riddled with projectiles the batteries and Hóva village. A few volleys (*feux de salve*) from our fusiliers terminated the *fête*, and we descended tranquilly to Mojangà, without being troubled any more by the batteries which had tried to bar our passage in the morning."

¹ "1. Que Votre Excellence veuille bien recevoir le Général Digby Willoughby

to the high rank of General Willoughby at Tamatave and a safe conduct back were also required, and Admiral Miot was informed that the representative of the Government of the queen of Madagascar was entirely in their confidence, and would communicate certain information privately to the French plenipotentiary. This letter was forwarded through Rainandriamampàndry, and on the 5th November reached the admiral, who immediately despatched the "Limier" to Zanzibar for M. Patrimonio, and returned a courteous answer, acknowledging the request of the prime minister, to the capital. The "Limier" reached Zanzibar on the 11th November, when M. Patrimonio telegraphed to Paris, requesting full powers might be forwarded to him if necessary. On the 13th November plenipotentiary powers were conferred by telegraph on the consul-general, empowering him to negotiate, either alone, or in concert with M. Miot, and to conclude, subject to ratification, an arrangement with the Hóva Government on revised lines.¹

On the 21st November the French Government laid before the Chamber of Deputies a bill asking for a credit of 3,832,587 francs on account of the expenses of the Madagascar expedition, to appear in the forthcoming budget for 1886.

comme officier Malgache et représentant du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté la Reine de Madagascar ; 2. Qu'en la qualité de Votre Excellence comme officier et gentil-homme, elle voudra bien consentir à lui accorder d'une manière convenable à son rang une entrée en sûreté à Tamatave et de même pour en sortir par la route que Votre Excellence jugerait à propos. Je tiens à ce que Votre Excellence veuille savoir clairement qu'indépendamment de sa position officielle dans le service du Gouvernement malgache, le Général Digby Willoughby est un ami personnel et confidentiel de Sa Majesté la Reine et de moi-même ; conséquemment il est intimement mis au courant des affaires que Sa Majesté et moi-même considérons comme étant notre devoir de communiquer d'une manière toute privée à Votre Excellence."

¹ The revised articles on which M. Patrimonio was authorised to treat were :—"Art. 1er. Le mot *protectorat* ayant fait échouer la précédente négociation, vous pourrez, s'il le faut, supprimer cet article lui-même, que les articles suivant rendent inutile. Arts. 2, 3, et 4.—A conserver, en remplaçant, s'il le faut, escorte *militaire* par escorte *d'honneur*. Art. 16.—A remplacer, s'il le faut, par quelque disposition ainsi conçue : 'Le Gouvernement de la Reine s'engage à traiter avec bienveillance les populations placées sous la protection de la France en vertu des traités conclus en 1841 et 1842 et à tenir compte des indications qui lui seront fournies à cet égard par le Gouvernement de la République.' En outre tâcher de faire accepter une disposition ainsi conçue : 'Le Gouvernement de la République se réserve le droit d'occuper la baie de Diégo-Suarez et d'y faire des installations à sa convenance.' Je vous autorise d'ailleurs à consentir les modifications de détail qui ne changeraient pas le sens des clauses générales et à accepter *ad referendum* les modifications plus importantes qui vous paraîtraient néanmoins susceptibles d'être acceptées par nous."

1885.
Arrival of
M. Patri-
monio.
Nov. 21.

On the same date M. Patrimonio arrived at Tamatave, and agreed with the admiral that there were at length indications of a real desire on the part of the Hóvas to bring the situation to an end. The *parlementaires*, who arrived on the 21st November to receive the definite answer of the plenipotentiaries, repeatedly expressed their wish that peace could be promptly concluded, and Admiral Miot replied that such also was his personal desire. On the 24th November MM. Patrimonio and Miot sent their joint reply to the Malagasy Government, appointing the former rendezvous at Ambòdimànga as convenient for the forthcoming *pourparlers*.

Nov. 27.

The *procès-verbal* of the *séance* of the 27th November in the Chamber contained the replies of the ministers to the committee on Madagascar credits, in which it was stated that the Hóvas had made overtures, and that Admiral Miot was seconded by an agent of the foreign office, but the name of this negotiator was for the time kept secret.

Nov. 29.

Dec. 1.
The last
shots fired.

The Hóvas made a night attack on Mojàngà, the French replying with their artillery. On the 1st December a gun-boat ascended as far as Mèvarano. This appears to have been the last affair between the French and Malagasy during the war, which had now practically come to an end.

Dec. 11.

On the 11th December M. Gustave Adolphe Hubbard was selected, by fifteen votes against nine for M. Granet and one for M. Ballue, to report on the Madagascar credit.

Dec. 15.
The last
conference.

The momentous interview between General Willoughby and the new French plenipotentiary was fixed for 15th December at the former rendezvous of Ambòdimànga, and from thence, after a ceremonial meeting, the Malagasy envoy was invited on board the flagship. The general was accompanied by the eldest son of the prime minister, Rainizànàmanga, and Marc Rabibisòa, secretary of the prime minister, the son of the minister for war, and several officers, and the whole party adjourned to the "Naiàde," where the envoy was received with a salute of nineteen guns. The conferences then proceeded without cessation, except for necessary rest, until the evening of the 17th December, when all the principal points of the treaty were agreed upon, the formal documents drawn up were signed, and the "Nielly" immediately started for Zanzibar with a telegram announcing the conclusion of peace to the French minister at Paris.¹

Dec. 17.
Treaty of
peace
signed.

¹ *Télégramme*. Tamatave, le 17 décembre 1885 ; expédié de Zanzibar le 21

The credits for the Tonquin and Madagascar operations were brought before the Chamber of Deputies on the 17th December, on which occasion M. Gustave Adolphe Hubbard, the *rapporteur* of the Madagascar committee, presented a modified credit, as recommended by the committee, amounting to

1885.
A modified
credit
recom-
mended by
Madagas-
car com-
mittee.

décembre. (Arrivé à Paris le 22 décembre.) “Nous avons signé aujourd’hui 17, l’Amiral Miot et moi, avec le Plénipotentiaire malgache un Traité sous réserve de ratifications et sur les bases suivantes : les articles 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 et 8 du projet que vous nous avez remis sont textuellement reproduits dans le Traité. L’article 9 du projet, qui est devenu l’article 8 du Traité, est modifié ainsi qu’il suit : ‘Le Gouvernement de la Reine s’engage à payer la somme de 10 millions de francs applicables tant au règlement des réclamations françaises liquidées antérieurement au conflit survenu entre les deux parties, qu’à la réparation de tous les dommages causés aux particuliers étrangers par le fait de ce conflit. L’examen et le règlement de ces indemnités sont dévolus au Gouvernement français.’ Il va de soi que cette expression de *particuliers étrangers* comprendra les nationaux que nous pourrions d’ailleurs indemniser avant les autres. Le Plénipotentiaire malgache m’a dit formellement que le Premier Ministre tenait beaucoup à cette stipulation. Il est persuadé que les réclamations seront beaucoup plus modérées quand on saura qu’on devra les justifier devant une commission exclusivement française. Au reste, l’Amiral Miot estime que cette somme suffira à payer largement les intéressés et qu’un reliquat de 2 à 3 millions nous restera acquis. Nous sommes donc persuadés que vous approuverez cette modification, d’autant plus que vous y verrez une première application du principe de la représentation française au regard des étrangers. Art. 9.—‘Jusqu’à parfait paiement de ladite somme de 10 millions de francs, Tamatave sera occupée par les troupes françaises.’ Les articles 10, 11, 12, 13 et 14 du Traité reproduisent textuellement les articles 11, 12, 13, 14 et 15 du projet. L’article 15 modifie l’article 16 du projet. Il est ainsi conçu :—‘Le Gouvernement de la Reine s’engage expressément à traiter avec bienveillance les Sakalaves et les Antankarana et à tenir compte des indications qui lui seront fournies à cet égard par le Gouvernement de la République. Toutefois le Gouvernement de la République se réserve le droit d’occuper la baie de Diego-Suarez et d’y faire des installations à sa convenance.’—Ce n’est pas sans peine que nous avons obtenu cette très importante concession. Nous n’avons pas mentionné les Traités de 1841 et 1842 dans la certitude que cette mention aurait fait échouer la négociation. Du reste, notre rédaction concilie notre droit de protectorat spécial avec le protectorat général. Les articles 16, 17, 18 et 19 reproduisent textuellement les articles 17, 18, 19 et 20 du projet. Les ratifications devront être échangées dans le délai de trois mois. Tel est le Traité que nous avons signé. Tout retard pour demander votre approbation préalable aurait certainement compromis le succès. Il y avait à craindre des intrigues. Nous avons la certitude d’avoir atteint la limite extrême des concessions que le Premier Ministre pouvait nous faire. Au delà, c’était la continuation de la guerre et l’inconnu. Ce sera au Résident à tirer parti des avantages considérables stipulés dans le Traité. J’attends avec confiance l’approbation du Gouvernement. Les hostilités sont suspendues de fait, par simple accord verbal. Le Plénipotentiaire hova est persuadé que si l’Amiral Miot et moi allons à Tananarivo, l’effet produit serait des meilleurs pour nos intérêts. Faut-il que l’Amiral Miot consente à s’y rendre après que la Reine aura ratifié le Traité ? Quant à moi, sauf contreordre, je partirai pour Zanzibar aussitôt que ma présence ici ne sera plus nécessaire. Nous adresserons par la prochaine malle, au Consulat d’Aden, pour vous être expédiée en toute sécurité, une expédition du Traité.”

1885.
Dec. 17.

3,047,500 francs.¹ "The affirmations of the Government," he declared, "have not influenced (*entraîné*) the majority of the committee, which judges that France wishes simply to obtain satisfaction on the basis of the treaty of 1868. The committee concludes that a limit must be imposed upon that policy of colonial expansion, premature and warlike, which was inaugurated in the last Chamber, and against which the country has pronounced in the most formal manner. This verdict of the nation cannot be agreed with if the credits asked by the Government, with a notable augmentation to those expended in 1885, are granted for the first six months of 1886. The credits asked for would correspond, in fact, with a total expenditure of 15,330,348 francs for the whole year, instead of 12,190,000 francs voted for 1885. This increase includes a very sensible increase of our land effectives and a reduction in our naval forces. It was this indication of a policy of permanent occupation which the committee desired to submit to the judgment of the Chamber. The committee, calculating the expenses per mensem during 1885, proposed that three months' expenditure at this rate should be now granted,—viz. under the head of *marine service*, 2,408,952 francs; under *colonial service*, 638,548."

Dec. 20.
Lieutenant
Buchard
sent home
with the
new treaty.
Summary
of the
modifica-
tions.

On the 20th December Lieutenant Buchard, A.D.C. to Admiral Miot, was despatched by steamer to convey a copy of the treaty in French and Malagasy to M. de Freycinet. In a letter written by M. Patrimonio on this date, and accompanying the text of the treaty, the consul-general states: "We have not insisted on the insertion of the word 'protectorate,' knowing beforehand that it would be again a cause of rupture. From the moment that circumstances, or, better, a clearer and more

¹ According to M. Hubbard's statement, the actual forces employed in Madagascar at the current date were as follows:—

{ Bâtiments de la division de la mer des Indes . . .	5
{ Bâtiments supplémentaires . . .	11
Hommes de la garnison de la Réunion . . .	445
Marins des bâtimens supplémentaires . . .	1800
Effectifs militaires débarqués . . .	2583
Total . . .	<u>4828</u>

Comparing the numbers with those given 1st January 1885 (p. 417), it appears that the number of ships had been reduced from 14 to 11 and the figures of the crews from 2205 to 1800, while, on the other hand, the troops on shore had risen from 878 men to 2583.

politic view of the interests of France in Madagascar led us to renounce the obtaining possession of the whole island, it needed fully to reserve the future. That is why we have declined the insertion of an article that France formally recognises the sovereignty of the queen over the whole island of Madagascar. This was a delicate question, which must have upset the negotiations; the idea then struck me to change a single expression in art. 13 of your project, now art. 12 of the treaty: 'Her Majesty the Queen of Madagascar will continue as heretofore to preside at the interior administration of *the whole island*, instead of *her States*.' The concession is of little importance, and I am sure that you will approve of it. More onerous was the difficulty resulting from the mention of the treaties of 1841-42 in art. 16, now art. 15, by the suppression of the first article. After a sharp discussion, and, be it known, after agreement with the admiral, I proposed to denominate the very populations which we took at that epoch under our special protection, instead of mentioning the treaties. Such are the modifications which we have introduced into the text of the project which you confided to me. The reading of this article is, apart from this alteration, the same which you telegraphed to me 13th November. We have obtained, in exchange, the Bay of Diego-Suarez; this will permit us to build there all the establishments which we shall judge necessary. It was not without a hard fight that we wrested this concession from the Malagasy plenipotentiary. In the opinion of Admiral Miot and all the sailors, this anchorage is one of the finest in the world, and its strategical situation, in the event of the interception of the Suez Canal, is of capital importance for the security of our naval and mercantile marine. Art. 9 of the project, now art. 8, relating to the indemnities, has been modified, as noted in my telegram. We hesitated a good deal to accept it, and could have wished, in accordance with your instructions, to refer it first to you; but we considered that this modification was not of such great importance that it needed to compromise the success of the negotiations, whilst awaiting your approval. We, indeed, suppose that you will be pleased with our initiative, especially as we have obtained considerable advantage by other stipulations. We look for the first application of the principle of the representation devolving on the French authorities in what concerns the relations of the Malagasy Government with foreigners. Art.

1885. .
Dec. 20.
Summary
of the
modifica-
tions.

Diego-
Suarez.

1885. 9 of the treaty is merely a reproduction of art. 10 of the project, subject to an insignificant modification. The occupation of Tamatave by our troops will not be, it would appear, of long duration. Arts. 11 and 12 of the project form arts. 10 and 11 of the treaty. Art. 13 of the scheme, now art. 12, has been modified, as before noticed. . . . Arts. 14 and 15 of the scheme are now arts. 13 and 14. Art. 15 permits the resident to intervene if the Hóvas exercise reprisals on the Sakaláva and Antankàrana populations, who, by the treaties of 1841 and 1842, are placed under our protection. The second paragraph of art. 15 gives us the Bay of Diego-Suarez. Arts. 17, 18, and 19 of the scheme figure textually in the treaty as arts. 16, 17, and 18. Art. 20, now art. 19, fixes three months as the limit for the exchange of ratifications. The plenipotentiary of the queen's Government left yesterday for Antanànarivo, and calculates upon being back here by the 2d January."

Dec. 21.
Important
debate.

This telegram reached Paris at an opportune moment, for on the 21st December the important debate on the credits required for the expeditions in Tonquin and Madagascar was opened in the Chamber of Deputies by Mgr. Freppel, whose speech mainly bore reference to the Tonquin credits. Turning to the Madagascar question, after calling attention to the vote passed in the Chamber on the 22d March 1884, the bishop said that he would vote for the whole credit asked for by the Government, on the understanding that the Government reserved the rights affirmed on the occasion he referred to.¹ M. Jules Delafosse asked what dishonour there could be in abandoning a disastrous enterprise. Had not England abandoned Afghanistan, the Transvaal, Zululand, and that very year the Soudan, without any loss of prestige? He would not vote for the credits and the policy they represented. MM. Paul Bert and Frédéric Passy next spoke at length, both against the Government bill, the brunt of the arguments throughout falling on the Tonquin side of the discussion. After M. Camille Pelletan had spoken, on the 22d, M. Hubbard²

Dec. 22.
Adjourned
discussion.

¹ *Le Tonkin et Madagascar*. Discours prononcé à la Chambre des Députés le 21 Décembre 1885. Par Mgr. Freppel, Évêque d'Angers, Député du Finistère.

² It should be noted that the committee, of which M. Geo. Perin was president and M. Hubbard rapporteur, was hostile to M. Brisson's cabinet. The other members were MM. Pichon (secretary), Jullien, De la Porte, Waddington, Pelletan, Rochefort, Bergerot, Dreyfus, Ganivet, Lockroy, Thomson, Albert Ferry, Andrieux de St. Martin, Du Bodan, Rivière, Le Vice-Amiral Gueydon,

asked the minister for foreign affairs to give the House information as to the peace which it was officially reported had been signed with the Hóva Government.

1885.
Dec. 22.
Announce-
ment of the
treaty.

M. de Freycinet replied :—"Sirs, it is exact that we have received this morning a telegram [see *ante*, p. 463] from Tamatave informing us that a treaty of peace has been signed by the French and Hóva plenipotentiaries. In the course of the afternoon we have received a second telegram, more detailed, containing the articles of this treaty. I am ready, should the Chamber desire, to make it known, under this double reserve, that I am unable to absolutely guarantee all the terms, and that, on the other hand, the treaty is not yet ratified by the two Governments. . . . I can inform the Chamber as to the bases of this treaty, which certainly will not vary, whatever may be the errors in detail which the telegraph may have signalled. The bases of the treaty are the following: A French resident is nominated to Antananarivo. He will be the obligatory intermediary of all the relations of the Queen of Madagascar with Foreign Powers. Thus, all the exterior politics of the Queen of Madagascar will be placed in the hands of the Republic. You know, gentlemen, that a long dispute arose on the subject of the right of property, which had been replaced later by the faculty to grant leases for long periods. It was not possible to agree with the Hóva Government, who wished to fix a limit to the duration of these leases, and who would not consent to their renewal without conditions. According to the treaty just signed, leases of indeterminate length can be concluded by the French, and renewed at the freewill of the parties, without the Hóva Government interposing any obstacle. France reserves, besides, the right to occupy the Bay of Diego-Suarez, and to make there all establishments at her convenience. A sum of ten millions is handed over by the Hóva Government to the Government of the Republic, which will be charged to indemnify the French who have had legal claims prior to the war, as well as people, either French or foreigners, who have suffered from military operations. The distribution and payment of these indemnities will be effected by us. The French Republic will continue to occupy Tamatave as a pledge, until the complete payment of the indemnity. In fact, as to the peoples who have been

Viette, Gaillard, Casimir Perier, Granet, Raoul-Duval, Delafosse, Boysset, Ballue, Lalande, Remoiville, etc.

1885.
Statement
by the
minister
for foreign
affairs in
the Cham-
ber.

placed more especially under our protection by anterior agreements, the Government of the Queen of Madagascar engages to treat them with particular benevolence—I say that the populations of the north-west of the island, which have been placed, more especially at former periods, under the protection of France, will be the object of a special treatment, conformed to indications which will be given to the Government of the Queen by the Government of the Republic. So far as concerns the interior administration of the Hóvas, we are obliged to declare that we are not going to interfere in it, preferring to leave to the Hóva people their autonomy, and confining ourselves to direct it by our counsels and our examples in the path of progress and civilisation.”—[The main points of the treaty, as enounced by M. de Freycinet, were communicated, on 23d December, to the French ambassadors at Berlin, Constantinople, Madrid, London, Rome, St. Petersburg, and Vienna.]

Dec. 23.
Prolonged
debate.

Dec. 24.
A narrow
majority.

The discussion was continued on 23d December, when M. Brisson, president of council, defended the credits asked for the policy of the Government, followed by M. Georges Perin, the president of the committee. On the 24th the minister for war, General Campenon, spoke; and, later, M. Clémenceau, who attacked M. Jules Ferry's appeal to Prussian mediation. Finally, after a long and stormy debate, the votes of credit for Tonquin were adopted by 273 ayes to 267 noes—a majority of only six votes. The Madagascar vote was then taken, when there appeared 274 ayes and 270 noes—a majority of only four votes. The Government was virtually defeated.

Satisfac-
tion of M.
de Frey-
cinet.

On the 24th December M. de Freycinet telegraphed to M. Patrimonio that the news of the conclusion of the peace on the conditions indicated had been received with a lively satisfaction, and he thanked the envoy and Admiral Miot for the success of the important negotiation. Admiral Miot and M. Patrimonio were also authorised to proceed to Antanànarivo at the first opportune occasion.

Dec. 27.
Existing
treaties to
remain in
force.

M. de Freycinet telegraphed to all the French ambassadors at foreign courts that the treaty just signed, if ratified by the two Governments, would change nothing in the treaties actually existing between the Hóva Government and other states. In addition, there was no intention of putting any obstacle by these arrangements in the way of private enterprise which might be started in Madagascar by any nationality.

The Senate passed the Tonquin and Madagascar credits on the 27th December by 212 to 59 votes ; but, nevertheless, M. Brisson sent in his resignation to M. Grévy. M. Grévy, who was re-elected president of the Republic on the 28th December by 457 votes out of 589, attempted to persuade M. Brisson to withdraw his resignation ; but it was evident that the latter no longer possessed the confidence of the country, and he adhered to his resolution to resign. Thus the unhappy war between France and Madagascar came to its long-desired conclusion with the end of the year 1885.

A telegram from M. Patrimonio (undated, 1st January ?) forwarded from Zanzibar on the 6th January, informed M. de Freycinet, who was now engaged in forming a new French Ministry, that the definite instrument of the conditions of peace had been signed in duplicate, and that whilst one copy had been despatched to Paris, the other had been taken by General Willoughby to Antananarivo. The Malagasy envoy was expected back with the ratification of the treaty by the 5th January ; after which date MM. Miot and Patrimonio proposed to visit the capital on a special invitation from the queen, under conditions precisely laid down. By the 6th January General Digby Willoughby was back at Tamatave, bringing the treaty unratified, but with the signatures of her Majesty and the prime minister in his possession, and invested with full powers to attach them to the instrument and to sign the ratification after certain explanations had been furnished in writing by the French authorities. These explanations were duly supplied to the Malagasy envoy by the French plenipotentiaries in a letter addressed by them to him from on board the "Naiâde," dated Tamatave, 9th January 1886. These explanations in writing having been accepted by the Hóva plenipotentiary, the definite Hóva copy of the treaty was signed by the general, who attached to it the signatures of Ranavàlomanjaka and Ràinilaiàrivòny, on board the flagship, on the 10th January, the letter and postscript forming an integral and most important portion of the instrument to which they were appended.

1885.
The Madagascar credit passed by the Senate. Dec. 28. Resignation of M. Brisson.

End of the war.

1886.
Jan. 1.

Jan. 6.

Jan. 10.
Ratification of the treaty at Tamatave.

Translation of the Treaty of Peace between France and Madagascar.

The Treaty.

The Government of the French Republic and that of Her Majesty the Queen of Madagascar, desiring to prevent at any future time the recurrence of the difficulties which have recently arisen, and wishing, moreover,

Preamble.

1886.
Jan. 10.
Treaty as
ratified.

to draw closer their former relations of friendship, have resolved to conclude a convention to that end, and have named as plenipotentiaries, to wit:—For the French Republic, *M. Paul-Émile Miot*, contre-amiral, commandant en chef la division navale de la mer des Indes, and *M. Salvator Patrimonio*, ministre plénipotentiaire; and for the Government of Her Majesty the Queen of Madagascar, General Digby Willoughby, general officer commanding the Malagasy troops, and minister plenipotentiary, who, after having exchanged their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following articles, under reserve of ratification:—

The
articles.

Art. 1. The Government of the Republic will represent Madagascar in all her foreign relations. The Malagasy abroad will be placed under the protection of France.

Art. 2. A resident, representing the Government of the Republic, will preside over the foreign relations of Madagascar, without interfering in the internal administration of the country.

Art. 3. He will reside at Antananarivo with a military escort. The resident shall have the right of private and personal audience of Her Majesty the Queen.

Art. 4. The authorities serving under the Queen will not intervene in disputes between French subjects, or between French and foreigners. Actions at law between French and Malagasy will be tried by the resident, assisted by a Malagasy judge.

Art. 5. Frenchmen will be ruled by French law for the repression of all crimes and offences committed by them in Madagascar.

Art. 6. French citizens may reside, travel, and carry on trade freely throughout the whole extent of the states of the Queen. They will be entitled to rent, for undetermined periods, by leases of long period, renewable at the sole will of the contracting parties, land, houses, shops, and all description of real property. They may freely engage and take into their service, in any capacity, any Malagasy free of all previous engagement. The leases and contracts for service of labourers will be certified in due form before the French resident and the magistrates of the country, and their strict execution guaranteed by the Government. In the event of the death of a Frenchman, tenant of house property, his heirs shall take up the lease concluded by him for the remaining term, with right of renewal. Frenchmen will be subjected to no other land-taxes than those paid by Malagasy. No person shall enter the properties, establishments, and houses occupied by the French, or by persons in French service, except with their consent and with the sanction of the French resident.

Art. 7. Her Majesty the Queen of Madagascar expressly confirms the guarantees stipulated by the treaty of 7th (*sic*) August 1868, in favour of liberty of conscience and of religious toleration.¹

Art. 8. The Government of the Queen undertakes to pay the sum of ten millions of francs, to be applied both to the settlement of French claims liquidated previous to the late conflict between the two nations, and the compensation for all the damages inflicted on foreign subjects by

¹ For statement of these guarantees, stipulated by Treaty of 8th of August 1868 [the date 7th August in text above is an error], see Art. 3 in Treaty, *ante*, vol. i. chap. i. p. 166.

the fact of that war. The investigation and settlement of these indemnities is devolved to the French Government.

Art. 9. Until payment in full of the said sum of ten millions of francs, Tamatave will be occupied by French troops.

Art. 10. No claim will be admitted in connection with the measures taken up to the present day by the French military authorities.

Art. 11. The Government of the French Republic undertakes to lend assistance to the Queen of Madagascar for the defence of her states.

Art. 12. Her Majesty the Queen of Madagascar will continue, as heretofore, to preside over the internal administration of the whole island.

Art. 13. In consideration of these engagements undertaken by Her Majesty the Queen, the Government of the Republic agrees to desist from all recovery by right of war indemnity.

Art. 14. The Government of the Republic, in order to aid the march of the Malagasy Government and people on the path of civilisation and progress, undertakes to place at the disposal of the Queen military instructors, engineers, professors, and artisan foremen, who may be asked for.

Art. 15. The Government of the Queen expressly undertakes to treat with goodwill the Sàkalava and Antankarana, and to take into consideration the information which will be furnished on the subject by the Government of the Republic. Nevertheless, the Government of the Republic reserves to itself the right of occupying the Bay of Diego-Suarez, and of making there establishments as expedient.

Art. 16. The President of the Republic and Her Majesty the Queen of Madagascar grant a full and complete general amnesty, accompanied by the raising of all sequestrations placed upon their property, to those of their respective subjects who, up to the conclusion of the treaty, and before, compromised themselves by serving the other contracting party.

Art. 17. The actually existing treaties and conventions between the Government of the Republic and Her Majesty the Queen of Madagascar are expressly confirmed in such of their dispositions as are not contrary to the present stipulations.

Art. 18. The present treaty having been drawn up in French and Malagasy, and the two versions having exactly the same sense, the French text will be official and may be legally cited in every respect, as well as the Malagasy text.

Art. 19. The present treaty will be ratified within a limit of three months, or sooner if practicable.

Drawn up in duplicate on board the "Naiade," in Tamatave Road, the 17th December 1885.

(Signed)

Ministre Plénipotentiaire
de la République française,
S. PATRIMONIO.

Le Contre-Amiral,

(Signed) Commandant en Chef la Division navale
de la mer des Indes,

M. MIOT.

The Minister Plenipotentiary of Her Majesty the Queen of Madagascar, General Officer Commanding the Malagasy Troops,

(Signed) DIGBY WILLOUGHBY, General.

1886.

Jan. 10.

Treaty
ratified by
the Mala-
gasy.

1886.
Jan. 10.
Ratifica-
tion by the
Malagasy
plenipo-
tentiary.

By virtue of the special full powers herewith annexed, with which I am furnished, I, the undersigned Digby Willoughby, general officer commanding the Malagasy troops, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, ratify, in the name of Her Majesty Ranavalona III., Queen of Madagascar, the above treaty of peace, signed on the 17th day of December 1885, between the French plenipotentiaries and myself.

In the roads of Tamatave, on board the "*Naiade*," the 10th January

1886, (Signed) DIGBY WILLOUGHBY, General,

(Signed) RANAVALOMANJAKA,

Mpanjaka ny Madagaskara.

(Signed) RAÏNILAIARIVONY.

To the above instrument the following letter and postscript were annexed, as an appendix to the Treaty.

TAMATAVE, *January 9, 1886, on board the "Naiade."*

Appendix
to the
Treaty ex-
plaining
sense of
articles.

M. PLENIPOTENTIARY—Conformably with the wish which you have been so good as to express, and in order to remove the doubts exhibited by the Malagasy Government relative to the interpretation of certain expressions in the text of the Treaty of the 17th December 1885, we agree willingly to furnish you with the following explanations.

Art. 2.

His Excellency the prime minister has instructed you to point out precisely the sense of the first paragraph of art. 2 of the Treaty, to wit : —"A resident representing the Government of the Republic will preside over the foreign relations." This signifies that the resident shall have the right to intervene (*s'ingérer*) in affairs having a character connected with foreign politics ; that he will have the right, for instance, to object to all cession of territory to any foreign nation whatever, to every military and naval establishment ; so that not any assistance whatever in men or vessels, solicited from the Government of the Queen of Madagascar by a foreign nation, can be granted without the consent of the French Government.

Art. 3.

By art. 3 of the Treaty it is stipulated that "he (the Resident) will reside at Antananarivo with a military escort." The prime minister desires to know what we intend by "*military escort*." We agree to state to him that the expression "*escort*" does not mean "*corps d'armée*" ; and for better precision we undertake to engage that this escort shall not exceed a number of fifty horsemen or foot soldiers. This escort shall not enter the precincts of the Royal Palace. In art. 6, the expression "*bail emphytéotique*" ("*tenancy by emphyteusis*" = "*lease for a long term*") signifies a special lease lasting for ninety-nine years and renewable at the will of the parties (contracting). In paragraph 3 of the same art., in stipulating that they (French citizens) can freely engage and take into service of any description any Malagasy free from all engagement, we have necessarily intended to exclude the soldiers and the slaves, since the soldiers and slaves have, more than every other, engaged themselves.

Art. 6.

We think that the Government of Her Majesty the Queen has nothing to complain of in this omission. It has arisen from a sentiment of goodwill towards her, for we considered it preferable that these expressions should not figure in the text of a treaty of this importance.

Art. 8.

Similarly by the clause, in virtue of which "the Government of the Queen of Madagascar undertakes to pay a sum of ten millions of francs to

be applied equally to the settlement of the French claims liquidated previous to the conflict lately arisen between the two parties, and to the compensation for all damages inflicted on foreign subjects by the fact of that war," we have meant, the damages caused before and during the war up to the day of the signature of the Treaty of Peace.

The Government of the Republic will obviously not lend its assistance to the Queen of Madagascar for the defence of her states unless that assistance is solicited by Her Majesty the Queen. As regard the sense of art. 15, it seems to us quite clear and sufficiently precise to need further comment. The advantages which it stipulates in favour of the Government of Her Majesty the Queen are evident, as it will be easy to point out to the prime minister when we come to Antananarivo. With regard to the territory necessary for the establishments which the Government of the Republic will make, as it finds suitable, in the bay of Diego-Suarez, we believe we can assure you that it will not pass beyond one mile and a half along all the south of the bay, as well as along its contour from east to west, and four miles around the north contour of the bay, departing from the northernmost point of the said bay.

It is superfluous to add that at Diego-Suarez the French authorities will not afford asylum to Malagasy subjects absconding ("*en rupture de ban*"), or who cannot produce a passport from the Malagasy authorities.

In short, in the execution of the full, integral, and general amnesty, with the removal of all sequestrations imposed on the properties of the respective subjects of the two contracting parties, the Government of Her Majesty the Queen will be inspired by the sentiments of loyalty and of justice which we have good reason to look for from the experience and enlightened spirit of his Excellency the prime minister.

Please accept, M. Plenipotentiary, the assurances of our high consideration.

Le Ministre Plénipotentiaire—S. PATRIMONIO.

Le Contre-Amiral Commandant-en-chef—E. MIOT.

P.S.—You have asked us if the Government of the Queen can, as heretofore, continue to negotiate treaties of commerce with foreign powers. Without doubt so far as these treaties of commerce shall not be contrary to the stipulations of the Treaty of the 17th December 1885.

Le Ministre Plenipotentiary—S. PATRIMONIO.

Le Contre-Amiral, Commandant-en-chef—E. MIOT.

To General DIGBY WILLOUGHBY,

General Officer commanding Malagasy troops, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Her Majesty the Queen of Madagascar.

It is of the utmost importance to bear in mind that the signatures of the queen and the prime minister were only affixed to the Treaty by their plenipotentiary as conditional and dependent on the satisfactory explanations afforded by the letter and postscript, and that the Treaty consequently is to be read by the light of the appendix, without which indeed it is null and void.

Immediately after the signing of these ratifications M.

1886.
Appendix
to Treaty.

Art. 15.

Art. 16.

Important
postscript.

Affixed
signatures
conditional
on appen-
dix.

1886.
Jan. 10.
Modifica-
tions
evaded.

Patrimoine despatched a telegram which left Zanzibar on the 15th January. "The treaty has been ratified by the Malagasy Government as sent to you. There have been some attempts at modifications which we have evaded. We have only agreed to furnish by correspondence some explanations on the signification of certain clauses. We have been asked to limit round the bay of Diego-Suarez the land which we believe to be necessary for our establishments, one and a half mile in the parts south and west, and four miles to the north has seemed to us sufficient, as that which remains to the north extending to Cape Amber will necessarily be abandoned by the Malagasy. On a special invitation from the queen we proceed to Antananarivo."

Jan. 14.
Presiden-
tial mess-
age.

In the presidential message of M. Grévy read to the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies on the 14th January occurred the following paragraph :—"Depuis les traités qu'elle a conclus avec la Chine, l'Annam, et Madagascar, la République française est en paix avec toutes les nations."

Jan. 16.
Ministerial
declara-
tion.
Protector-
ates placed
under
minister
for foreign
affairs.

The ministerial declaration of the De Freycinet Cabinet was read by the Premier to the Senate and Chamber of Deputies on the 16th January. In the course of his speech, the minister said :—"Solicitous for the good fame of France, and conforming to the decisions of Parliament, we shall retain the possessions recently acquired. We shall apply ourselves to obtain the greatest advantage from them by restricting the sacrifices, and by reducing them to what is strictly indispensable. With this idea we shall organise the protectorate over Annam and Tonquin, as well as that over Madagascar, upon bases of an extremely simple character. As we have indicated in a recent debate, we calculate that the expenses of the first named of these protectorates, which figure in the Budget of 1886 at 75,000,000 francs, will decline to 30,000,000 francs in 1887, and will gradually disappear in the course of a few years. It is in order to pursue this end more directly that the service of the protectorates has been temporarily severed from that of the colonies and joined to the department of foreign affairs. Later on, when the problem shall have been solved, they will be reunited under one and the same administration." This declaration was applauded in both houses. M. de Freycinet also expressed the intention of the Government to comprise in the normal budget the expenses which, like those of Tonquin and Madagascar, still weighed, during the current year, on the floating debt.

Meantime an armistice prevailed at Tamatave and Mojangà, and Malagasy markets were speedily formed outside the French lines for the supply of native produce. The battalion of Réunion Volunteers sailed for St. Denis on the 17th January, and was at once disbanded. The French force to be retained in the island was fixed at six companies of marine infantry, each of three officers and 100 men, which would furnish the Resident's military escort at the capital, the garrison of Diego-Suarez, and the garrison of Tamatave until the indemnity should be paid. The squadron and the remainder of the force recently employed was ordered to be immediately broken up.¹

Lieutenant Buchard arrived in Paris on the 18th January bearing the official text of the treaty of the 17th December, which was laid on the table of the Chamber of Deputies on the 1st February. On the same day Admiral Miot with M. Patrimonio and M. Segnier, the lately appointed consul for France in Madagascar, who had arrived during the progress of the negotiations, left Tamatave for the capital on the invitation of the queen, escorted by a Malagasy guard and the Hóva plenipotentiaries. The party reached Andraïsoïro, outside Antanànarivo on the 27th January, where an escort of 200 men under Ratsimatahodriaka, eldest son of the prime minister, and other officials of rank were sent to meet the distinguished guests. MM. Patrimonio and Miot were received in audience by the queen on the 30th January, and a grand banquet was given in honour of the French plenipotentiaries on the 1st February. The visit of the French diplomatists was terminated in a manner satisfactory to all parties, and the signatures of the French plenipotentiaries were affixed to an instrument, an appendix to the treaty, fully recognising the explanations of January 9 and *some others* as forming an integral portion of the treaty. (This last interesting document has not yet been officially published.) The French envoys-extraordinary then returned to the coast, their journey convincing them of the difficulties of an approach to the capital from the east coast. ["La montée au plateau d'Imèrina a été très fatigante, et nos plénipotentiaires ont pu se rendre compte des difficultés matérielles, presque insurmontables, qu'aurait rencontrées la marche d'un corps d'armée partant de Tamatave pour Antanànarivo."]

The Yellow Book containing the negotiations and the

1886.
Jan. 17.
Armistice.

Jan. 18.
Text of
the treaty
reaches
Paris.

Jan. 27.

Unqualified
recognition of
the appendix.

¹ The garrison of Réunion is left at four companies of marine infantry of the same strength as those in Madagascar, with which reliefs will be interchanged.

1886.
Feb. 2.
Yellow
Book pub-
lished.

Patrimoine treaty was issued to the House of Representatives on the 2d February. Its publication raised a variety of comments in the French and English press, which generally assumed that the French protectorate was an accomplished fact. The existence of the appendix was of course unknown.

Feb. 17.
M. de
Freycinet's
elucidations of the
treaty.
Art. 1.

The president of council appeared on the 17th February before M. de Mahy's Committee,¹ appointed to report on the projected ratification of the Treaty of Peace with Madagascar, and was under examination for two hours. With regard to art. 1, M. de Freycinet said: "This article entailed the effective protectorate by France over Madagascar, '*dans toute sa force*;' but it is a protectorate exclusively political which the Government has endeavoured to obtain. It was precisely because it had been wished, in the treaty of 1874 (*sic*) (? 1884) to give to France a right of internal policy that the difficulties had come about. Our protectorate is confined to the foreign politics of the Hóvas. We consider, on the other hand, that the government of the Hóvas ought to extend over all the island. The mention which is made in the Treaty of the Antankàrana and of the Sàkalàva has only been introduced to recall the treaties of 1841. All the observations are ruled by one general idea. We do not believe that the Antankàrana and the Sàkalavà are called to civilise Madagascar. It is the Hóva people who, according to our views, are alone capable to rule over the entire island. The other peoples are not sufficiently developed. . . . With regard to foreign conventions we cannot interfere with individual treaties. But our Resident will have an influence which will permit him to exercise pressure on these treaties." "Do you think," asked M. de Vaulcomte, "that the Hóvas admit that there is a protectorate?" M. de Freycinet replied, "Certainly. When M. Maigrot, the Italian consul, tried to mediate in concluding a treaty, he stated that our agent, M. Baudais, wished, under the word 'protectorate,' to extend our action over the internal administration of the Hóvas; he stated then that the Hóvas were frightened by the word 'protectorate.' But when later it was shown them that it would only deal with the foreign relations of Madagascar, they

Non-inter-
ference
with
foreign
treaties.

¹ This committee was composed of MM. de Mahy (*President*); Dureau de Vaulcomte (*Secretary*); De Lanessan (*Rapporteur*); Blatin, Le Cour, Rivet, Hubbard (Gustave-Adolphe), Jamais (Émile), De la Batut, Treille, Freppel. The answers by M. de Freycinet only are here given, the questions, to which they are replies, being omitted to save space. This accounts for the fragmentary and disconnected sentences.

made no more objection. M. Baudais was placed on half-pay for having committed the mistake (*maladresse*) of saying that our protectorate would entail an interference with the internal administration of the island."

1886.
Feb. 17.

Art. 2.—"Our Resident cannot interfere against the will of the Hóvas; but it is not to be doubted that the Resident will, by degrees, edge himself into the internal administration of the island, and introduce the French spirit, by moral influence. There is nothing in the treaty prohibiting the creation of sub-residents. We cannot on the very morrow of the treaty regulate all the details, and foresee all eventualities. Time alone will permit us to make due provisions. We cannot, in fact, extend from the first day our influence over the whole island. . . . If you wish to act throughout the island, a whole chain of functionaries will be required, and we cannot establish it. When no victory has been gained, and when, moreover, there has been the fault of suffering a repulse two months previously, it is impossible to put forward great pretensions. We have not been able to obtain more under the circumstances. It will be for us, in practice, to try and obtain what you desire. If you have from the outset the pretension to plant sub-agents over the whole island, the Hóvas will not consent to it. But if, later, Frenchmen are established at certain points, we shall then be able to establish there a delegate or resident. Wherever there will be groups of French settlers residents will be sent. The consular agent will remain at Tamatave under the orders of the resident. We have not the right to prevent the Hóvas from making any general customs tariff."

Art. 2.
M. de
Freycinet's
explanations.

Art. 3.—"There will be an escort of honour of from twenty-five to thirty men. Admiral Miot's idea is to form this escort of a picket of cavalry, and we shall try to obtain the establishment of a telegraph wire to the coast."

Escort.

Art. 4.—"At the present time there are foreign consuls having the right of jurisdiction over their own nationalities. Later the other states will accept our jurisdiction."

Consular
jurisdiction

Art. 5.—"The French resident will judge the French subjects."

Art. 6.—"We do not admit that the Hóva Government may intervene between the contracting parties. Since 1881, from the first France has renounced the right of freehold proprietary. She has consented to replace it by leases for long periods. I do not believe that the English have the right of

Leases.

1886. holding freehold land, but they only possess leases. They have been affected like ourselves by the law of 1881 which prohibited the right of freehold land tenure in the island."

Possible surplus. Arts. 7-9.—With regard to art. 9, the president of council said: "Should the payment of the indemnities not absorb the whole of the ten millions the available surplus would belong to France."

Protection. Arts. 10, 11. M. de Freycinet observed "We shall only protect Madagascar against attacks from without. . . . We shall not mix ourselves up with the insurrections of the people on the coast against the Hóva Government."

Treaty to be enforced. Art. 12. "We take the states," said M. de Freycinet, "as they are. . . . The whole island says the treaty, it is true." "You seem," the president of council added, "to admit that we shall not profit by our moral influence. We shall make representations to the Hóva Government, conformably with the treaty. Should the treaty not be carried out, it is certain that force of arms must be employed."

Sincerity of the Hóvas. Arts. 13-15. "We consider art. 15 as obliging the Hóvas to listen to our advice. I believe that the Hóvas are sincere. In one of his letters, Admiral Miot says that the prime minister declares himself ready to carry out the treaty faithfully, but that it was not possible for him to go farther without exposing himself to an insurrection. Although they have not been beaten, the Hóvas are glad to have finished the war, for the populations suffered much. I believe that England has encouraged them to accept the treaty. The limits at Diego-Suarez admitted by Admiral Miot are too confined. I am ignorant of the motives which determined him to adopt so restricted a boundary. I am convinced, for myself, that an extension can easily be effected with the Hóvas, for they do not occupy the north of the island." Mgr. Freppel asking whether M. de Freycinet considered himself bound by the despatch of M. Patrimonio fixing the boundary line round the bay? the minister replied, "No; I only hold by the treaty. I trust that we shall take a progressive extension. As for the establishments, in proportion as the budget may permit, we shall create a large port of repair and revictualling. The marine department is projecting a complete scheme. There are no resources of the protectorate. They will be provided for in the budget of foreign affairs, but will not reach an

amount of more than from 200,000 to 300,000 francs " (£8000 1886. to £12,000).

The president of council, in conclusion, said that he acknowledged that the treaty had certain defective clauses; but, he added, he had done the best he could by the necessity to finish the affair, and the impossibility of asking the Chambers for fresh sacrifices which alone could enable him to force the hand of the Hóvas. He impressed on the committee the necessity of coming to a speedy conclusion as the period of three months for the ratification would expire on the 17th March. They would be obliged to exchange the ratifications by telegraph.

Necessity
of speedy
ratification

Accordingly, on the departure of M. de Freycinet, M. de Lanessan was commissioned by the deputies to draw up his report without delay, and this report was agreed to, printed, and placed before Parliament by the 22d February, on which date the report was read to the Chamber of Deputies. The committee laid stress on the gravity of the concession made to the Government of Madagascar in art. 6 of the treaty, relative to the granting of long leases. It expressed the hope that by the exercise of French influence the internal legislation of Madagascar would be modified and the right of holding land freehold acquired for French subjects. The committee further drew attention to the fact that the treaty conferred no financial resource on the political protectorate. "This gives to our new protectorate a character which is unprecedented in any other transaction of this kind. It is true that the president of council estimates the expenses of this protectorate at from 200,000 to 300,000 francs only. But this includes, doubtless, only the expenses occasioned by the resident and his personal staff. To these will have to be added the cost of provisions, hospital expenses, transport of the men and horses who will compose the military escort of the resident, indeed, this escort should have a certain importance if we wish our resident to enjoy at Antananarivo a situation worthy of France. We should also maintain on the coasts of Madagascar some ships in order to avoid an isolation which would deprive our representative of all authority. The Government propose to create at Diego-Suarez a large port. It is not without considerable expenditure that this useful enterprise can be brought to a happy accomplishment. For all this millions will be necessary. Indeed, the treaty of 17th December contains no

Feb. 22.
Report of
committee.

1886.
Feb. 22.
Ratifica-
tion ap-
proved by
committee.

provision of funds, neither in the present nor for the future." Several members of the committee had expressed their opinion that it would have been easy to obtain a treaty more advantageous to France than that of which the Government now asked the ratification. In support of this opinion there would be invoked the exhaustion (l'épuisement) of the Hóvas pointed out to the committee by the president of council himself, and the anxiety of the Government at Antananarivo to see the end of a conflict which neither their financial resources nor their armament permitted them to prolong. But the majority of the committee agree that this was not the place to enter upon such considerations. Parliament could only approve or reject *en bloc* the treaty submitted to it. In presence of accomplished facts to which no modification can be applied and on the understanding that the rights of France solemnly affirmed by the Chamber on the 27th March 1884 rest in their entirety, the committee proposed to vote in favour of the following *Projet de Loi*:—*Article unique*. The president of the Republic is authorised to ratify, and when that has taken place, to carry into execution, the treaty concluded on the 17th December 1885 between the Government of the Republic and the Government of Her Majesty the Queen of Madagascar.

*Projet de
Loi.*
Art. unique

Feb. 25.
Debate on
the ratifi-
cation.

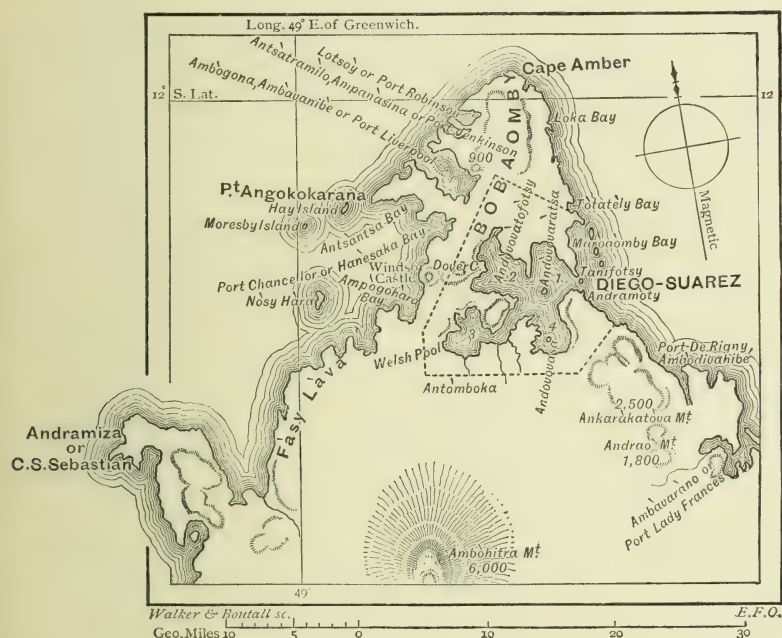
The debate was opened on the 25th February by M. de Vulcomte, who objected to the negotiations having been carried on with General Willoughby. He would vote against the ratification not because France renounced her rights, but because she renounced her duties. M. le Comte de Douville-Maillefeu said that if the word "protectorate" was not in the treaty, the word "protection" was, and that the present convention was one of the best that the French Republic had signed. The Marquis de la Feronnays asked that negotiations should be reopened, for it was not possible that the negotiations could have exhausted all their arguments during a negotiation with semi-savages which lasted only forty-eight hours. To Mgr. Freppel the strongest reason for voting the ratification of the treaty was the occupation, henceforward incontestable, of the Bay of Diego-Suarez, as well as the express and formal recognition of the French political and diplomatic protectorate.

M. de
Freycinet.

M. de Freycinet, president of council, drew special attention to two points of advantage obtained by the treaty. "I wish," he said, "at first to speak of the concession of the Bay of Diego-Suarez, on which we can have establishments at our

convenience. . . . I shall not insist upon the limits which have been marked by Admiral Miot and the sailors with him, of which M. Patrimonio has made mention in his despatch. These boundaries have been agreed upon apart from the treaty between them and the Hóva plenipotentiaries. The Government has not been called upon to sanction them. It has not pronounced on the subject; we only consider that we are bound by the treaty. But even on taking these limits which the sailors have considered ought to be fixed,—limits which I

1886.
Feb. 25.
Statement
by the
premier.



LIMITS OF FRENCH RESERVATION AT DIEGO-SUAREZ. Assigned January 9, 1886,
by MM. Miot and Patrimoine.¹

do not discuss or examine, and which appear at first sight so narrow,—do you know what is the field of action which they leave to France? It does not do to represent the Bay of Diego-Suarez as one of our ports shut in by shores, and representing but a small surface. The Bay of Diego-Suarez is formed by a series of gulfs, and the port so-called is but an imperceptible point in the whole bay which has a surface of

Diego-Suarez reservation.

¹ 1. Irish Bay or Andòvovaràtsa, *i.e.* Northern Bay.

2. English Bay or Andòvovàtofotsy, *i.e.* White Rock Bay.

3. Welsh Pool or Andòvoantsàntsa, *i.e.* Shark's Bay.

4. Scotch Bay or Andòvovàsa, *i.e.* Unknown Bay.

1886.
Feb. 25.
Arguments
of the
premier.

30,000 hectares (74,134 acres = 115 square miles)—that is to say, that all the ports in Europe could be included easily. As to the surface which we have reserved, even with this restricted limit, it is equal to five times the area of Paris within the fortifications. You see, consequently, how it is possible, even with an area thus reduced, to make considerable establishments. But I do not insist; there are, as you understand, several accessory questions, which will be easily settled by mutual agreement with the Hóva Government, for it has no establishment on this coast. It will be easy to come to an understanding on this point. As to the batteries just mentioned, which would be within three or four kilomètres of our establishments at Diego-Suarez—batteries which would be posted on a neighbouring height—well! the nearest mountain to the port is at more than thirty kilomètres ($18\frac{1}{2}$ miles). That is the truth. In fact, the last point which we have inscribed in the treaty, and of which Mgr. Freppel has just pointed out the advantages, is the protectorate—the *protectorat politique*, the protectorate applied to foreign affairs. There is no doubt in this respect; it is the protectorate full and entire in all concerning foreign relations; the first articles of the treaty leave no equivocation possible on this point. They define it in the most formal terms. It is there said that all the foreign relations of the Hóva Government will pass by the hands of the representative of France. . . . In order to impose a better treaty on Madagascar force of arms would be needed. Such an expedition would entail, according to minute calculations, made by competent judges, the putting in the field of 25,000 men and the asking from the Chamber 100 millions of francs. I do not exaggerate, gentlemen! I have consulted all the expert military officers. Consult them yourselves and they will tell you that to reach Antanànarivo and impose your will in an unmistakable manner on rapid and decisive conditions, it would need 10,000 men, 10,000 men more to guard the communications, and 5000 more as a corps of reserve. Under such alternatives I believe you can vote the *projet de loi* submitted to you.”

Feb. 27.
Le Comte
Albert de
Mun.

The discussion was continued on the 27th February by the Comte Albert de Mun, who said that the Government had placed them in this dilemma: the treaty or war. He would not accept the treaty, and he would not trust the Government with the war. He would therefore abstain from voting.

M. Alype declared that the only protectorate it was possible to exercise was a moral protectorate. To exercise an effective protectorate in a country where slavery existed was an anomaly. He congratulated the Government on having established a moral protectorate. It was important not to forget the result of the elections of the 4th October—that day when France said, “Trêve aux expéditions coloniales.”

1886.
M. Pierre
Alype.

M. de Mahy, who next spoke, strongly inveighed against the Methodists and the English. He took occasion to quote from Mr. Sibree's work and its translation by M. Monod. One book amongst others which had contributed to their want of success in Madagascar was M. Saillens's brochure with the preface of M. Frédéric Passy, député. He anathematised all this “littérature antifranaïse,¹ patronnée, soudoyée par le méthodisme international.”

M. de
Mahy.

M. Georges Perin objected to the protectorate, which he foresaw would lead to future complications and a war of conquest, as the treaty of 1874 with Annam led to the conquest of Tonquin. He therefore voted against the ratification.

M. Georges
Perin.

Finally the motion for the ratification was adopted by 436 votes against 28, a majority for the Government of 408. The appendix, meantime, was most strictly suppressed.

A large
Govern-
ment ma-
jority.

On the 1st March the elders, chiefs of the Tsiàrondàhy, were ordered to attend at the west of the Tsàrahàfatra House, where the prime minister conveyed to them a message from the queen as follows: “This, gentlemen, is what the queen orders to be made known to you: concerning the soldiers who were recently recruited in Imèrina, they are to come up by the 8th March. The queen has bid me tell you also, in reply to your suggestion for making those who did not contribute towards the purchase of arms in 1880 (see *ante*, p. 169) now pay, that she has consented to this, and thus all the people are placed on a par in this matter, and on the 8th March the levying of such payments shall commence. So every one who has not contributed must pay, as the names are all registered. Officers will be sent to Vònizòngo and Vàkinankàratra to collect

March 1.
Royal mes-
sage to the
elders of
Imèrina.

¹ “Il y a d'autres ouvrages dont je ne veux pas citer d'extraits, puisque la Chambre me paraît ne pas désirer les écouter. Nous avons Shaw, Saillens, Oliver, Norman (Macleod ?), et, en dernier le livre horrible, publié à Genève, du docteur Rommel. Qu'est-ce que tout cela? Tout cela, avec les feuilles périodiques qui mènent la même campagne, forme une littérature antifranaïse, patronnée, soudoyée par le méthodisme international.”

1886.
March 8.
War-tax.

the payments there." Accordingly on the 8th March the war-tax was levied on those only who had not previously contributed to the war fund, greatly to the satisfaction of the people.

March 11.
Transport
of war
material
demanded.

On the 11th March the elders of the people were again assembled at the north of the palace to hear a royal message: "These are the words of Ranavàlona III., which she bids be delivered to you: 'When the late war with France came on, you knew of the guns and cannon which were ordered, as I informed you, for I ordered the prime minister to do the matter secretly, and they came. And you, my people, saw them, for you fetched them. More were ordered, and I now let you know that they have come. There are cannon, Gardner guns, shells, and a great many rifles landed at Fàrafàngana (Màhamàninina). There only now remains to get them up to Antanànarivo.'" This was applauded, and the prime minister continued: "Ranavàlona II. reconstructed her army in 1879, when at the kabàry on Andohàlo many people joined the army for the love of the fatherland. At that time the order was made limiting the time of service to five years. Nevertheless, on account of the war, it was necessary to hold fast the land and the kingdom first. The soldiers now about to join shall be discharged at the end of five years, and the exact number of men to be levied will be made known to each province." The prime minister warned the chiefs against permitting the recruits and levies from getting off by payment of money. "When Ranavàlona I. levied 8000 men," said he, "it was done immediately, so therefore do likewise, for it will yet be made known to you what you have to contribute." After this the old soldiers were discharged to their homes. As the terms of the treaty became known to the people, they became more convinced that Rainilaiàrivòny had acted for the best in concluding peace on such terms as he could obtain under the circumstances.

Discharge
of soldiers.

March 6.
Proceed-
ings in the
Senate.

The ratification adopted by the Chamber of Deputies was brought before the Senate by M. le Royer on the 6th March, when the Marquis de l'Angle-Beaumanoir agreed with the *rapporteur* that the treaty was not altogether satisfactory. Nevertheless it was desirable to sign the ratification, and take care that the stipulations were strictly observed, by giving the Government the necessary forces to impose respect for the French flag.

The president of council thanked the marquis and M.

Milhet-Fontarabie for their observations that should the treaty be violated, France would recall to mind that it was concluded on board the "Naiade," and fully comprehend the duties which honour demanded of her. He proceeded to say that Admiral Miot estimated that after all the indemnities were paid there would be a surplus of two millions remaining to France. The speaker believed that under the moral influence of their agents, and under the enlightenment of France, the Hóva people, with their progressive instincts and the remarkable facility they possessed to assimilate European civilisation, would march rapidly on the path which it was so desirable to enter. He believed that France had a most honourable mission, which she could perform without making important sacrifices.

1886.
M. de
Freycinet.

Admiral Véron thought that the territory reserved for occupation ought to extend to Cape Amber in the north, and in the south as far as Mount Amber, situated in the territories ceded by the treaties of 1841. As to the fears that some had expressed relating to the consequences which would result from the bad faith and duplicity of the Hóvas, the Government should reply that it would not be any more a blockade or the taking possession of some town on the coast, but the departure of a fleet carrying a French army, which, marching on Antanànarìvo, would destroy once for all the prestige and influence of the Hóvas, and retake possession of its rights.

Admiral
Véron.

The ratification was voted unanimously, and the President of the Republic promulgated the laws approving of the treaty and authorising its ratification. The text of the treaty and the laws sanctioning it were published in the *Journal Officiel* of the 7th March; but all mention of the appendix was still evaded.

Publica-
tion of the
treaty at
Paris.

On the 7th March M. Grévy, the president, signed a decree defining the attributions of the representative of the French Republic at Madagascar, and the organisation of the residencies;¹

March 7.
Organisa-
tion of the
residencies.

¹ "The President of the French Republic, on the proposition of the President of Council, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and of the Minister of Marine and the Colonies, decrees:—

"Art. 1. The representative of the French Republic at Madagascar bears the title of Resident-General. He is nominated by decree of the President of the Republic, and shall be amenable to the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

"Art. 2. The Resident-General is the depositary of the powers of the Republic in Madagascar. He represents alone the French Government throughout the island. He exercises all the attributions prevised by the Treaty of the 17th December 1885, and by all the other conventions entered upon, or to be entered upon, with the Hóva Government. He presides over the foreign relations of

1886.
March 9.
M. le Myre
de Vilers
appointed
resident-
general.

and on the 9th March M. le Myre de Vilers, late Governor of Cochin-China, was gazetted minister plenipotentiary of the first class, and commissioned in that quality with the functions of resident-general at Madagascar. M. Bucharde, lieutenant de vaisseau, was nominated resident of the second class as assistant to the resident-general on the same date.

the Hôva Government, as well as the communications between the Malagasy authorities and the French agents. He has under his orders the French services, including the commandants of his military escort and of the squadron detailed for the service of the island. The functionaries and officers, placed by the French Government at the disposition of the Hôva Government by the terms of article 14 of the Treaty, are under the authority of the Resident-General, who exercises over them a disciplinary power, and supervises the execution of their engagements.

"Art. 3. The Resident-General has his official residence at Antananarivo, but he can stay at any other point of the island where the exigencies of the service call him. He is assisted by a resident posted at Antananarivo, who acts for him in case of absence or impediment.

"Art. 4. The French agents stationed, or to be stationed, at various points of the island, commissioned previously to exercise consular duties, will take the titles of Residents and Sub-Residents. They will be amenable to the Resident-General, to whom they will address all their communications.

"Art. 5. The Resident-General has alone the right to correspond with the Government of the Republic. He communicates with the various ministerial departments through the Minister of Foreign Affairs. He is authorised to correspond direct with the commandants of the French establishments in the neighbourhood of Madagascar, as well as with the Governor of Réunion and the consuls of Zanzibar and Aden.

"Art. 6. The French establishments at Diego-Suarez constitute a distinct service, placed under the direct authority of the Minister of Marine and the Colonies. The relations between the commandant of these establishments and the authorities of the island are carried on exclusively by the intermediary of the Resident-General.

"Art. 7. The Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Minister of Marine are charged, each in that which concerns him, with the execution of the present decree.

"Done at Paris, 7th March 1886.

JULES GRÉVY."

"Considering the decree of the 7th March, stating the organisation of the Residencies in Madagascar. On the proposition of the President of Council, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Keeper of the Seals, Minister of Justice, decreed :—

"Art. 1. In civil and commercial matters, actions between Frenchmen and actions brought against French principal defendants by foreigners, not natives of Madagascar, shall be judged by the tribunals of the Residents and Vice-Residents, in conformity with the dispositions in force in the ports of the Levant, excepting the dispositions contained in the following articles :—

"Art. 2. The tribunals of Residents and Vice-Residents will judge without appeal—(1) All demands in which the parties amenable to these courts, and, in usage of their rights, shall declare their willingness to be judged definitely and without appeal. (2) All personal claims and personal goods of which the total value shall not exceed 3000 francs. (3) Cross-actions or claims for compensation which, when joined to the principal claim, shall exceed 3000 francs. If one of the

A correspondent writing from Antanànarivo on 13th March, states:—"There has been very great grumbling in Antanànarivo among the foreign residents, and great discontent with the terms of the new treaty on the part of some natives who were inspired by these foreigners. As the prime minister would not disclose any details until the treaty was ratified

1886.
March 13.

claims or cross-actions amounts to above this amount, the court will only give judgment on all, subject to appeal. Nevertheless it will be decided without appeal on claims for damages when they shall be founded exclusively on the the principal claim itself.

"Art. 3. Appeal from the judgments given in the first instance by the courts of the Residents and Vice-Residents will be brought before the Court of Appeal of the island of Réunion. It will be there tried in conformity with the legislation in force in the colony.

"Art. 4. Proceedings in error against the judgments without appeal, pronounced by the courts of the Residents and Vice-Residents, are not open to parties, except cause be shown of excess of power.

"Art. 5. Actions between Frenchmen and Malagasy will be decided by the French Resident or Vice-Resident, assisted by a Malagasy judge, conformably to article 4 of the Treaty of the 17th December 1885.]

"Art. 6. The Law in force in all concerning contraventions, offences, and crimes committed by Frenchmen in the ports of the Levant is applicable to the contraventions, offences, and crimes committed by Frenchmen in Madagascar excepting the modifications specified by the present decree.

"Art. 7. Judgments by default, in correctional matters, can be contested by way of appeal after the period of attachment.

"Art. 8. The attributions conferred by the law of 1836 on the Court of Appeal and to the Court of First Instance of Aix will belong to the Court of Appeal of the island of Réunion and to the Court of First Instance of Saint-Denis; the which will be proceeded with and decided on, according to the case, agreeable to the legislation in force in the colony; observing, nevertheless, the dispositions of articles 62 (§ 2) and 66 (§§ 3 and following), and 68 of the said law of 28th May 1836.

"Art. 9. In case of Contumacy, the ordinance of Contumacy will be notified both at the residence of the accused and at the office of the Residency, where it shall be posted.

"Art. 10. None can be summoned to appear as witnesses before the Court of Appeal at Réunion or the Court of Saint-Denis excepting those who may be present in the island of Réunion.

"Art. 11. Prisoners before trial and convicted persons, who, in the cases provided for by articles 58 and 64 of the law of the 28th May 1836, may be transferred to Réunion, can (in the absence of French ships, or in case the captains refuse to embark, by paragraph 2, art. 80 of the above law) be embarked on foreign ships by direction of the Resident or Vice-Resident. In correctional cases the prisoner, if he requires not to be transferred, can remain in the state at the place of his detention. In criminal cases the same faculty can be granted to the accused at his request by the Resident or Vice-Resident. Nevertheless, in this case the Procureur-General and the Court may order the prisoner to be transferred.

"Art. 12. The Residents and Vice-Residents, independently of the extract of their ordinances and judgments, which, by the terms of article 78 of the laws of 28th May 1836, they must address to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, shall

1886.
March 13.

much foolish talk ensued and some curious incidents occurred: for instance, a native pastor, in the confidence of the prime minister, was expatiating one Sunday in a chapel on the blessings of the peace, when a missionary present, believing the rumours and misleading European telegrams, unfortunately got up and contradicted his native colleague, thereby causing a painful impression."

March 20.
Notice to
claimants
of compen-
sation.

In the *Journal Officiel* of the 20th March a notice was gazetted—"To persons who may have claims to advance on account of losses sustained in Madagascar during the recent conflict between the French and Hóva Governments: According to the terms of art. 8 of the treaty concluded on the 17th December 1885, between the French Republic and the Government of H.M. the Queen of Madagascar, the Government of the Queen has agreed to pay 10,000,000 francs, applicable both to the settlement of French claims liquidated before the conflict which took place between the two parties, and to compensation for all damages caused to private persons of all nationalities by the fact of that conflict. The examination and settlement of these indemnities have devolved upon the French Government. Persons having claims to advance on account of the above-mentioned damages are warned that they must address their applications, accompanied by documentary proofs, either to the Foreign Office in Paris before the 15th May, or to the French Resident at Tamatave before the 15th of July next.—Paris, March 18, 1886." The above was gazetted in London as well.

send direct a duplicate extract to the Procureur-General at the Court of Appeal in Réunion, which may reclaim the transmission of the documents and proceedings.

"Art. 13. The Residents and Vice-Residents of France in Madagascar will be invested with the right of *haute-police*, conferred on the French Consuls in the ports of the Levant.

"Art. 14. The Frenchman expelled in virtue of this law can be embarked on French or foreign ships, and sent according to circumstances either to France or to the island of Réunion, or to a French naval station.

"Art. 15. In case of vacancies of Residencies or Vice-Residencies, absence or disabilities of Residents or Vice-Residents, the persons regularly appointed to replace them, supersede or represent the said agents, will exercise the duties which pertain to the predecessors by this present decree.

"Done at Paris, 8th March 1886.

"JULES GRÉVY,

"President of the Republic,

"C. DE FREYCINET,

"Minister Foreign Affairs,

"DEMÔLE,

"Keeper of the Seals, Minister of Justice."

By this time a general inrush of foreigners had set in to Madagascar, consequent on the removal of the restrictions hitherto existing against travelling up the country ; for although Tamatave and its environs within the lines of defence were still subjected to military occupation and rule, the regulations due to a state of siege were relaxed, and the possession of passports by foreigners and natives coming in or going out of the town was the only formality insisted on. One mail steamer landed 112 passengers at Tamatave, where there was little or no accommodation for them, as the houses were mostly occupied by French soldiers, so that Mr. Baylis, the acting consul, was obliged to warn the governor of Mauritius of the inconvenience to which new-comers would be liable. A small retail trade was now being carried on by Malabars, but beyond this every kind of business was stagnant, although provisions were procurable at a cheap rate, and a few hides found their way down from the interior. It was evident that trade would not again flow into its former channel, *viâ* Tamatave, so long as the French occupation existed, and the majority of the immigrants moved down to Andèvorànty and Vatomàndry, whilst a steady influx of visitors was noticeable at the capital. Of course the Jesuits were among the first arrivals, anxious to rejoin their long-isolated congregations ; and Mgr. Cazet, lately raised to the episcopate, was enabled to assume the direction of his diocese, *in partibus infidelium*, being escorted to Antanànarivo by a large number of Catholic natives on the 24th April.

1886.
March 13.
Inrush of
foreigners.

April 24.
Return of
the Jesuits.

M. Buchard was the first of the new residential staff to reach Tamatave, where he was soon followed by his chief, M. le Myre de Vilers, who landed on the 28th April, and took over the charge of French interests from Admiral Miot. His first act was to inform the foreign consular authorities that he had come to preside over foreign affairs. A considerable portion of the French troops left on the 30th April, and the state of siege was raised. On the 1st May the non-combatant citizens of Tamatave resumed their civic rights, and M. Daumas, acting as vice-resident, issued a proclamation for the organisation of the postal service.

May 1.
State of
siege
raised.

Admiral Miot took his final departure from the coast on the 3d May, and, on the following day, the French resident-general started for Antanànarivo. On the 6th May, M. Guinet, an engineer long resident in north Madagascar, departed in the

1886. "Erymanthe" for Diego-Suarez to assist in the formation of the newly-projected settlement at Port de la Nièvre, under Cape Diego. Almost simultaneously with the arrival of M. de Vilers in the island General Willoughby left the capital for the coast, reaching Māhanòro on the 8th May. Six days later the resident-general arrived at Antanānarivò, escorted by two companies of the Royal Guards sent to meet him outside the suburbs. A proper salute was fired, but there was not the least excitement or popular demonstration exhibited in the city on the occasion. M. de Vilers was received by the queen at the great palace on the 17th, and had an interview with Rainilaiàrivòny in the silver palace on the following day. A banquet was given on the 20th, and all the ceremonial diplomatic visits exchanged with official courtesy.

May 14.
The resi-
dent at the
capital.

It was not until the 18th May that the acting consul for Madagascar in London, M. J. Procter, published in the *Times* the famous letter of 9th January, which formed such an important appendix to the Treaty; and its publication enlightened the public as to the true interpretation of the somewhat enigmatical convention.

May 18.
Publica-
tion of the
appendix.

General Willoughby left Māhanòro for Mauritius and Europe on the 22d May. He was fully accredited with ambassadorial functions to the European courts, and especially deputed with the presentation of royal gifts from Queen Ranavalona to President Grévy. The general was further appointed land commissioner, and charged to invite respectable European settlers possessed of small capital to purchase lands and form plantations in the great African island.

General
Willough-
by pro-
ceeds to
Europe as
envoy.

On the 26th May the minister of marine asked the Chamber for a credit of £195,300, being the cost of the army of occupation in Madagascar for the last half of the present year, and of the withdrawal of 1800 troops on conclusion of the peace with the Hóvas. The Chamber voted a credit of £153,200. It was stated that the Government intended to maintain in Madagascar a corps of 1100 men besides the escort for the resident.

May 26.
French
military
expendi-
ture.

M. Joel le Savoureux, appointed vice-resident at Tamatave, and M. Pinard, vice-resident at Mojangà, arrived at their respective posts at the end of May, and M. Douan, the French consul at Mauritius, also proceeded at the same time to Antanānarivò to investigate the claims for losses sustained during the war. These officials were carefully selected by

Arrival of
French
officials.

the French Government on account of their knowledge of English, their British proclivities, and for the general esteem in which they are held by a large circle of English acquaintance. The good faith and practical sense of the French minister for foreign affairs was evinced by these appointments. 1886.

Meantime a suit which had been brought against the British consul at the capital, by an individual who had caused a deal of vexatious trouble in the island, was decided in the Supreme Court of Mauritius by their honours, Chief Judge Leclezio and Judge Williams, in favour of the plaintiff, with nominal damages of twenty rupees and costs. This judgment was important as affecting the consular functions in Madagascar.¹

Mr. Wilkinson's case decided.

One remarkable feature, noticeable throughout the whole period of the Madagascar war, was the hostile attitude of a large section of the Mauritius public (apparently including the Governor) towards everybody who was in sympathy with the Government of Madagascar.

The Governor of Mauritius.

A triumphant entry into the city of some 4000 of the Malagasy troops, a portion of the army which had for the past three years so bravely held the lines of Manjakandrianombana, took place at Antanànarivo on the 10th June. These soldiers in their campaigning dress, each carrying a musket and spear, marched in extended files, keeping up at intervals shouts of their national war-cry, which must have sounded unpleasantly harsh to the occupants of the French residency. On the verandahs and balconies overlooking the streets were the wives, sisters, and relations of these victorious warriors, waving and applauding, whilst numbers of female slaves sang songs accompanied by the usual clapping of hands to welcome the defenders of Imèrina. The troops, under the command of Andriantàsy and Ralàby, subsequently paraded in the palace-yard, where they were personally thanked by the queen and presented with money. On the following day fourteen of the French resident's marine guard arrived from the coast, and Mr. Abraham Kingdon, a well-known former resident, reached the city on business

June 10.
Return of troops to Imèrina.

¹ The Foreign Office have provided amended orders in council giving the consular officers in Madagascar full jurisdiction in such cases as the one above. The Government instructed, it is said, Sir John Pope Hennessey to see that Mr. Pickersgill's case was provided with counsel and supported by the Mauritius Government. The unpopular governor of Mauritius did not do so, but, it is alleged, wrote back to London to say that there was no need for him to take action in the matter, as Mr. Pickersgill had already instructed M. Rouillard to defend him.

1886.
June 23.
Charter
granted to
Royal
Bank.

connected with the formation of the Royal Bank of Madagascar. The charter of this bank was signed by the prime minister on the 23d June, and the bank syndicate in London undertook to raise a loan of £800,000 at seven per cent interest on the security of the customs.¹

June 24.
Strong
position of
premier.

The following particulars, written by a reliable correspondent at Antanànarivo on the 24th June, gives a fair description of the situation at that time, particularly with regard to the raising of the two million dollars which the prime minister had consented to pay to France:—"He (Rainilaiàrivòny) is not an omnipotent despot, but the reigns of government are much more firmly in his grasp than ever they were in days gone by. The attack upon the nation's independence has driven the people more closely together than they used to stand, and the personal jealousies which formerly caused the prime minister a great deal of anxiety have now very little room to grow in.² In a country where government is still a question of men rather than measures, it would take a great

¹ The syndicate included MM. Aggs, Taylor, Griffin, Shepheard, Kysch, Maclean, etc. The bank is empowered (1) to use the Royal Arms of Madagascar, and to be designated the Royal Bank of Madagascar; but the Government would not be responsible for liabilities. (2) To issue notes in Malagasy and other languages to amount of paid-up capital. (3) To be provided with guards. (4) To be employed as agents in respect of coinage. (5) To lend to the Government of Madagascar £800,000 at seven per cent. (6) The loan to be repaid out of the customs' receipts at Tamatave, Mojangà, Vatomàndry, Vohimàkina, Vohimàro, and Andàkabè (Mòronàva), until the whole has been repaid. (7) Should receipts be insufficient, the interest and capital to be repaid from other Government funds. (8) Capital to be repaid by instalments. (9) Representatives of the bank to be placed at above named ports. (10) First charge on the amounts collected to be the salaries of collectors; second, the interest; third, the balance to credit of Madagascar Government. (11) Salaries of officers stated. (12) Alteration of do. (13) All goods, import and export, to be subject to same duties at other ports. (14) After payment of interest at ten per cent on capital of bank, one-seventh profits go to Government of Madagascar. (15) Malagasy Government can appoint one or two directors. (16) Do. auditors.

² Compare this with the correspondent of *Le Temps* (Mgr. Cazet?), writing 17th June:—"Rainilaiàrivòny, qui réunit entre ses mains les pouvoirs religieux et politiques, a soumis la population à sa tyrannie, et sa nombreuse famille commet des exactions de tout genre; aussi est-il généralement détesté; la haine est encore plus grande que la crainte. A la moindre défaillance, lui et les siens seraient massacrés. Personne ne peut prévoir combien durera un pareil régime, qui de jour en jour devient plus vexatoire. Les fils, petit-fils, gendres, petits-gendres, neveux, cousins et alliés du premier ministre semblent s'ingénier à se rendre insupportables à leurs compatriotes.

"Depuis la guerre avec la France, et malgré ses succès relatifs, le premier ministre a beaucoup perdu de son autorité. La mortalité dans les troupes Hovas employées à la côte dépasse le chiffre de 20,000 hommes, proportion énorme pour une population qui n'atteint pas 800,000 âmes. Toutes les familles sont en deuil.

many unpopular acts to destroy the confidence which all classes have manifested in the wisest ruler they have ever known. Moreover, the obedience of the Malagasy to that ruler's authority is always demanded as loyalty to the throne, and his own devotion being ever supreme and undoubted, there is but one choice left to those who at any time may feel disaffected,—they must either put their trust in anarchy or Rànilaiàrivòny. So far from supposing that it would not have been safe for him to collect the two million dollars direct from the people, he was strongly advised to adopt that method of obtaining the money. The argument used in favour of such a course was this,—the peace thus purchased is a blessing to every person in the island, from the lowest to the highest, and all who have not been actually engaged in defending their country ought to be made to pay the price at which their freedom from service in the face of the enemy has been bought. There are at least a million of the queen's subjects in Imèrina, and by making the rich fill up the deficiencies of the extremely poor, a dollar per head can easily be secured all round. That will give half the amount required; and for the remainder, or at any rate a large portion of it, the governors of ports and other officials in charge of provinces, districts, and towns, who have been laying up wealth for years, should contribute their quota. Bleed them all was the advice given; the operation will do them little harm, and the peace will be all the more valued when it has cost something to everybody who shares its advantages.

1886.
Direct
taxation
advised.

“I am fully convinced that the nation might have been made directly responsible for the money due to France without the least fear of the burden being kicked against; but the prime minister, although he at first seemed to think favourably

A loan
decided on.

Et maintenant que la paix est faite, il faut payer une indemnité de 10 millions de francs, charge très lourde pour un pays où la journée de travail d'un homme ne coûte que 25 centimes, y compris la nourriture, où le crédit n'existe pas et où l'intérêt légal est de 20 % par mois.

“En apparence, la soumission est complète; en réalité, pour ceux qui comme moi ont longtemps habité Tananarive, la conspiration est à l'état latent; elle réussira certainement si un homme d'énergie en prend la direction. Le personnage le plus en vue est le ministre des affaires étrangères. Il vous est connu, car c'est lui qui était, en 1883, le chef de l'ambassade qui vous a causé une si vive surprise et dont la conduite vous a paru inexplicable. Il est riche et populaire; cousin germain de Rànilaiàrivòny, il ne lui pardonne pas d'avoir été écarté du pouvoir et d'être sacrifié à Ramariavèlo [otherwise Rainihàrovòny], un des fils du premier ministre, que son père a désignée pour son successeur, malgré des engagements antérieurs” (*Le Temps*, 27th July).

1886.

MM. de
Vilers and
Buchard.The Mala-
gasy for-
eign office.June 26.
Discussion
in the
Senate.

of the plan, did not find courage enough to act upon the advice tendered to him. He chose the easier path, and decided to borrow the money. . . . Here in Antanànarivo they (the French) have a minister plenipotentiary¹ and resident-general, a resident, a vice-resident, two secretaries, a captain commanding the escort of about thirty-five men, an engineer, a doctor, and above all a cook. M. de Vilers seems to us an excellent man for his post. He is as far superior to M. Baudais and M. Cassas as the mountains of Imèrina are higher than its valleys. . . . M. Buchard, the resident, is also a first-rate man . . . he is quick and sympathetic, and recognises the existence of obstacles which not even polite persistency can overcome" (see *Times*, August 17, 1886).

In spite of the assertion made by the resident-general that he would preside over all foreign affairs in Madagascar, Ravòninàhitrinariavo still remained at the head of the Malagasy foreign office, and the British vice-consul continued to transact business with him direct as usual. It was evident that M. de Vilers felt that the Hóva officials still mistrusted the French, and he, moreover, laboured under the disadvantage of having to employ an interpreter at his interviews with the prime minister, which took place every Tuesday.

The discussion on the credit of 323,125 francs voted by the Chamber for the organisation of the residencies in Mada-

¹ It may be convenient to note here the names of the principal ministers and secretaries of state of the Malagasy Government, and also the staff of the French Legation :—

MALAGASY GOVERNMENT.—*Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief*—Rainilaiàrivòny. *Home Department*—Rainitsimbazàfy, 15 vtra. ; Ratsimisèta, 13 vtra. ; and others. *Foreign Affairs*—Ravòninàhitrinariavo, 15 vtra. ; Randriamifidy ; and others. *War Department*—Rainihàrovòny, 15 vtra. (son of Premier) ; Ramàhatra, 15 vtra. (Prince) ; Ratsimatàhodriaka, 15 vtra. ; and others. *Supreme Court of Judicature*—Ralaitsiròfo, Chief Judge ; Robòbalàhy, 14 vtra. ; and others. *Law Officers*—Razànakombàna, 14 vtra. ; Ralaitàfika, 13 vtra. ; and others. *Board of Trade*—Rainimiàdana, 14 vtra. ; Rahàgamaity, 10 vtra. *Treasury*—Raininahàjerè, 14 vtra. ; Rainandrianàry, Judge ; and others. *Civil Service, Education*—Andriamànanizaò ; Rakòto ; Radoàra.

FRENCH LEGATION OF THE CAPITAL.—*Minister-Plenipotentiary and Resident-General*—M. Chas. Marie le Myre de Vilers. *Resident adjoint*—M. Henri Buchard. *Vice-Resident*—M. Daumas. *Surgeon*—Dr. Baissade. *Clerks*—MM. d'Anthonard and Ranchot (private secretary). *Engineer*—M. Rigaud. *Escort*—*Commandant*, Chef de Bataillon V. Blanchard ; *Lieutenant of Marine*, M. F. Staup ; *Surgeon*, M. la Ferrière.

TAMATAYE.—*Vice-Residents*—MM. Campan (since recalled) and De Savoureux. *Clerks*—MM. Longeon and Roncières.

MOJANGA.—*Vice-Resident*—M. Pinard. *Clerks*—MM. Jore and Baron.

gascar took place on the 26th June. M. Gavardie deprecated the want of support afforded by the Government to the French missionaries, and thought the sum of 60,000 francs allowed to the resident insignificant. Next M. Lenoël, the *rapporteur*, eulogised M. le Myre de Vilers, and M. Milhet-Fontarabie called on the president of council to present a comprehensive programme which would assure to France her veritable rôle in Madagascar.

1886.
M. de
Gavardie.

The minister for foreign affairs stated that he had requested M. de Vilers, as soon as he could form an idea on his arrival at Antanànarivo, to indicate the other points where more French agents could be advantageously posted, as the stations at present occupied were not sufficient. He assured the former speakers that the resident had received instructions to favour the work of the French missionaries so far as he could do so without departing from the rule of action belonging to a government such as theirs. The vote was unanimous in favour of the credit.

M. de
Freycinet.

Unanimous
vote.

Meantime M. Patrimonio was by no means idle in the Mozambique Channel, and at the end of June the French Government was enabled to notify to Great Britain that France had assumed the protectorate of the Comoro Islands. At this period also the Chamber agreed to strike a commemorative medal of the Madagascar expedition, with a ribbon of green and yellow stripes. An amendment to the effect that the names of those who had died during the expedition should be inscribed on the walls of their respective town-halls, however, was negatived.

June 30.
Protector-
ate of the
Comoros.

General Digby Willoughby, on his return to London, installed himself in Pall Mall, and was well received at the Foreign Office and War Office. Nevertheless, it was found impossible to recognise him as an ambassador at the court of St. James, as he was to all intents and purposes a British subject, and as such could not claim the immunities accorded to foreign envoys.

July 9.
General
Willough-
by in Lon-
don.

On the 14th July the French tricolor was hoisted at the French residency, which overlooks Andohàlo, with all due ceremony, and in the evening the Malagasy ministers, the foreign representatives and notables, were entertained at a banquet by the resident-general. M. Dorlodot des Essarts, the commander-in-chief of the naval division, who had succeeded Admiral Miot, now made a tour of the northern and north-

July 14.
Hoisting
the tricol-
our.

1886.

western coasts in the "Nielly," accompanied by Rainizànamàga, the eldest son of the prime minister.

July 15.
Debate in
the Cham-
ber.

An important debate took place on the 15th July in the Chamber over the credit demanded by the Government; (1), for the expenses of removing the troops from Madagascar; (2), for naval and administrative expenditure in Madagascar during the three last quarters of 1886. The sum required for the second quarter of the year 1886 amounted to 4,879,969 francs. M. de Mahy was the first speaker, and he dwelt on the importance and advantages of the position acquired at Diego-Suarez, which place he had himself visited in company with distinguished naval officers. It was necessary, he said, to encourage the Government not to confine their possession of Diego-Suarez within the limits which the Hóva Government wished to impose: $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile, that was 2 kilomètres 778 mètres, to the south and west; 4 miles, *i.e.* 7 kilomètres 408 mètres, to the north. These were limits which their plenipotentiary was not authorised to accept, and which did not appear in the treaty. M. de Mahy also required that the customs levied at Diego-Suarez should be pocketed by France. He then alluded to the letter addressed to General Willoughby by the French plenipotentiaries posterior to the treaty,¹ and to the interdiction of the entrance of Malagasy immigrants into the French reservation. He inquired if they were to ask of their friendly allied tribes passports given to them by their enemies. It was the imperious duty of France not to abandon their ancient subjects the Sàkalàva and Antankàrana. M. de Mahy then proceeded to read the famous letter of 9th January (quoted on p. 472) (which M. Jules Delafosse correctly stated to be "*la négation du protectorat*"), and further called the serious attention of the Government to General Willoughby's mission to Europe. The premier stated in answer to the questions of M. de Mahy: "The document to which he has made allusion was in effect a letter written by Admiral Miot and the minister plenipotentiary, M. Patrimonio; but this docu-

M. de
Freycinet
repudiates
the appen-
dix to the
Treaty.

¹ "Il est encore, messieurs, un autre point peut-être plus audacieux, sur lequel je voudrais également être rassuré. Le colonel anglais Digby Willoughby, diplomate et général chez les Hóvas, inspirateur de leur politique, s'est inquiété du développement que ne tarderait pas à recevoir dans les mains de la France une position telle que Diégo-Suarez, et il a entrepris d'y mettre bon ordre. De là le singulier projet de délimitation dont je vous parlais tout à l'heure et qui se trouve tout au long dans une lettre à lui adressée par nos plénipotentiaires, et postérieure au traité. De là, le plan d'isolement commercial et douanier de Diégo-Suarez.

ment is by no means an annexe to the treaty, and does not in the slightest degree engage the French Government, for the excellent reason that it was not communicated to the French Government at the same time as the treaty, and has not been ratified by the Parliament. When we had cognisance of it we made it known at Antanànarivo that this document had no other value than the expression of the personal opinion of those from whom it emanated, and that we in nowise should consider ourselves bound by it. Consequently the situation is perfectly free on this count. This statement enables me to dispense with saying more on this subject. With regard to the clause whereby the plenipotentiaries gave an assurance that we should not receive in Diego-Suarez Bay any Malagasy subjects '*en rupture de ban*,' M. de Mahy believed that this expression could apply to the Sàkalàva and Antankàrana populations who made common cause with us during the late war. . . . MM. Miot and Patrimonio intended to designate by this expression slaves who live within the province of Imèrina as well as prisoners condemned for crimes or misdemeanours. Mark, that I do not now speak of a clause which has been accepted by the French Government. I only speak of the interpretation given by the signatories of a letter (of 9th January). We do not recognise slavery ourselves, and we have not to recognise it in this country, since the interior government belongs to the Queen of Madagascar, and by the terms of the treaty we are prohibited from meddling with the interior administration of her states. As to the Sàkalàva or Antankàrana who wish to come to Diego-Suarez there is no motive whatever which can prevent our receiving them. On the contrary, these are the very populations whom we are bound to see treated with kindness by the Hóva Government. At this moment there is a commission engaged on the coast bordering these tribes, and the reports which we have received within the last few days assure us that the portion of the treaty relative to the treatment of the Sàkalàva is executed in the most punctual and regular manner. Concerning the bay of Diego-Suarez we have in nowise—as I have already said in the discussion of the treaty, and I repeat the assurance to-day—we have in no way accepted, in a methodical and minute fashion, the limits which have been indicated and of which M. de Mahy spoke. At this moment there is a commission of delimitation which, since the 1st of June, has been employed in determining on the

1886.
July 15.

Native
popula-
tions.

1886.
July 15.

Diego-
Suarez.

ground the limits most convenient for the good installation of our establishments. Together with the Hóva Government we shall interpret the treaty in its spirit and with good faith. It is stated in this treaty, not that the limits shall be placed at such and such a distance, but that we shall have the right to have an installation at our convenience near the bay of Diego-Suarez. Well, it is evident that by the words '*installation à notre convenance*' we have not intended to say that we should take the moiety of Madagascar; we shall take the area necessary to form a considerable establishment, suitable, and in a defensive position, which will satisfy our legitimate requirements. I could pass in review all the articles of the treaty and give the same assurances to M. de Mahy. He may be certain that we shall watch the application of the treaty in its spirit with an entirely good faith and with all the firmness he can desire. We have no desire to make any concessions; we shall require the execution of the treaty in its entirety."

The president of council added, in answer to a question, that he had received a telegram from M. le Myre de Vilers, saying simply that he had made known to the prime minister that the French Government did not consider themselves bound by the letter of Admiral Miot and M. Patrimonio. The telegram added nothing which evidently proved that there was no sort of dispute. It was a simple notice.

Diplomatic
mission
impossible.

In answer to M. de Mahy the premier said:—"I cannot answer about the mission of Colonel Willoughby, for the reason that, as a diplomatic mission, I can affirm that there is none, and that there cannot be one, because it is perfectly certain that the diplomatic relations of the Hóva Government are carried on through the intermediary of the French Government. The conventions, commercial or otherwise, which may be concluded by the Hóva Government, must necessarily pass through the hands of the resident-general and with the approbation of the French Government. There can be no doubt whatever on this subject. Consequently I cannot admit, and I am absolutely convinced, that Colonel Willoughby has no kind of diplomatic mission. Yet, whether he may have received from the Hóva Government instructions concerning interior affairs, as questions of credit, questions of loans, of bank, or others of a financial order, it is absolutely impossible to affirm anything in this respect. He returns to Europe, he

has no official quality as negotiator, he has no mission to make known, and it is absolutely impossible for me to know what dealings he may have with men of business either on the continent or in England. As far as a diplomatic mission is concerned, I repeat that he has none to our knowledge; that he cannot, according to my information, have any; and that in any case we do not recognise him at all" (Applause). 1886.

M. de Mahy warned the French Government to take precautions against allowing the resources of Madagascar to pass into English hands, and the debate closed with 309 votes being recorded for the credits demanded against 83 dissentients. The session of Parliament was closed the same day.

Meantime the telegram from Madagascar announcing the granting of a charter to the Royal Bank of Madagascar and the prospect of a loan for £800,000 being raised in London caused intense chagrin among a certain clique in Paris, and after the session was closed numerous letters appeared in the Parisian newspapers commenting unfavourably on the attitude of the French Government in permitting the loan to be raised under British auspices. M. Marmonier, formerly Chef de Cabinet to M. Brisson, wrote and published a letter to M. de Freycinet in which he argued:—"If a bank were opened on such conditions the country to which the company belonged would acquire an effective right of intervention in the affairs of the island. After this act the position of the Malagasy populations would be modified to our detriment, and we should witness the extraordinary spectacle of the conclusion of a treaty after a war for the assurance of our predominance, and of the suppression of the results of this treaty by a simple convention to which you would not even assign a diplomatic character." Subsequently M. Rochefort, in the *Intransigant*, affirmed that this letter was inspired by the ex-ministers, MM. Jules Ferry and Brisson. M. de Freycinet replied that the Government had already considered the points to which M. Marmonier had drawn attention, and that during the absence of the Chambers, as during their presence, it would neglect nothing which might safeguard the interests of the country; and, on the same date, the French embassy in London issued a notification to the effect that the French Government would not consider any arrangements as to the contract of a Malagasy loan concluded without its sanction as valid.¹

July 16.
The Malagasy loan
opposed.

M. Marmonier.

July 24.
Notification by the
French
embassy.

¹ "D'après des bruits récemment mis en circulation, des négociations seraient

1886.

A statement was published by the *Havas* agency that "the English Government had notified to the French Republic that England had no intention of interfering with the execution of the Franco-Hôva treaty, and that she had no intention of authorising the establishment of an Anglo-Malagasy bank." There was no authority whatever for this statement, the publication of which, however, doubtless served the purpose of those who inserted the *canard*.

July 23.
The *Madagascar Times*.

Although so many officials in connection with the French legation had found their way up into Imèrina, curiously enough, not a single French trader had as yet penetrated to Antanànarivo, a sign that the French commercial houses had no very sure opinions as to the stability of the resident's position at the capital. It was reported that the new arrivals were not particularly happy or too well pleased with their dull exile in Antanànarivo.¹ It was said that overtures had been made to bribe the *Madagascar Times*,² but the report was probably originated by the enlargement of the sheets of that enterprising journal, which appeared with a new head-piece and with its columns in the three languages used in Madagascar. At the request of M. le Myre de Vilers the French Government now expressed its intention of sending several young aspirants to Madagascar as student-interpreters.

August 1.
Colonel
Shervinton.

The well-informed correspondent of the *Temps* wrote from Tamatave on the 1st August that Colonel Shervinton was at Ambòhimàrina near Diego-Suarez, where a consignment of arms, guns, and ammunition had been transported from a neighbouring bay. Nevertheless, concluded this correspondent, "A Diégo, d'ailleurs, nous tenons Madagascar par la tête. N'est-ce pas déjà quelque-chose?"

August 27.

On 27th August General Willoughby was received by M. ouvertes à Londres en vue de la conclusion d'un emprunt pour le compte du gouvernement Hôva. Les conditions de cet emprunt constitueraient une atteinte incontestable au traité conclu, le 17 décembre 1885, entre la Reine de Madagascar et la République Française, et qui a été régulièrement notifié aux puissances. En conséquence le gouvernement Français tient à faire savoir qu'il ne reconnaîtra pas, le cas échéant, la validité de tels arrangements conclus en dehors de lui, et il formule les plus expresses réserves quant aux conséquences qui pourraient en résulter pour les intéressés."

¹ "Les nouveaux venus à Tananarive sont encore désorientés. La capitale est sombre; elle leur paraît une immense nécropole de 80,000 âmes, où le rigorisme protestant et la tyrannie gouvernementale ont imprimé la tristesse; en somme, c'est un triste séjour" (Correspondent of *Le Temps*).

² See *Pall Mall Gazette*, 28th August 1886. Letter from correspondent at Antanànarivo, 23d July.

de Freycinet and Admiral Miot. It was manifestly politic on the part of the French premier to acknowledge the ambassador of Queen Ranavàlona. The conversation is said to have referred chiefly to the proposed Madagascar loan and the disputed letter of the 9th January. As regards the appendix to the Treaty, the terms of which had not been submitted to Parliament, M. de Freycinet on this occasion stated that he would reconsider the declarations made in the Chamber on the 15th July. With respect to the loan the French minister, without wishing to criticise the intentions of the Hóva Government, which seemed frankly desirous of satisfying the treaty conditions within the shortest possible period, confessed that the duty of the French Government was to allow none of those under their protectorate to enter into independent engagements. The effect of M. de Freycinet's cautious utterance was to considerably hinder the financial operations of the Madagascar Bank, as the capitalists who had undertaken to negotiate the loan naturally drew back when they understood that France contested the right of Madagascar to pledge her customs dues. Moreover, news was telegraphed from Zanzibar (according to the *Liberté*) that the Hóvas were raising difficulties for French subjects who demanded the restoration of their property.

1886.
Reception
of General
Willough-
by.

August 31.
Difficulties
raised by
the Hóvas.

In accordance with the advice of M. de Vilers, M. Campan (formerly chancellor and interpreter to the French consulate), vice-resident at Tamatave, was recalled to his well-merited retirement in France, and left at the end of August. As the coadjutor of M. Baudais and one of the Laborde heirs, his presence was unacceptable to the Malagasy, and it was judicious of M. de Freycinet to remove and place on half-pay an official whose personal interests interfered with his residential functions.

The arrival of a lengthy telegram from the premier to M. de Vilers on the 28th August, the transmission of which, says the correspondent of the *Temps*, did not cost less than 12,000 rupees, *viâ* Zanzibar, gave rise to a report which was sent from Tamatave (12th September), and telegraphed from Durban on the 24th September, that an ultimatum had been presented by the resident to Rainilaiàrivòny demanding the withdrawal of the appendix, the annulling of the bank charter, and the concession of unlimited territory at Diego-Suarez. Also, that the Malagasy Government refused to yield, and that the resident was on the point of quitting Antanànarivo; but the French ministry lost no time in disavowing their intention of proceeding to any

Sept. 26.
Le Temps.

1886.
October.

such lengths in their demands.¹ The resident-general (as stated in Parliament) had received orders strictly to maintain all the clauses of the Franco-Malagasy Treaty, and to declare that France was determined to enforce respect for them. On the other hand, in an autograph letter from one of the late ambassadors to Europe is embodied the Malagasy policy: "We mean to stand fast, ready to give everything that is right, but nothing that will injure our independence. I hope nothing more than diplomatic threats will happen."

An inter-
national
loan.

The English capitalists have now determined to seek the co-operation of the French in the raising an international loan, and having been assured by the Foreign Office that their negotiations will not be interfered with, there is every probability that the amount due to France by Madagascar will shortly be paid in full, and the rulers of the African island will then be able to turn their whole attention to matters of internal economy. Consul Haggard replaces Mr. Hicks Graves at Tamatave; and Mr. Parrett, unfettered by any engagements, returns to Antananarivo, where his disinterested counsels cannot fail to sustain Rainilaiarivony in his difficult task of working out the freedom and independence of his country.

Consul
Haggard.

Oct. 21.

The latest news from M. de Vilers indicated a vast improvement in the situation of affairs, and promised a speedy solution of all difficulties. The sanction of the Government had been granted for the construction of a line of telegraph from the coast to the capital, for which the *matériel* and *personnel* have already been forwarded in the "Varra" from Marseilles. It was reported that the Hóva Government were about to despatch fourteen native youths to France for technical instruction in mining and other sciences; whilst at Diego-Suarez the principal points of delimitation had already been agreed upon.

Conclusion.

In spite, therefore, of the gloomy forebodings indulged in by the press from time to time on both sides of the Channel, there seems absolutely to be no pretext for any renewal of active hostilities, and the final settlement of the diplomatic dispute is, at last, within a measurable distance. The story of the Franco-Malagasy war may therefore be regarded as finished.

¹ "Faisons remarquer encore une fois, que le Parlement Français n'a pas eu connaissance du commentaire des plenipotentiaires, et qu'il n'est pas probable que notre gouvernement demande actuellement la concession d'un territoire *illimité* comme il est dit dans le télégramme du *Standard*" (*Le Temps*, 26th September).

APPENDIX A.¹

THE CONFERENCES AT PARIS between the Commissioners of the Government of the French Republic and the Hóva Ambassadors.² 1882.
Oct. 23.

The Government of the Republic was represented at these conferences by M. Decrais, minister plenipotentiary, director of political affairs at the Foreign Office ; Vice-Admiral Peyron, chief of the staff at the Ministry of Marine ; M. Billot, minister plenipotentiary, director of political and commercial questions at the Foreign Office. The *procès verbaux*, not having been signed by the Hóva Ambassadors, have not been published by the French Government, and their place has been supplied by the publication of the following notes which were exchanged during the conferences.

(Translations.)

FIRST NOTE submitted by the Hóva Ambassadors.
Paris, 23d October 1882.

“Messieurs—The Embassy of Her Majesty the Queen of Madagascar, accredited to the Government of the French Republic, request from the representatives of the French Government permission to lay before them frankly all the reasons which they have to submit and which they believe to be the right of the Government of the Queen of Madagascar. The embassy hopes to be able to share its convictions with the representatives of the French Government ; but if unfortunately this should not be the case, it could only appeal to the generosity of France, never willing to oppress the feeble, and which would hardly deviate from this generosity towards a young government, inclined to progress and civilisation, and which has always had for France a lively feeling of sympathy and friendship. Her Majesty the Queen of Madagascar and her Government, on learning from the consul and commissary of the French Republic that there exist at Madagascar certain territories under the protection of the French Government, has sent us as their ambassadors to the Government of the French Republic, in order to submit the following reasons which show why the said protectorate cannot take place.

1. Since the King Radama I., who began his reign in 1810, all Madagascar has been united under one sole dominion, thanks to the conquests made by the sovereigns who succeeded ; and although from time to time

¹ *Livre jaune*, “Affaires Étrangères,” “Documents Diplomatiques,” “Affaires de Madagascar,” 1881-83, p. 51, *et seq.*

² See p. 301.

1882.

there have been some rebellions in certain territories, in consequence of which the sovereigns of Madagascar have organised military expeditions, no foreign power intervened or opposed by saying that the territories into which the conquering soldiers had entered were under its protection. Then, when strangers introduced themselves secretly at Ambavato by to establish fortifications there, and were turned out between the years 1855 to 1857 by the Government of Madagascar, no foreign nation called attention to the fact that they had established themselves on territories under its protection.

"2. Since King Radâma I. until this day the inhabitants of the territories claimed by the consul and commissary as being under the protection of France, governed by Môngja and Bènaò, fulfil the duties that subjects owe to the sovereign of Madagascar as long as they inhabit dry land, such as the *hâsina* (which is the act of recognising the sovereignty of the reigning sovereign, symbolised by a little sum of money) and the *variraventy isanôlomiaina*¹ (the 720th part of a five-franc piece, which is paid every year by each individual on the occasion of the feast of the bath for the same reason).

"3. In 1862, during the reign of Radâma II., the French Government sent Commander Dupré to Antanânarivo to negotiate the treaty which was signed the 12th September 1862, which treaty was entered into between the French Government and the King of Madagascar, and not only with the king of a part of Madagascar, for it stipulated clearly that the French Government recognised King Radâma II. as King of Madagascar without exception of person or place. Therefore, even were it admitted that there had been previous arrangements between the French Government and certain tribes, and which it is now said had been made in 1840 and 1841, France, by making this treaty with King Radâma II., gave them up freely and irrevocably.

"4. On the 12th September 1862 the signing of the charter of concession to M. Lambert took place, to which the French Government had given its adhesion. It is therein stipulated that, all through Madagascar, the company had the privilege of choosing on the coasts and in the interior of the country unoccupied lands. According to us, if there had existed at Madagascar any *points* which had not previously belonged to King Radâma II., they would have been mentioned. When the company had made the choice of lands it was the zone of 12th and 16th S. lat. that was chosen. It is precisely in that region that the territories claimed by the consul of France are to be found, for the time being at Antanânarivo, as being under the protectorate of the Government of the French Republic. On her accession to the throne in 1863 Queen Rasohèrimanjaka knew pertinently that the cause of the death of Radâma II. was due to the said charter of concession which the French Government wished to maintain. She made application to the Emperor Napoleon III. to be relieved from it, and to obtain negotiations of a treaty of friendship, and preferred to pay the sum of 1,200,000 francs as an indemnity for the lands conceded by Radâma II. as well as for everything which related to it. Consequently the region comprised between the 12th and 16th S. lat. was under the domination of the King Radâma II. as well as all other points.

¹ See p. 209.

"5. After the definite settlement and the abandon of the rights of a 1882. company whose liabilities the French Government accepted, it sent the Comte de Louvières as commissary plenipotentiary to Antanànarivo in order to negotiate a fresh treaty. The Comte de Louvières dying before the end of the negotiations, M. Garnier, consul and special commissary of the Emperor, continued them, but they could not be terminated in consequence of the death of Queen Rasohèrimanjàka, and it was only on the 8th August 1868, at the beginning of the reign of Queen Ranavàlomanjaka II. that it was completed and signed. By this treaty France solemnly acknowledges Queen Ranavàlomanjaka II. Queen of Madagascar. The Queen of Madagascar was convinced that the essential point, her being recognised by the Government of France as Queen of Madagascar, was not merely granted out of courtesy, but was the recognition of a fact. Further, the spirit of the clauses of the treaty concurs in recognising that it is with the sovereign of Madagascar as a whole that the French Government entered into a treaty, and not with that of a part only. Thus the Queen of Madagascar and her Government could never have supposed that the French Government, their ally for so long a period, and with whom they maintained a treaty of friendship, could have lent its protection to territories seeking to withdraw from their dominion. The Queen and her Government have been deeply surprised and distressed to learn, at the moment when they had decided to increase protection to the persons and property of strangers and to their commerce, that there exists in Madagascar territories which the French consul and commissary describe as being under the protectorate of France. Further, as we deduct customs dues in the above parts when our officers, who are in charge of the coasts at Ampàsimitiky (Pàsindàva), exacted surcharges, M. Laborde, formerly consul of France, in his despatch of 28th November 1874, par. 6, complained to the Government of Madagascar as follows: 'At Ampàsimitiky (Pàsindàva), dependency of Anòrontsànga, Commandant Rafaralàhy exacted twenty-two per cent of dues, and M. Camoin was obliged to pay it.' The commander of the naval division hopes that the Government will order restitution to be made to M. Camoin of the overcharge made in spite of the ten per cent stipulated in the treaty." At the present time European merchant vessels, principally French vessels, bring merchandise to these places, and pay us customs dues exactly as they do at all the other ports.

SECOND NOTE submitted by the Hóva Ambassadors.

October.

We have come to France, sent by Her Majesty the Queen of Madagascar, to maintain the good relations existing between France and Madagascar, and to endeavour to terminate all difficulties.

After the conferences which have taken place, and in spite of the explanations which we have given, the French Government persists in maintaining the claims which have been made to us by its consul, M. the commissary of the Republic at Antanànarivo. In consequence, we have thought it expedient to submit a plan for a settlement which would concern both parties, and we hope to expect the sympathy, the friendliness, and the concurrence of the French Government.

With regard to the Arab dhow "Touélé," although convinced that we had to do with Arab smugglers calling themselves French, and who

1882. landed, by force, arms, merchandise prohibited by the law of the land and by treaty, animated by the desire to maintain good relations with France, we none the less paid the sum of money claimed by the consul of France, commissary of the Republic.

Article 4 of the treaty of 1868 says: "The French at Madagascar shall enjoy complete protection for their persons and property. They shall be at liberty, like subjects of the most favoured nation, and when conforming to the laws and regulations of the country, to establish themselves wheresoever they shall judge fit, to take land on lease, to acquire all sorts of property, movable or immovable, and to engage in all commercial and industrial operations which are not prohibited by internal legislation."

The laws and regulations of the country to which the French, like subjects of the most favoured nation, are bound to conform themselves, have for a long time and always forbidden the sale of land to strangers. Our Government has always declared that, according to the laws and traditions, and also to the strength of public opinion so powerful in Madagascar, neither the queen, nor her nobles, nor any private individual, can alienate the property of the soil to strangers; the land must always remain the property of the sovereign—that is to say, of the country. There is and can be no other system of property in Madagascar for strangers but that of leases for a long term of years. The publishing of law 85 was only the confirmation and the recalling of the customs and traditions of the country, and no pressure was made relatively to the letting of lands. We hope that the French Government, acknowledging these ideas so deeply rooted in the public mind at Madagascar, will be willing to accept a modification of article 4 of the treaty of 1868, or rather an explanation or interpretation of this article.

According to this true and faithful interpretation of the treaty, the French, and consequently all the subjects of nations united by treaties to Madagascar, who make arrangements conformably to the law of the country with proprietors, are at liberty to hire on leases for a long term of years. These leases might be for a duration of twenty-five years, and renewable; they might, for the [time still to be run, be given up, sold, or transferred. These leases for the renting of lands should be protected by all desirable guarantees.

With regard to the difference existing between the Government of Her Majesty the Queen of Madagascar and the heirs of M. Laborde, it appears from all the documents that M. Laborde never bought these lands, but received them for enjoying during his life, in consequence of which the claims of the heirs of M. Laborde cannot be established. Nevertheless the Government of the Queen, anxious to live on good terms with France, and in consideration of the remembrance of the services rendered to the country by M. Laborde, consents to pay to his heirs a sum of 25,000 francs (vingt-cinq-mille francs).

We are convinced that the French Government, from what it has often said to us, has no intention of taking lands in Madagascar. We propose that with regard to the territory of the Bay of Ampasindava, neither France nor the Government of Madagascar shall maintain there a garrison or hoist its flag. Nevertheless, when it shall have been stated that the Government of Madagascar possesses sufficient power to protect strangers and their property on the west coast as well as on the east coast, it hopes

the French Government will recognise it to be also capable of its administration. 1882.

By what has been said, the ambassadors of Her Majesty the Queen of Madagascar give to France the closest assurance of the feelings which actuate them, and they venture to hope that France will help them to pursue the work of civilisation and of progress, which their Government proposes to put into execution in its island, and of which it will hasten to give manifest proofs.

The right of working the forests and mines being exclusively reserved by the Government of Madagascar, when it considers it useful to permit this working for the good of the country, it will then consent that French subjects should participate on the same terms as Malagasy subjects, except, be it well understood, that this work can only be exercised conformably to the laws which the Government of Madagascar will have drawn up. They hope also that the representative of the French Government at Antanànarivo would take into consideration, in concert with the Malagasy authorities, practical means to prevent the persons under his jurisdiction from trusting to their being French in order to commit acts contrary to the laws of the country and prejudicial to its inhabitants, by engaging in illegal operations.

Lastly, we declare sincerely that France can depend upon our sympathy, and may be certain that it will never fail her. If we had to ask for the concurrence of a foreign power for enterprises useful to the development of our country, we should be happy to address ourselves first to the French Government, which we feel certain would grant it us in a friendly spirit.

FIRST NOTE of the French Commissioners to the Hóva Envoys.
Paris, November 1882.

It follows from the contents even of the note which was delivered at the beginning of the *pourparlers* by the embassy of Queen Ranavàlo, as well as from the exchange of explanations to which it gave rise in the second conference, that the discussion was by mutual consent limited to the questions raised, either by the violation of our treaty of 1868 with the Court of Antanànarivo, or by the claims by the Hóva Government to certain territories on the north-west coast, placed under our protection by public and special acts. Such is the ground maintained on both sides from the beginning of the negotiations, and at the end of the last meeting M. Decrais concluded thus: Let Queen Ranavàlo voluntarily withdraw from the north-west coast her flags, garrisons, and custom-houses, and let her not reduce us to the painful necessity of intervening ourselves in order to protect our contested rights, our threatened interests. These pledges once given, the Hóva Government will know the value of the generosity of France to which the note delivered by the ambassador has not hesitated to appeal. Now in a second note, the object of which appears to be to answer the ideas stated by the delegate of the Government of the Republic, the representatives of Queen Ranavàlo have thought fit to enter upon quite a new order of questions—that is to say, the claims resulting from the pillage of the “*Touélé*” and the difficulties raised by the Laborde inheritance. We have occasion to be surprised by this way of proceeding

which we could not accept, our explicit intention having always been to reserve the discussion of questions of private interest, of a purely contentious order, as long as agreement had not been come to on the two points which concern our political relations with the Hóva Government. We could not either follow the envoys of the queen to the position they have thought fit to take in their last communication with regard to the settlement of the difficulties relating to the north-west coast. After the declarations made by M. Decrais in the second conference, and in presence of the terms in which they have placed the question, the compromise suggested by the representatives of the queen can only be considered by us as a plea in bar which would be of a nature to bring into question, in our eyes, the dispositions even of the negotiators; and if the satisfaction we have a right to expect on this point from the Hóva Government were to end here, we should find ourselves, to our great regret, and whatever might be the sincerity of our friendly intentions with regard to the Hóva Government and people, in the painful necessity of providing ourselves for the protection of our rights and our interests.

THIRD NOTE presented by the Hóva Ambassadors.

Answer to the Note of November 1882.

The ambassadors of Her Majesty the Queen of Madagascar have received communication of the note addressed to them by the French Government, relating to the negotiations which are the object of their mission. Inspired by a spirit of conciliation and of deference from which they have never for one moment wished to depart, they agree most willingly that the discussion should be limited to the questions raised by "the application of the treaty of 1868 and by the intervention of the Malagasy flag on certain territories on the north-west coast." The ambassadors of the Queen of Madagascar even wish it noticed on this subject that if the note presented by them, at the beginning of the *pourparlers* and in order to facilitate the discussion, took in the claims arising from the pillage of the *Touélé* and the difficulties raised by the Laborde inheritance, it was because they thought it conformable to the spirit of the conference to state as a whole all the subjects of complaint the settling of which would assure that complete union so desirable between the court of Antananarivo and the French Republic. But the ambassadors agree to seek first of all for union on the two points which concern their political relations.

As far as one of these points is concerned, "the voluntary withdrawal, by order of Her Majesty Queen Ranavalomanjaka, of her flags, garrisons and custom-houses recently established on the north-west coast," the ambassadors of Her Majesty the Queen engage to conform to the desire expressed by the French Government, since the Government notifies to them the existence and the maintenance of its particular treaties with the chiefs of the coast.

On the second point, according to the French note, violation of the treaty of 1868, the said note alludes no doubt to article 85 of the handbook of the laws of the Government of Madagascar promulgated 29th March 1881, and would consider that article as making an attempt on the

rights included in Article IV. of the treaty of 1868, a treaty which the Government of Madagascar has not the least intention to disregard.

But the reservations which in the said treaty itself surround Article IV., placing strangers in the necessity of conforming to the laws of the country, allow the ambassadors to hope that the French Government will accept such an explanation as will not necessitate the complete abrogation of the royal edict, for such an abrogation would entail an internal crisis, the consequences of which would be incalculable.

The Government is aware that in eastern states, property is not granted even to the subjects of the crown except under the form of an indefinite delegation of the possession of the land in virtue of the tradition which makes the sovereign master of the ground. This possession can therefore be insured to strangers, by an interpretation of Article 85, under the form of leases for a long term, renewable, with sure guarantees. And this arrangement would prevent the illicit traffic in lands—traffic which the French Government has surely no intention of protecting, and which was practised with impunity before the promulgation of Article 85, to the prejudice of all the security and stability of landed property.

The two preceding primordial points alone referred to in the note of the French Government, having thus obtained satisfaction, and no misunderstanding existing on the anterior treaties brought to their knowledge, the ambassadors of Her Majesty the Queen of Madagascar express their lively confidence that the subsidiary questions of private interest will be settled through the consuls with the advantage of the goodwill resulting from the incontestable proofs of conciliation they have brought to France.

In exchange for these agreements, the ambassadors ask France to give to Her Majesty the Queen of Madagascar and to her Government the assurance of the maintenance of good relations with her Government ; beg her to confirm the assurances that she has no intention of taking possession of Madagascar ; that, on the contrary, she will help the Government of the Queen of Madagascar in the way of progress and of civilisation ; and that she will favour its gradual development in proportion as the Government shows itself worthy of that generosity to which the ambassadors make a fresh appeal.

They rely on the traditional integrity of France, on her respect for nationalities, and on the magnanimity of the illustrious President of the Republic for giving this invaluable declaration that authority so urgently desired by the Queen and the Malagasy people.

SECOND NOTE submitted to the Hóva Ambassadors.

The Government of the Republic has taken cognisance of the Note submitted by the Hóva plenipotentiaries, and it is pleased to ascertain the dispositions to which it testifies. It follows in effect from the terms of this Note, as well as from the explanations which accompanied it, that the ambassadors of the Queen, in consequence of the notification made to them of particular treaties existing between France and the chiefs of the north-west coast, undertake, in the name of their Government, to conform to the desire expressed by the French Government, as far as concerns the voluntary withdrawal by order of Her Majesty the Queen, with a delay of

six months, of the Hóva flags, garrisons, and custom-houses, which have given rise to the present difficulties.

The Government of the Queen recognises the right of property such as it is entered in principle, on behalf of the French subjects, in the treaty of 1868 ; and the Government of the Republic, referring to the declarations which have in the course of the negotiation of the said treaty expressly reserved the respective situation of the two countries, agrees that its application should be regulated so as to insure to its natives the possession of lands under the form of leases for a long term of years, renewable, protected by sure guarantees, and with the power of lasting for ninety-nine years. As to the assurances that the Government of the Queen has asked us for, with a view to the complete re-establishment of friendly relations between the two countries, the Government of the Republic does not hesitate to declare that it has no intention to "take possession of Madagascar," and that in view of the effectual proofs that the court of Antananarivo has given of its sentiments, it is ready to promote the march of the Hóva Government and people in the way of progress and of civilisation. Therefore, under reservation of its rights, it consents that the Hóva military posts should not be replaced at present by French posts. . . .¹ Such are the conditions that the Government of the Republic considers calculated to insure the complete re-establishment and the maintenance of good relations between the two countries ; it will be sufficient if the plenipotentiaries of the Queen, after having taken cognisance of them, place their signatures at the foot of the present Note, in order that they be considered as equally accepted by the Hóva Government, and becoming law for the two parties.

FOURTH NOTE submitted by the Hóva Ambassadors.

The ambassadors of Her Majesty the Queen of Madagascar, after having taken cognisance of the Note submitted to them by the Government of the Republic, and animated by the desire to maintain good and friendly relations, urgently request that it will be pleased not to make mention in writing of the clause² relating to the general claims of France over Madagascar, for the ambassadors know that they are not furnished with powers respecting this matter.

And with reference to the paragraph concerning the possession of land under the form of leases for a long term of years, on behalf of French subjects, the ambassadors propose that the said leases should be fixed at twenty-five years, with the power of being renewed three times by mutual consent of the proprietor and tenant, and protected by sure guarantees.

¹ The following important passage in the original is suppressed in the Yellow Book :—"It is, however, well understood that these assurances cannot in any way question the general rights which France from all time has claimed over Madagascar, which rights the Government of the Republic, under the present circumstances, is bound expressly to reserve, while sincerely hoping that the friendly and confiding spirit of the Hóva Government towards us will allow us to refrain from calling them up again" (*F. W. Chesson*).

² This is the suppressed clause, given above, on the non-acceptance of which the negotiations were abruptly broken off.

They further request the Government of the Republic will be pleased to add to the Note to be signed the assurance they have asked for, in these terms : " France will favour the gradual development of the Government of Madagascar in proportion as that Government shows itself worthy of the generosity of France."

APPENDIX B.

THE MADAGASCAR QUESTION : STATEMENT OF THE MALAGASY.

1882.
Dec. 4.*The Malagasy Ambassadors to Earl Granville (received 5th December).¹**(Translation.)*

LONDON, 4th December 1882.

MY LORD—We, the undersigned ambassadors of Her Majesty the Queen of Madagascar, herewith lay before your Lordship a statement of our present position in relation to the French Government, hoping that after due consideration of the facts which have led to certain difficulties with the French representatives, Her Britannic Majesty's Government may be induced to use their friendly offices for the purpose of ensuring to the Queen of Madagascar those sovereign rights which she and her predecessors have so long enjoyed, and to which she is so justly entitled.

In order that your Lordship may be the better able to understand the nature of the case it will be necessary for us to adduce certain indisputable historical facts. Your Lordship will be aware that Madagascar was first visited in 1506 by the Portuguese, who for some time held a small settlement in the island ; and they were followed by a number of Dutch colonists, who during the years 1595 to 1598 settled at Antongil Bay. When in 1643 the French made their first settlement in Madagascar at St. Lucia and Fort Dauphin, at the south-east corner of the island, they found that 400 Englishmen had also preceded them, and had already formed a colony on the south-western coast. These facts, my lord, will show you that of four European Powers who attempted to colonise Madagascar, the French were the last.

Having abandoned their settlement in the year 1672, it was not until the year 1745 that the French again established themselves at St. Mary, a small island off the east coast of Madagascar, and in the same year they also formed a trading station at Foule Point on the same coast. In 1786 the French withdrew entirely from the mainland of Madagascar, for " after the abandonment of the establishments formed in the Bay of Antongil by the celebrated Baron Benyowski, in that year, France had only a trade in slaves with Madagascar, and only retained a few posts for the slave trade under the direction of a commercial agent, and under the protection of a number of soldiers furnished by the garrison of Mauritius, then in the hands of France, in order to maintain a supply of provisions for that island, and also for that of Bourbon, such as rice and cattle" (*Précis sur les Établissements Français formés à Madagascar*, Paris, 1836).

¹ Africa, No. 1 (1883), correspondence respecting Madagascar, relating to the mission of the Hóva envoys to Europe in 1882-83 (Blue Book 1883).—No. 36, p. 25.

1882.
Dec. 4.

In 1810 the British captured both Mauritius and Bourbon, and their dependencies, so that if the French had at that time any rights at all in Madagascar they must have fallen into the hands of Great Britain. Indeed, the very positions formerly occupied in Madagascar by the French were seized by English troops, and on the 25th May 1816 the governor of Mauritius took formal possession of Madagascar on behalf of the British Government. In 1817, however, all rights possessed by Great Britain in Madagascar were ceded to our King Radàma I., with whom Captain le Sage, on behalf of the British Government, made a Treaty of Friendship and Commerce, which treaty also ensured the abolition of the export slave trade. Radàma I. conquered the Sàkalàva of the north and north-west, and at the close of his reign there was not a single tribe in Madagascar which had not submitted to his power.

We cannot refrain from reminding your Lordship that we owed to Great Britain that our King Radàma I. succeeded in subjugating the coast tribes of Madagascar, which were constantly at war with each other. It was the English Government which supplied him with arms and ammunition and money, whereby he was enabled to put an end to those internal civil wars which were rapidly destroying the population of our country. It was the English agent, Mr. Hastie, the friend and adviser of our King Radàma I., who accompanied him in many of his expeditions, and it was owing to his intervention that an end was put to the barbarous proceedings which characterised war in those times.

It was the British Government which took from our country to Mauritius and England a number of our young men, for the purpose of instructing them and training them in various trades and occupations. It was Englishmen who reduced our language to a written form, who gave us our first books, and a complete edition of the Holy Scripture in our own tongue, and who taught those arts and handicrafts which have made such advances among our people.

In 1836 a Malagasy embassy from our Queen Ranavàlona I. was sent to England, and was received by King William IV., to confirm the treaty made in 1818, which stipulated (1) the abolition of the export slave trade, and (2) the encouragement of commerce and civilisation. These conditions have, we maintain, been most faithfully carried out, as is evidenced by the emancipation of all the African slaves in Madagascar by Queen Ranavàlomanjaka II. Admiral Gore-Jones, Special Envoy to the Queen of Madagascar last year, bore witness to this, and expressed his astonishment and satisfaction at the progress our country had made, and thanked Her Majesty in the name of the English Government for the great acts of her reign. The admiral also congratulated the Malagasy Government in thus proving themselves capable of governing the whole island, which would obviate the necessity of the intervention of any foreign nation. The British envoy drew particular attention to outrages committed by the tribes of the west coast, and our Government promised to take steps to send troops to strengthen the garrisons on that coast, to secure protection to all foreigners, and further, to watch and prevent the importation of slaves; and it was while we were carrying out this object that the French removed the Queen's flags from the Sàkalàva chiefs, and incited them to revolt, and placed an embargo on the "*Antanànarivo*," a ship purchased by our Government to carry provisions for the garrisons about to leave for those south-western ports. And now from our latest advices we learn

that two American citizens have been murdered in the district for which our troops were destined ; and we therefore consider the French indirectly responsible for the murder of two subjects of a friendly power. 1882.
Dec. 4.

We wish to call your lordship's attention to the claim that France is now making to a protectorate over the north-west coast of Madagascar, with general rights over the whole island. As we have already pointed out, we cannot recognise the justice of these claims :—

1. Because in 1818 Radàma I. was acknowledged as King of Madagascar, and not as king of the Hóvas only, and the succeeding monarchs have all been so styled and recognised.

2. In the territory now claimed by France garrisons were placed by King Radàma I. in 1824, and there have been custom-houses established there by the Malagasy Government, where French citizens, among others, have been accustomed to pay dues long before the treaty was signed with France in 1862. Moreover, in this very district the natives on the mainland, over which France now claims a protectorate, have paid a yearly poll-tax to the Malagasy Government since the days of Radàma I.

3. Between the years 1855 and 1857 one or more French subjects disregarded the laws of Madagascar by building a fort at Ambàvatòby (Dalrymple Bay), which is on the territory now claimed by France. They received due warning to leave the country, but as they refused, they were attacked and defeated, and their fort destroyed ; yet no complaint was made by the French authorities, as it was admitted to be the just punishment of an unlawful act.

4. In the year 1862, during the reign of Radàma II., the first treaty between France and Madagascar was signed, in which treaty the king was distinctly recognised as the King of Madagascar. In the same year the king made a concession of territory to a French company, known as the "Lambert Company," under the control of the French Government, by which concession all parts of the island were allowed to be chosen for the operations of the company, who, accordingly, selected that part of the country lying between 12° and 16° south latitude ; but, in order to cancel the concession, a sum of 48,000 francs was in 1865 paid to the company by Queen Rasohèrina. This, however, is the same territory now claimed by France.

5. In 1868 the French Government again confirmed the acknowledgment of the sovereignty of the Queen of Madagascar over the whole island by making a new treaty, the tenour of which leaves no doubt that the Queen's authority was understood to extend throughout the whole island ; otherwise, the greater part of our treaty concluded with France would be perfectly meaningless. The right of the Queen to the sovereignty of the whole island was similarly recognised in the treaties made with England and America.

6. We would also point out that the only justification offered by the French Government for their present claims to a protectorate over a large portion of the north-western coast is based upon the fact that treaties are said to have been made in 1841 by the chiefs of two rebellious tribes of that region ceding to France rights of protectorate over that territory. But seeing that these tribes were then in rebellion, that those portions of the country had submitted seventeen years previously to the authority of King Radàma I., that ever since that time they have remained in subjec-

1882.
Dec. 4.

tion to our authority, and that no mention was made of such pretended rights by the French in our treaty made with them in 1868, it is evident that such rights were virtually abandoned for more than forty years by the French themselves. But even if that had not been the case, it needs no argument to show that no civilised nation can ever recognise the rights of a section of their people while in rebellion, to alienate any portion of its territory to a foreign power.

7. British cruisers, for the purpose of preventing the slave trade, have always had free access to the harbours and creeks on the coast of the territory now claimed by France. A British consul has landed and exercised his functions there without any reference to France.

8. A French consular officer has resided at Mojangà, which place is included in the territory now claimed by France. Another consular officer, M. Laborde, accused in the year 1874 the Hóva official at Ampàsimitiky of taking exorbitant customs dues there. We would call your Lordship's attention to the events of the reign of our present sovereign (Ranavàlona II.) during which time the wishes of England with regard to the importation of slaves have been carried out; but these reforms have not been pleasing to many of the subjects of France abroad by whom the abolition of the slave trade is not favourably regarded.

9. The following are the more important among the measures of reform which have been effected during the reign of the present queen :— (1.) The recognition of Christianity, which is fast spreading throughout the island, especially in its central provinces, and the granting of full religious liberty. (2.) Compulsory education, with perfect freedom to the parents to choose schools maintained by any of the five Christian bodies now working in our country. (3.) The abolition of idolatry and the trial by the "tangèna," poison-ordeal, together with other superstitions and cruelties by which the people were oppressed. (4.) The abolition of capital punishment (formerly carried out in many cruel forms) for all offences except treason and murder. (5.) The important Edict of 1877, liberating all slaves introduced from beyond the seas. (6.) The laws by which no free Malagasy subject can be made a slave under any circumstances. (7.) The more thorough organisation of a standing army for the purpose of consolidating the authority of the Queen over the whole of Madagascar. (8.) The establishment of a Cabinet Ministry and the promulgation of a printed code of laws having effect throughout the island, as well as the establishment of open law courts for the better administration of justice. (9.) The laws for the protection of foreign commerce, by which all governors neglecting the interests of trade with other nations are recalled and punished.

10. Having laid before your Lordship the facts establishing our rights to the sovereignty of the whole island, and the efforts we have made to acquit ourselves worthily of a civilised and Christian nation, we will refer, in conclusion, to the negotiations with France which have ended so abruptly.

11. On our arrival in Paris we requested to be permitted to pay our respects to his Excellency the President of the French Republic, but we were informed through our consuls (who have resigned since our arrival in London) that his Excellency would only receive us after coming to an agreement as to all the matters in dispute. Prompted by a desire for peace and reconciliation, we immediately commenced negotiations with

the three special Commissioners, and during six weeks we vainly put forward the arguments and facts which we have here set forth [*vide* notes of the Conferences]. On the 26th November the French Foreign Office insisted upon the signing of an ultimatum, by which the French would have a right of protectorate over the west coast of Madagascar, with general rights over the whole island. As it was impossible for us to sign this, and thus betray the independence of our country, we were immediately informed that we were no longer considered as the guests of France, and that our flag must be removed from the hotel. Having received this message and witnessed the removal of our flag against our will, we left Paris for London.

1882.
Dec. 4.

12. We also beg to inform your Lordship that our instructions empowered us to settle three other matters in dispute between our Government and that of France:—(1.) That in which the heirs of the late French consul, M. Laborde, assert a right to the possession of land which we maintain was only lent to him. (2.) The affair of the flags given to the Sakalava embassies last year (1881). The French demand that our Queen shall disavow all participation in this declaration of her rights on the north-west coast, and asked that those chiefly concerned in the affair be punished. (3.) The matter which has hitherto been a source of contention between ourselves and all foreign settlers in our country, namely, the leasing of land. The French claim a treaty right to absolute purchase, which we most steadfastly refuse; our justice in that refusal has been recognised by the consuls of England and America, and we are not prepared to make a difference in this respect when dealing with Frenchmen. But we are now not only prepared to make some alteration in our land law for the benefit of those who wish to lay out capital in Madagascar, but we are anxious to make the new terms as reasonable as possible, consistent with our inherent rights.

13. We came to Europe with the avowed intention of showing ourselves anxious to make progress. We were met at the outset by demands on the part of France which question our right to move at all. But we must not neglect to inform your Lordship that we also came to appeal against the recent dealing of France and Frenchmen. (1.) We complain of being unjustly made to pay an indemnity in the case of the dhow "Toale." (2.) We complain of the embargo on the "Antanànarivo." (3.) We complain of Frenchmen importing arms into the Sakalava country.

14. Such are the circumstances under which we land on your shores; and as we are, fortunately, aware of an understanding entered into some years ago between Great Britain and France, whereby the independence of Madagascar was mutually agreed to, we trust that, in the presence of these facts, your Lordship will use your influence with your Government still to ensure to us that protection from molestation which we hope and believe you will readily afford, and which for many years past has preserved us from foreign aggression.

15. In conclusion, we beg to inform your Lordship that we are commissioned to enter into negotiations with Her Majesty's Government for revision of the existing treaty between our respective Governments, and will be prepared, whenever it may be convenient to your Lordship to discuss this matter.—We have, etc.

(Signed)

RAVONINÀHITRINIARIVO, 15th Honour, etc.

RÀMANIRAKA, 14th Honour, etc.

1882.
Dec. 4.

Note A (alluded to in paragraph 8).—French writers themselves admit that by the treaty with Radàma II., France treated him as an independent sovereign, and that any claims she might have previously had from the possession of a few posts on the east coast were abandoned. M. Galos, a writer in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (October 1863, p. 700), writes thus:—"That question of right is otherwise set at rest, at present, by the Treaty of Friendship and Commerce of the 12th September 1862. By that Act, in which Radàma II. appears as King of Madagascar, we have recognised without restriction his sovereignty over all the island. In consequence of that recognition two consuls have been accredited to him, the one at Antanànarivo, the other at Tamatave, who only exercise their functions by virtue of an 'exequatur' from the real sovereign."

ESTIMATED NUMBER OF BRITISH SUBJECTS, including Creoles from Mauritius, resident in Madagascar on the 31st December 1882.

East coast of Madagascar, including Tamatave	500
Antanànarivo, and in Central Provinces	300
West coast	400
Total	<u>1200</u>

About seven-eighths of the British subjects residing on the east coast of Madagascar are Creoles from Mauritius, and Indians mostly from Madras (Malabar immigrants to Mauritius). At the capital, Antanànarivo, and in the central provinces, at least two-thirds are missionaries belonging to the London Missionary Society, to the Friends' Foreign Mission Association, and to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. On the west coast the greater number are Hindus from Bombay.

APPENDIX C.¹

1883.
March 17.

INSTRUCTIONS données par le MINISTRE de la MARINE à M. le Contre-Amiral PIERRE, Commandant en chef de la Division Navale des Indes, à bord de "La Flore."

PARIS, le 17 Mars 1883.

Vous ferez disparaître les postes établis par les Hôvas sur les parties de la côte placées sous notre protectorat ou notre souveraineté, et comme ces territoires comprennent non-seulement la partie de la côte nord-ouest située dans le nord du Boueni, mais encore la région nord-est jusqu'à la baie d'Antongil, vous aurez à faire évacuer les postes qui pourraient exister également dans cette dernière région, notamment celui d'Antsingy (baie de Diégo-Suarez). Vous ferez donc, quand vous le jugerez convenable, une apparition sur la côte nord-ouest et dans la baie d'Antongil avec plusieurs de vos bâtiments, afin d'obtenir le résultat que nous avons en vue et de bien affirmer l'intention du Gouvernement de la République de faire valoir ses droits sur toute l'étendue des territoires que les traités ont plus particulièrement placés sous sa dépendance.

¹ See p. 315.

Après avoir accompli cette première partie de votre mission, telle que je viens de la définir et de la compléter, vous entrez, comme je vais vous l'indiquer, dans la seconde phase de l'action. 1883.
March 17.

Avant de quitter la côte ouest de Madagascar, vous vous saisissez de la douane de Mojangà, et vous laisserez, sur ce point, une garnison suffisante prise à Nossi-Bé, ainsi qu'un navire, de manière à parer à tout retour offensif de la part des Hóvas.

Ces dispositions étant prises, vous vous rendrez promptement, avec vos autres bâtiments, devant Tamatave, où vous assurerez, de concert avec Monsieur le Consul et Commissaire de la République, l'exécution des mesures suivantes.

Un ultimatum sera adressé au premier Ministre de la Reine, par l'entremise du Gouverneur de Tamatave et par les soins de M. Baudais, qui aura pour mission d'exiger de la Cour d'Émirne :—

1. La reconnaissance effective des droits de souveraineté ou de protectorat que nous possédons sur la côte nord ;

2. Des garanties immédiates destinées à assurer l'observation du traité de 1868 ;

3. Le paiement des indemnités dues à nos nationaux.

Un délai, calculé d'après la distance et l'état des communications entre Tamatave et Tananarive, sera assigné au Gouvernement Hóva, qui sera prévenu en même temps que, si sa réponse ne parvient pas à la date fixée, ou si elle est jugée insuffisante, le Contre-Amiral commandant en chef la division navale de la mer des Indes occupera le fort de Tamatave, se saisira de la douane, et y percevra le droits jusqu'à concurrence de la somme réclamée par nous.

Vous devrez naturellement appliquer sans aucun retard, s'il y a lieu, et dès que le délai accordé aux Hóvas sera expiré les mesures de rigueur énoncées dans cette sommation.

Telle est Monsieur le Contre-Amiral, l'étendue de l'action que vous aurez à exercer.

Ayant ainsi nettement établi la seconde partie de votre action éventuelle et les ressources en bâtiments et en troupes dont vous pourriez disposer, j'ajoute que l'exécution de cette dernière phase de votre mission (y compris l'occupation de la douane de Mojangà) demeure subordonnée à votre approbation.

La saisie de la douane de Mojangà et la notification de l'ultimatum au Gouvernement de Tananarive n'auraient donc lieu que si vous jugez possible de conduire, dans de bonnes conditions, ces opérations militaires ultérieures, telles qu'elles nous sont tracées.

Je vous recommande sur ce point, Monsieur le Contre-Amiral d'étudier la question avec une grande prudence avant de prendre une décision, et de tenir compte, dans une juste mesure, des circonstances, de l'attitude des Hóvas et des difficultés prévues.

En terminant Monsieur le Contre-Amiral, je vous exprime mon entière confiance dans votre prudence autant que dans votre énergique dévouement. Je suis bien persuadé que vous vous acquitterez, au mieux de nos intérêts, de la mission délicate et importante qui vous est confiée.

CHARLES BRUN.

1883.
March 25.

INSTRUCTIONS données par le MINISTRE des AFFAIRES ÉTRANGÈRES à
M. BAUDAIS, Consul et Commissaire du Gouvernement de la République à Madagascar.

PARIS, le 25 *Mars* 1883.

MONSIEUR—Les instructions qui vous ont été données il y a un an, au moment de votre départ pour Madagascar, ne laissaient aucun doute sur la nature de nos intentions à l'égard du Gouvernement de Tananarive. Elles vous prescrivaient en effet d'éviter tout ce qui aurait pu réveiller chez lui les défiances. Si peu justifiées d'ailleurs, qu'il avait manifestées précédemment, et votre unique préoccupation devait être d'assurer la défense de nos intérêts et de nos droits qui n'avaient rien que de compatible avec l'indépendance effective de la nation Hóva. J'ai pu constater que vous ne vous étiez pas écarté de la ligne de conduite qui vous avait été ainsi tracée. Mais le mauvais vouloir du Gouvernement de la Reine Ranavalo a paralysé vos efforts, et l'issue des conférences qui ont eu lieu à Paris, en fournissant une preuve décisive de ses dispositions à notre égard, nous a placés dans la nécessité de pourvoir pour nous-mêmes aux moyens de sauvegarder la situation conventionnelle qui nous est acquise à Madagascar.

Il a été décidé en conséquence que les opérations heureusement commencées dès l'été dernier par le Commandant le Timbre sur la côte nord-ouest, et qu'avait seul suspendues l'envoi d'une mission Hóva en France, seraient reprises sous la direction de l'Amiral Pierre, nommé au commandement de notre Station de l'Océan Indien, et poursuivies de façon à mettre hors de cause les droits qui nous sont attribués par les arrangements de 1840 et 1841 avec les chefs Sakalaves. La copie ci-annexée des instructions concertées de ce chef entre le Département de la Marine et celui des Affaires étrangères à la suite de la rupture des conférences vous fixera sur l'étendue de la tâche primitivement assignée à nos croiseurs.

Nous n'avons pas tardé à nous convaincre que ces premières dispositions, si elles pouvaient suffire pour faire échec aux prétentions des Hóvas sur les territoires de la côte placés sous notre souveraineté ou notre protectorat, risquaient d'être impuissantes à nous assurer les satisfactions et les garanties que nous sommes en droit d'exiger à d'autres égards, notamment en ce qui concerne l'exécution intégrale du traité conclu en 1868 avec la Cour d'Émirne et les préjudices causés à nos nationaux. Nous avons dû envisager l'éventualité d'une action plus complète et comportant une démonstration militaire sur un point plus rapproché de la capitale : l'Amiral Pierre a été autorisé à se saisir, dans certaines conditions déterminées à l'avance, de la douane de Mojangà, ainsi que de celle de Tamatave, et à occuper le fort qui défend cette dernière ville. Des instructions complémentaires lui ont été adressées à cet effet par le croiseur le "Beautemps-Beaupré" qui doit le rejoindre dans un mois à Zanzibar, pour y demeurer à sa disposition. Vous en trouverez également le texte ci-annexé et vous pourrez ainsi vous rendre compte de l'ensemble des dispositions définitivement arrêtées aujourd'hui par le Département de la Marine, en vue d'appuyer l'action que vous aurez vous-même à exercer et dont je me trouve par suite en mesure de préciser avec vous les conditions.

Lorsque vous arriverez à Tamatave à bord de "La Nièvre" qui a ordre de se tenir à votre disposition, il est à présumer que les opérations concernant

la côte nord-ouest toucheront à leur fin. Votre premier soin sera naturellement de vous mettre en communication avec l'Amiral Pierre, si vous n'y avez déjà pourvu durant votre séjour à la Réunion. Il conviendra également de vous préoccuper, dès ce moment, des moyens de prévenir discrètement les étrangers établis dans le voisinage du littoral des complications imminentes et de les prémunir contre les conséquences qu'elles pourront entraîner.

Vous attendrez, d'ailleurs, l'arrivée de l'Amiral Pierre dans les eaux de Tamatave pour vous acquitter près des autorités Hóvas de la démarche décisive qui forme le principal objet de votre mission, et ce n'est qu'après vous être assuré de son assentiment et de son concours que vous remettrez au Gouverneur de Tamatave l'ultimatum destiné à faire connaître à la Cour d'Émirne les conditions auxquelles se trouve désormais subordonné, dans notre pensée, le maintien de ses bonnes relations avec nous. Ces conditions sont les suivantes :—

1. Reconnaissance effective des droits de souveraineté ou de protectorat que les traités conclus en 1840 et 1841 avec les chefs Sakalaves de la côte nord-ouest non confèrent et qui s'étendent sur les territoires compris entre la baie d'Antongil à l'est et Mojangà à l'ouest.

2. Garanties immédiates et formelles assurant, en ce qui concerne le droit pour nos nationaux de posséder les immeubles, l'exécution intégrale du traité de 1868, soit que nous exigions le retrait de la loi No. 85, soit que nous nous contentions de clauses additionnelles reconnaissant à nos nationaux le droit de contracter des baux à longue échéance, renouvelables par voie de simple accord entre les parties intéressées.

3. Attribution au Gouvernement de la République d'un million de francs, chiffre auquel se monte, d'après votre estimation, l'ensemble des indemnités dues à nos nationaux.

Un délai calculé d'après la distance et l'état des communications sera assigné au Gouvernement Hóva, qui sera prévenu en même temps que, si sa réponse ne parvient pas à la date fixée ou est jugée insuffisante, nos forces navales occuperont le fort de Tamatave et se saisiront de la douane, pour y percevoir les droits jusqu'à concurrence de la somme réclamée par nous.

Enfin vous aurez soin d'ajouter que nous tiendrons le Gouvernement de la Reine et le premier ministre personnellement responsables de la vie et des biens des étrangers établis sur le territoire hóva quelle que soit leur nationalité. Dès la remise de est ultimatum, vous notifierez aux agents des puissances étrangères la situation qui nous aura été ainsi créée par l'attitude de la Cour d'Émirne, afin qu'ils puissent de leur côté profiter de l'intervalle qui s'écoulera entre notre sommation et la réponse du Gouvernement Hóva pour prendre les dispositions qu'ils jugeront nécessaires à la sécurité de leurs ressortissants. Vous veillerez vous-même, de concert avec le Consul d'Allemagne, à la protection des sujets et des établissements allemands, dont la garde nous a été spontanément confiée par le Cabinet de Berlin. Je ne puis, du reste, vous fournir aucune donnée spéciale à cet égard, le Gouvernement Impérial paraissant avoir laissé à son représentant à Madagascar le soin de vous mettre en possession des renseignements propres à faciliter notre tâche. Si peu encourageante que soit, à l'heure présente, l'attitude des Hóvas, nous voulons encore prévoir le cas où la Cour d'Émirne, définitivement édifiée sur la fermeté de nos résolutions par les premières opérations de nos croiseurs et leur présence dans les eaux de

1883.
March 25.

1883.
March 25.

Tamatave, nous dispensera de recourir à l'emploi de mesures que nous souhaitons de pouvoir éviter, et qu'elle acceptera les conditions qui lui auront été soumises et dont il semble difficile de contester la modération.

Mais si le Gouvernement de Tananarive se refuse à nous donner les satisfactions qui nous sont dues, vous vous retirerez à bord de "La Flore," après avoir pris les dispositions d'usage et mis en sûreté les archives du consulat, et vous y attendrez la fin des opérations qui seront jugées indispensables pour nous mettre en possession de la douane et du fort de Tamatave.

Je ne doute pas que la poursuite même de ces opérations si elles devenaient nécessaires, ne soit réglée de façon à prévenir les complications qu'il importe d'éviter, en mettant à profit les facilités qu'offre la configuration même des lieux pour concentrer exclusivement l'action de nos croiseurs sur les établissements hovas.

Les instructions de l'Amiral Pierre le laissent d'ailleurs juge des conditions faites à son initiative par les éléments dont il dispose et votre rôle se trouve, à cet égard, naturellement délimité par la ligne de conduite ainsi tracée au commandant en chef de nos forces navales. Les enseignements du passé me dispensent d'insister auprès de vous sur la nécessité d'une entente absolue entre les représentants des deux départements auxquels incombe la responsabilité d'une entreprise particulièrement délicate, et je compte que votre expérience et votre tact contribueront à assurer le succès de leur action commune.

Vous ne manquerez pas, du reste, de me rendre exactement compte du développement et des résultats de votre mission, en ayant soin de m'aviser, par le télégraphe, des incidents qui vous paraîtraient mériter d'être soumis sans retard à mon appréciation.

Recevez, etc.

CHALLEMEL-LACOUR.

May 25.

AGREEMENT between the Governments of Great Britain and Madagascar
for regulating the Traffic in Spirituous Liquors.

(Signed in the English and Malagasy languages at London, 25th May 1883.)

The Government of Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the Government of Her Majesty the Queen of Madagascar, being desirous of making satisfactory arrangements for the regulation of the traffic in spirituous liquors in Madagascar, the undersigned, duly authorised to that effect, have agreed as follows :—

Article 1. Spirits of all kinds may be imported and sold in Madagascar by British subjects on payment of the same duty as that levied by the Malagasy excise laws upon spirits manufactured in Madagascar. The scale of excise duty to be levied upon spirits manufactured in Madagascar shall be communicated by the Malagasy Government to Her Majesty's consul, and no change in the excise duties shall affect British subjects until after the expiration of six months from the date at which such notice shall have been communicated by the Malagasy Government to Her Majesty's consul.

Article 2. The testing of spirits imported into the kingdom of Madagascar by British subjects shall be carried out by properly qualified officials nominated by the Malagasy authorities, and by an equal number of experts nominated by Her Majesty's consul. In case of difference the parties shall nominate a third person, who shall act as umpire.

Article 3. The Malagasy Government may stop the importation by

British subjects into Madagascar of any spirits which, on examination, shall be proved to be deleterious to the public health; and they may give notice to the importers, consignees, or holders thereof, to export the same within three months' date of such notice; and if this is not done the Malagasy Government may seize the said spirits and may destroy them, provided always that in all such cases the Malagasy Government shall be bound to refund any duty which may have been already paid thereon. The testing of spirits imported by British subjects, and which may be alleged to be deleterious, shall be carried out in the manner provided by Article 2. The Malagasy Government engage to take all necessary measures to prohibit and prevent the sale of spirits manufactured in Madagascar which may be deleterious to the public health.

1883.
May 25.

Article 4. Any British subject who desires to retail spirituous liquors in Madagascar must take out a special license for that purpose from the Malagasy Government, which shall not be refused without just and reasonable cause. This license may be granted upon conditions to be agreed upon from time to time between the two Governments.

Article 5. British subjects shall at all times enjoy the same rights and privileges subject to the importation and sale of spirits in Madagascar as the subjects of the most favoured nation; and spirits coming from any part of Her Britannic Majesty's dominions shall enjoy the same privileges in all respects as similar articles coming from any other country the most favoured in this respect. It is therefore clearly understood that British subjects are not bound to conform to the provisions of the present agreement to any greater extent than the subjects of other nations are so bound.

Article 6. Subject to the provisions of Article 5 the present agreement shall come into operation on a date to be fixed by mutual consent between the two Governments, and shall remain in force until the expiration of six months' notice given by either party to determine the same. The existing Treaty engagements between Great Britain and Madagascar shall continue in full force until the present agreement comes into operation, and after that date, except in so far as they are modified hereby. Should the present agreement be terminated, the Treaty engagements between Great Britain and Madagascar shall revive, and remain as they existed previously to the signature hereof.

Article 7. In this Agreement the words "British subject" shall include any naturalised or protected subject of Her Britannic Majesty, and the words "Her Majesty's consul" shall include any consular officer of Her Britannic Majesty in Madagascar.

In witness whereof the undersigned have signed the same in duplicate, and have affixed thereto their seals.

Done at London, the twenty-fifth day of May, One thousand eight hundred and eighty-three.

(L. S.)

GRANVILLE.

RAYONINÀHITRINÀRIVO,

15 Honours, Chief Secretary of State
for Foreign Affairs, Chief Ambassa-
sador of Her Majesty the Queen of
Madagascar.

(L. S.)

RÀMANIRAKA,

14 Honours, O.D.P., Member of the
Privy Council, Ambassador of Her
Majesty the Queen of Madagascar.

APPENDIX D.¹

1883.
June 1.

ULTIMATUM, presented by M. BAUDAIS and Rear-Admiral PIERRE,
to the QUEEN OF MADAGASCAR, 1st June 1883.²

The French Government, animated by a sincere desire to re-establish as soon as possible with the Government of Her Majesty Queen Ranavalona II., the relations of peace and friendship which have for a long time united them, but determined to employ all means to preserve intact the conventional situation which it has acquired in Madagascar, has given order to the undersigned to make known to the Government of Queen Ranavalona the conditions on which depends, henceforth, the maintenance of the good relations which France desires to preserve with this Government.

1. The Government of the Queen shall effectively recognise the rights of sovereignty, or the protectorate which the treaties concluded with the Sakalava chiefs confer on us, over certain territories. These territories extend from Baly Bay to the west as far as Antongil Bay to the east, passing by Cape Amber.

2. The law, No. 85, in complete contradiction with Article 4 of the treaty of 1868, shall be repealed, and the Queen shall engage to give formal and immediate guarantees, at a time and place appointed by the Commissioners of the French Republic provided with full powers from his Government to settle this question, in order that in future the right of ownership or letting on long lease can be exercised in perfect liberty by all French subjects.

These conditions will form the subject of a special convention, to sign which the Government of Her Majesty, Queen Ranavalona II., shall engage to send, within a period of fifteen days, a plenipotentiary to the place pointed out by the French commissioner. This plenipotentiary shall possess full powers necessary to accept the revision which the Commissioner of the French Republic may propose if expedient of all or part of the treaty of 1868.

3. The Government of the Queen shall agree to pay, within thirty days from the date of acceptance of the present ultimatum at Tamatave, into the hands of the Commissioners of the French Republic, the sum of one million of francs—that is, 200,000 dollars (£40,000)—as an indemnity due to the French subjects. The undersigned, as soon as the present ultimatum is accepted, will make known to the Government of Queen Ranavalona the conditions which they require in guarantee of the execution of the clauses enumerated above.

These conditions are not presented to the Government of Queen Ranavalona II. to be discussed, but to be accepted by *yes* or *no* within an interval of eight days. This period has been thus allowed for: three days to go from Tamatave to Antananarivo (120 miles); the same for return from Antananarivo to Tamatave; *two days for consideration*.

The undersigned have received from their Government formal orders not to leave the slightest ambiguity as to the terms fixed upon. If therefore the acceptance should be ambiguous or incomplete, or if it should not reach, before midnight on the 9th and 10th of June, the Commissioner

¹ See p. 323.

² See also No. 25 Diplomatic Document.

of the Republic, who will transmit it to the commander-in-chief of the Naval Division of the Indian Ocean, Rear-Admiral Pierre will have the regret of opening fire on the defences of the town of Tamatave, taking possession of them, and destroying all the Government establishments of Her Majesty Queen Ranavàlona on the east coast of Madagascar. The custom-house of Tamatave will be occupied, and the dues collected by the French authorities, until they amount to the sum claimed, and until complete satisfaction as before mentioned shall be obtained. Ulterior measures will be taken towards obtaining a guarantee that the right of ownership shall be obtained by our countrymen.

1883.
June 1.

The results of the operations of the naval division on the north-west coast are such as to show the Government of Her Majesty, Queen Ranavàlona II., the efficacious means at the disposal of the Rear-Admiral, Commander-in-chief, for carrying out similar effects.

On behalf of the Government of the French Republic, the undersigned hereby hold the Government of Queen Ranavàlona II., as well as the prime minister, personally responsible for any attempts that may be made, throughout Madagascar, both against the French as well as against foreigners of whatever nationality. Any attempt made directly or indirectly on their lives, liberty, property, or family, or to the goods of their families, shall be made good by indemnities, of which the undersigned will fix the amount, and the payment of which shall be exacted immediately.

If the Government of the Queen, after having accepted the conditions of this present ultimatum, shall cause any premeditated delay in the accomplishment of one or more of its promises, or if the plenipotentiary at any time should try to plead the insufficiency of his powers, hostilities will commence without further summons.

The undersigned have a firm hope that the Government of Queen Ranavàlona, in accepting the conditions, of which it is impossible to deny the moderation, will relieve them from having recourse to the employment of force, and nothing will give them greater satisfaction than to avoid the useless shedding of blood.

PIERRE.
BAUDAIS.

APPENDIX E.¹

Commander JOHNSTONE to Vice-Admiral PIERRE.

June 20.

H.M.S. "DRYAD," TAMATAVE, 20th June 1883.

"MONSIEUR—By a detailed account I have been informed that Tamatave has been bombarded by two of the ships under your orders, without any warning given, and without any apparent respect for the safety or property of the foreign residents; also that property of British subjects has been injured. While receiving this intelligence with every possible reserve, it is my duty, sir, again to protest against any damage being done to British subjects or their property, and especially against fire being opened on the places in which they reside, without due notice being given, according to prevailing custom.—I have, etc.

"C. JOHNSTONE, Commander."

¹ See p. 338.

1883.
June 20.

To this (writes the *Times'* correspondent at Paris), Admiral Pierre replied on the same day to the effect that he could not acknowledge any right on the part of Commander Johnstone to act as the mouthpiece of the inhabitants of Tamatave, of whatever nationality they might be, as regards the claims which these inhabitants might think they had a right to make against the French Government for damages arising from the war. Further, that he had no authority to receive and entertain such demands, and still less to proceed to a verification so intricate. Such affairs could only be treated diplomatically between government and government. Admiral Pierre declined therefore to receive further letters from Commander Johnstone on the subject. Admiral Pierre again wrote as follows :—"By your letter of the 20th inst., you take the liberty of protesting against the war operations carried out by the vessels under my command without [my] having warned you beforehand, and even without having warned anybody. Learn, M. Commandant, since you seem to be unaware of it, or to have forgotten it, that all the consuls interested were warned by me on June 1 of the commencement of the present hostilities. No foreigner has the right to ask a belligerent to reveal his secrets and projects. I therefore consider your protest as null and valueless. I warn you that I shall receive no further similar letters from you."

June 23.

On 23d June—in reply, presumably, to a further communication from Commander Johnstone—Admiral Pierre wrote :—"I am sorry to see that you are irritated at the measures which your repeated acts of opposition have forced me to take. You might nevertheless have expected them, after so many significant warnings ; warnings which you have perfectly understood, seeing that you have excused your non-compliance. But you have persisted. This irritation is such that you are forgetful to the extent of asserting that the motives of the measures I have ordered lack entirely any justification. To demonstrate this essential absence of justification, you will require, M. le Commandant—1. To prove that you did not make it requisite to repeat to you three times, on June 2, June 6, and June 8, the request to withdraw from the French line of attack before acceding to it. To prove that you did not write to me on June 17 a letter laying claim to meddle with the course of justice, and enter into communication with prisoners in close confinement. 3. To prove that you did not write a letter to me on June 18, specifying the functions assigned by you to the officer placed near Mr. Pakenham to carry out the correspondence with the (district) outside of Tamatave, the part for which Mr. Pakenham had not ceased to be consul. 4. To prove that this officer, Lieutenant Knowles, did not write on June 15 to the Mayor of Tamatave in Mr. Pakenham's name, a letter signed by himself, as officer of the 'Dryad,' asking permission for certain servants of Mr. Pakenham to reside there, thus substituting himself for the last-named in a perfectly personal and in nowise consular matter. 5. To prove that you did write, on June 20, to the commandant a letter asking for the explanation of an order as to wearing arms—an order you yourself advised me to issue, in the first lesson you were kind enough to give me in your letter of June 3. You ought to reflect, M. le Commandant, that the imputation of 'lacking entirely any justification,' coming from an officer of your rank and age, would make it unfitting further to continue the correspondence which I have thus far had the pleasure of carrying on with you."

APPENDIX F.

THE FUNERAL OF RANAVÀLONA II.¹1883.
July 16.

On Monday morning, 16th July, the capital was crowded with vast numbers of people from a very early hour. Before ten o'clock the body of the late Queen, in a wooden coffin, with thin silver lining, and covered with a crimson cloth, was removed from the great palace, and amidst the playing of bands, firing of rifles, etc., was placed in the centre of the Palace Church. The prime minister and chief officers, in full uniform, were the pall-bearers, the prime minister being chief mourner. The chapel was soon crowded, the foreign residents filling up one side of the church from the Queen's pew to the door. A simple service was performed, commencing with the late Queen's favourite hymn, given out by one of the palace ministers, Andriambèlo, accompanied by the organ. The chief judge then offered prayers, all kneeling. Andriambèlo addressed the assembly, passing in review the chief events of the late sovereign's life; saying how she was born in 1828, became a Christian in 1845, ascended the throne in 1868, and was baptized the same year, and how she had ever since been most solicitous for the welfare of Christ's kingdom. He said that for the past seven or eight years he had never known her absent from family worship, and reading the Bible in her own room at evening prayer; how she had the church built, etc., and he mentioned many proofs of her piety.

The foreigners left the chapel by the east entrance and the body was taken out by the west door. At 12.30 the salute of guns announced the departure of the procession from the great palace. Three large bodies of soldiers came first with two field-pieces, then about fifty officers, and then the bier, preceded by twenty men in black coats and tall hats with white scarfs, and carrying crowns in scarlet and gold cardboard at the top of long poles covered with scarlet cloth. On the bier, completely covered by scarlet cloth and surmounted by a gold crown, were stationed four officers at the corners directing the bearers. Bands and flags (scarlet and white diagonal) were stationed at intervals. The silk banner was nearest the bier, and both were surrounded with an escort of men armed with spears and shields. The prime minister and most of the foreigners accompanied the procession as far as Andohàlo, where the *cortège* was again saluted, and Rainilaiàrivòny returned to the palace, having sent a message of thanks to the foreigners for their attendance and sympathy.

A company of soldiers escorted the bier (followed by a great crowd of people), to Ambòhimànga, the ancient capital, some twelve miles to the north of Antanànarivo. This journey occupied six hours, and everywhere along the road were crowds of people sitting by the roadside, the women wailing, and most of them displaying signs of grief. The procession was more than a mile in length, and vast crowds were assembled at Ambòhimànga to receive it.

The body lay in state at Ambòhimànga on Tuesday, 17th, and at sunset it was deposited in the same vault where the remains of the first Ranavàlona lie. For the first time in the history of Madagascar was a sovereign

¹ Chronicle of the London Missionary Society, October 1883.

1883. buried in an old tomb. The late Queen had so decided, saying that her people had enough to do in fighting for their fatherland, and that they should get through her funeral ceremonies as quickly as possible.

CORONATION OF RANAVÀLONA III.

The accession of the new sovereign under the title of Ranavàlona III. took place on the 13th July, but the coronation did not take place until the 22d November, when the *nisehàna* (literally "appearing" or "manifestation"), or public presentation of the sovereign on the *vatomàsina*, the traditional sacred stone at Andohàlo, and again on the plain of Mahamasina, took place amidst great enthusiasm.

The brave young Queen repeated the following speech :—¹

"This is my message to you, O people: God has given me the country and the kingdom, and I thank Him exceedingly. The blessings of Andrianimpòinimèrina, and Lèhidàma, and Rabòdo, Rasohèrina and Ranavàlona have come down to me. You, the people, have assembled here on this day of my public appearance, and you have not deceived me, and so I thank you, and may the blessing of God be on you. This also I say to you: As you have not altered the word of the five sovereigns, and seeing that their memory is dear to you, and you do not depart from the charge they left you, I rest in confidence. Rest in confidence, for it is I whom God has chosen to reign in this island as successor and heir of the five. It is I who am your protection, the refuge of the poor, the glory of the rich. When I say 'rest in confidence,' you can really be confident. My desire from God is to benefit you and make you prosperous. Is it not so, O people?"

"I call to your mind that Andrianimpòinimèrina was lord of the land, and Radàma put forth strenuous efforts to make his kingdom stretch to the sea; he left it to his three successors; they have left it to me. *Should any one dare to claim even a hair's breadth, I will show myself to be a man, and go along with you to protect our fatherland.* Is it not so, O people? We have treaties with our friends from across the sea. Observe them strictly, for should any one break them, I shall account him guilty of crime. I also announce to you that it is Rainilaiàrivòny who is prime minister and commander-in-chief. I also tell you, the army, that as to the vows you made with Radàma, and which you ratified to his three successors, and which are now renewed to me, I can accept nothing less, O army! Is it not so, O soldiers? . . .

"The laws of my kingdom will be printed and issued to all the people. Let each one beware, for the law is no respecter of persons; it is what a person does that condemns him, for both you and I must submit to the law. Observe the laws, for I have no desire to condemn you, and I wish no one's life to be taken. Whoever forsakes the path of righteousness walks in the way of darkness. Is it not so, O people?"

At the part referring to the fact that she would not yield as much as a hair's breadth of her country to the French, the Queen raised her golden sceptre, and the people answered by shouts, waving their shields,

¹ "The Coronation of Ranavàlona III.," by the Rev. J. Richardson, L.M.S., *Antanànarivo Annual*, 1883.

spears, and rifles (for every man and boy in the whole assembly had a 1883. weapon), and immense enthusiasm prevailed. The prime minister and popular commander-in-chief, Rainilaiarivony, was requested by the head of the people to reply for all. He is a great orator among a nation of orators, and when with his uplifted sword he stood on the platform in front of the Queen, and told her that his own body, and the bodies of that vast multitude would be her wall of defence, the people were frantic with excitement. "I never saw such a wild scene," writes the Rev. J. Richardson; "cannon, swords, spears, shields, rifles, hats, handkerchiefs, and hundreds of thousands of throats gave forth the wild assent. If ever queen had a royal welcome from her people, she had that day."

The same day the teachers from town and country and all the school agents were gathered together, and were informed by the Queen's command one day a month was to be devoted to spear and shield drill.

It is noteworthy that the well-known Juliette Fische, the daughter of Fisatra, the last of the Bètsimisaraka chiefs, who had been educated in Réunion, and had always been noted for her French sympathies and proclivities, came up from the coast to pay homage and to declare that not an inch of Madagascar soil should be yielded to the French invaders.

APPENDIX G.

Description of the Palaces by Mr. W. Pool, Architect.

The understood law that the sovereign must occupy the highest place at all public assemblies favoured with his or her presence, holds good in respect to buildings in Madagascar, be their character, size, and appearance what it may; all are under the prohibition not to be built so high as the palace of the sovereign; hence the palace named Manjakamiadana (indicating a reign of prosperity), was placed on high ground, and the superstructure raised to a much greater height than any one of the nobles or people could be expected or would be permitted to build, and is the most prominent object to the traveller when he gets his first sight of the capital city.

This building, represented in the frontispiece Volume I., is quite a 1839. novelty in construction, and previous to the recent addition of stone-fronted verandahs was singularly unique in its appearance. Its walls consist of framed timber thinly boarded in the inside, but more thickly boarded in zigzag patterns on the outside; its general plan is for one lofty room on each of three stories contracted only by large staircases which are enclosed, and by two large pillars which rise from the basement, pierce all the floors, and support the ridge and hips of the high pitch roof. In addition to the floors above alluded to, there are attics in the roof lighted by dormer windows; the roof is close boarded, covered with shingles, and supports a representation of the Vòromahery or bird of power on its ridge; the large rooms depend almost entirely on the light admitted when the doors are opened: these by their size and structure suggest the idea that giants lived when the building was erected; the staircases also give you the idea of inclined planes,

and the little rise of their broad steps forms an easy ascent for a person of substance and weight, but to the average passenger their want of the adopted geometrical proportions is a stumbling-block which necessitates care both when ascending and descending; two of the floors are laid in native ebony inlaid by other hard woods to large patterns, which has quite a pleasing effect. In the room on the ground floor the annual feast, Fandroana, is observed, at which the several divisions of the people—each division through three representative members—pay their dollar of allegiance; it has also been used for the signing of treaties and other Government business. Galleries protected by tinned balustrading, and supported by wooden columns, originally surrounded the building on the ground and first and second floors; these were covered by a curiously contrived roof, which, springing from the eaves of the main building in a series of ridges and valleys, were so arranged that the ridges when reduced in the front were made to assume something resembling capitals to the supporting columns.

1869. During the year 1869 it was found that rot had penetrated many of these columns at their base, and hence their removal was necessary. Soon after this date new ideas in reference to the materials used in building had taken hold of the public mind, and Mr. Cameron, to whom the work was entrusted, suggested a heavy stone frontage forming a verandah to each side of the building, finished by stone towers with rustic quoins at each corner; and this suggestion was adopted, though it of necessity involved much labour, and fixed the general arrangement of the building. The towers before alluded to rise to four stories, are capped by bell-shaped roofs, and in the one at the south-east corner an excellent clock from the factory of Messrs. Moore & Sons, Clerkenwell, has been fixed, which has two faces, strikes the quarters on two bells and the hours on a much heavier one. The piers and arches on the ground-floor are in solid masonry worked with sunk joints, the piers of the two upper floors are worked plain, and carry fluted half-columns with Corinthian capitals on their face, the arches being moulded with projecting keystones; the whole is surmounted by a heavy cornice, supported by granite corbels and finished by a handsome balustrade. The galleries on the first floor are protected by ornamental ironwork, those on the upper and ground-floor by granite panels, faced by an ornamental pattern.

1867. Almost immediately behind this large palace, on the east side, is the comparatively new palace of wood, and inhabited by Queen Rasohérina in 1867.¹ It is designated Trano-soa, or the "good house;" it was designed and built by Mr. Cameron; it has a handsome appearance, being surrounded by a verandah which reaches to the upper story, except where it is intercepted by projections in the plan which are finished with gables on the east and west sides; the verandah is formed by plain framings of wood, which carry on their face fluted pilasters with Ionic capitals; between these framings arches are sprung, and the whole is finished with a dentil cornice at the eaves of the building; the roof is boarded and covered with shingles; the cornice and barge boards at the gables are good specimens of native handiwork. In both these projections access is given to the one large room in the centre of the building, and on the east side also to a staircase leading to rooms on the upper story and

¹ See vol. i. pp. 241-242.

the gallery which surrounds the large room ; on the ground-floor this central room has living-rooms on its north and south sides, its floor is of pleasing parquetry, and some interesting work is introduced in the dado by which it is surrounded.

Among the removals of old palaces necessitated by the erection of the Chapel-Royal was one of importance called "the Sun," which it was thought by the Government to rebuild in a style and with materials in keeping with the more correct ideas which are now current in reference to building ; hence a new residence has been built in which the Queen at present resides. Here again the idea of separate rooms and passages prevails ; a double geometrical staircase gives access to the upper story, and a handsome verandah on stone piers surrounds the building ; bay windows add greatly to the beauty as well as extent of the dining and drawing-rooms, both of which are surrounded by cornices, and, together with the passages on the basement, will have handsome parquet floors in small geometrical patterns with selected native woods ; the casements are protected inside by box-shutters ; the slopes of the roof are covered with native slates, the flat at the top and verandahs with zinc. (*P.S.*—This building was in an unfinished state when I left, but the necessary patterns, etc., were left so that native workmen may follow them.)

It has been said with some degree of truth "that nothing shows more distinctly the advance of a people in civilisation than the state of their roads, and their facilities of communication from one town to another, or between the different and distant parts of their country." Gauged by such a standard alone, the Malagasy who reside in the central parts of the island will suffer greatly in the estimate formed of their progress by Europeans. On the other hand, should the description given of their efforts during late years in erecting comfortable dwellings, places of worship, and buildings for the Queen and Government, be considered as the indication of ability on the part of the many, the advancement of the people will appear greater than it really is, and a specious estimate will probably be the result. Any competent man willing, from philanthropic motives, to give himself to the work of instructing the natives in the several arts connected with buildings, will realise much pleasure in that work if he does not attempt to accomplish too much, if he limits himself to what is within the ability of the workmen at his command, and can be finished in a reasonable time, and remembers that all works other than those required by the state are liable to serious impediments from several causes. This ought not to excite surprise or disappointment when it is known beforehand that the erection of a dwelling previous to the reception of Christianity was often the work of a lifetime, depending on the exhaustion of means, or a tiring of the energies of the owner. In the erection of buildings required by the Queen and Government, great facilities are given for the seeking of such materials as the country will yield, their adaptation to the purposes required, and the instruction of those who work in wood, stone, iron, or brass.

Previous to the peaceful religious revolution which followed the commencement of the reign of Ranavalona II., an edict existed which forbade the use of any materials other than wood and thatch within the gates of the capital city, Antananarivo, and scarce an architectural embellish-

1868.

ment was to be seen outside the palace enclosure, if we except some rough carvings on the horns which were thought to adorn the gables of the high-pitched roofs of their dwellings, and some rough attempts at ornamental columns, pilasters, etc., on their tombs and arches. The destruction of the royal idols brought relief from so mistaken and deterrent a law. Immediately new life sprang into existence; fresh ideas were entertained in reference to the dwellings of the people; amid many mistakes as to size and ability every one possessed of influence felt an impulse to build, and numbers of new houses were soon in progress. These new erections were, with few exceptions, on the English plan of passages and private rooms, with an upper or bedroom story, and the old indication of the owner's rank by the length of the horns above the apex of the gables gave place to the largeness of their dwellings, their appearance, and design. We dare to express our strong conviction that these new buildings contribute very much to the cultivation of virtuous, true home life among the people.

In the four elevations of the large building, represented in the frontispiece to Volume II., a very free use of the Italian style has been adopted, particular attention being given to the east and west frontages, in each of which galleries are introduced, supported by six arcades of double columns and pilasters in stone; these carry the ornamental arches and carved stone bands which contribute so much to the handsome appearance of the elevations, and the galleries afford commanding views of the country surrounding the capital. The columns and pilasters spring from foliage; those on the ground floor have carved and moulded bands of different patterns introduced in the centre of their shafts. These, as well as those on the first floor, have carved trellis-work between the astragal and lowest member of their capitals, and the capitals of all are of a composite character. The bases of these columns are raised so as to admit of carved stone panels between them on the first floor, and on the second floor of handsome wrought ironwork, so as to give protection to visitors frequenting the galleries. At each corner of the building, and projecting beyond the arcades, campanile towers rise to the height of ninety feet; they are surrounded by galleries on the second and third storeys, and their bell-shaped roofs carry an observatory, which is also surrounded by a gallery for protection to those who may ascend to them. The towers are ornamented by panelled pilasters at their corners; the windows in them have architraves surrounding them, and consoles carry the pediments with which they are crowned; there are also balconies introduced to the windows on the first floor. In the centre of each of the four elevations a projection similar in extent to that of the towers is introduced, which has no galleries, but is finished with an ornamental gable above the cornices which enclose the gutters at the eaves of the roof. In these central projections are the four principal entrances to the assembly room and other parts of the building; entrances are also placed in each of the towers. On either side of these entrances three-quarter octagonal pilasters with neckings in the middle of the shafts carry a richly-carved cornice, which is surmounted by ornamental stone urns; close to the door-frames are smaller columns, which support ornamental arches over the circular heads of the frames. The building is surrounded by a moulded plinth, the lower member of its mouldings being carved.

In the interior arrangement of the building the plan which for many

years had been popular among the nobles and men of influence has been adopted, namely, that of a large assembly room or banqueting hall 70 feet by 60 feet in the centre, with three tiers of offices surrounding it. The principal entrances open into halls which are paved with a coarse kind of native white marble in nine-inch squares, the intersection of the lines being broken alternately by diamond and circular-shaped pieces of black stone. Ionic columns and pilasters on raised bases, in a line with the outer wall of the building, carrying ornamental arches, divide the portion of the halls in which are raised on either hand geometrical staircases which give access to the first and second floors and the galleries before alluded to in the east and west fronts of the building. The floor of the assembly room is intended to be parquet, in different native woods laid in geometrical patterns, and surrounded by a border three feet wide in harmony but of different pattern from the floor. A plinth with its upper edge moulded and carved rises above this border, and handsome folding doors in the centre of the hall on either side are surrounded by architraves, those on the first and second floors being enclosed by projecting galleries with richly-carved fronts; the galleries are enriched by the addition of carved ornamental trusses beneath them. An ornamental band with pilasters at suitable intervals divides the walls in height, the lower portion being finished in a plain manner to receive pictures, etc., the upper portion being panelled with egg and tongue mouldings. A heavy projecting cornice gives finish to the panelled ceiling, and a wrought-iron dome thirty-two feet in diameter, rising to the height of twenty-nine feet (purchased at the Pitfield Ironworks, London), filled in with wooden sashes and glazed with fluted glass (from Messrs. Chance and Sons, Birmingham), yields a most agreeable light to the hall. A circular louvre ventilator of native workmanship surmounts the dome and adds greatly to its external appearance; it is finished inside by ornamental zinc of a geometrical pattern.

The dome rests on heavy queen post framings, each of which contains some five tons weight of strong hard timber; two such framings are coupled by strong iron bolts so secured that each may receive an equal amount of pressure; strong timbers spring from the walls firmly secured to additional framings which keep the bands in their proper position; the square thus formed by the supporting timbers will be reduced to a circle, and niches formed in the angles thus made. The flat roof from which the dome rises is surrounded with open ornamental woodwork beneath a wood handrail; the roof is close boarded and covered with zinc. (*P.S.*—This building, though in a forward state as shown by the frontispiece, was not finished when I left Madagascar in November 1881, but the necessary instructions and patterns were prepared.)

The heavy trusses which carry the roof and dome over the banqueting hall in this building for the Prime Minister were hoisted piecemeal to a scaffolding which covered the entire area excepting some nine feet in the centre, and were then put together; strong quarterings well braced were placed perpendicularly to a height greater than that reached by the framings when in their places; to the top of these strong pulleys were fixed, so that ropes from the framings could pass through them and descend to corresponding pulleys at the base of the uprights, and thence to the four corners of the hall. To each of these ropes some fifty men with an encourager were apportioned; a general encourager stationed so as to be

out of danger near one of the centre doorways gave the directions transmitted to him by sound of trumpet, and which were to be rigidly and universally obeyed. On the platform were the carpenters ready with suitable shores to secure every inch as the timbers rose, also with necessary guide lines, and thus these heavy trusses or principals (as they are technically called) were placed in position.

APPENDIX H.¹

1883.
July 31.

M. CHALLEMEL-LACOUR, Ministre des Affaires étrangères, à M. BAUDAIS, Consul et Commissaire du Gouvernement de la République Française à Madagascar.

PARIS, le 31 *Juillet* 1883.

J'ai reçu la lettre par laquelle M. Raffray m'annonçait à la même date qu'il avait accepté d'exercer les fonctions de maire à Tamatave sur la demande du commandant-en-chef de la station navale de la mer des Indes.

En vous remerciant de l'exactitude que vous avez mise à me renseigner, par tous les moyens mis à votre disposition, sur les événements qui ont accompagné la prise de Tamatave, je crois utile de vous indiquer les réflexions qu'ont inspirées à M. le Ministre de la Marine et à moi-même la lecture de votre correspondance.

L'affirmation pratique des droits acquis à la France en vertu des traités passés avec les chefs Sakalaves de la côte nord-ouest a été, comme vous le savez, l'un des motifs déterminants de l'action militaire dont la nécessité est imposée au Gouvernement de la République. Aussi le premier effet de notre intervention doit-il être de donner un caractère effectif à notre souveraineté sur cette partie de la Grand Terre ; la maintien de l'occupation de Majunga paraît le meilleur moyen de nous aider à obtenir un si important résultat.

Les droits que nous tenons de nos traités avec les maîtres indépendants de cette partie du littoral sont d'ailleurs par eux-mêmes assez précis pour qu'il soit inutile de leur donner une consécration nouvelle en exigeant que la Cour d'Émirne les reconnaisse formellement dans le traité à intervenir. Vous n'aurez sur ce point qu'à vous reporter aux instructions qui vous ont été adressées dans le même sens par le télégraphe, le 21 Juin dernier, et que je vous confirme en vous en envoyant ci-joint la copie.

A Tamatave et sur la côte orientale au sud de la baie d'Antongil, la situation n'est pas la même. Là, nous n'entendons pas revendiquer, quant à présent, l'exercice d'une souveraineté effective ; et sans renoncer aux droits historiques que nous pourrions faire valoir de ce côté, notre occupation doit rester temporaire. La possession de Tamatave n'est entre nos mains qu'un moyen d'amener les Hóvas à composition. Nous devons nous y borner aux mesures strictement nécessaires, pour la réalisation du résultat prévu dans vos instructions générales et pour presser les déterminations de la Cour de Tananarive, en contrariant le moins possible le commerce et les relations des neutres. A ce point de vue, l'institution

¹ See p. 352. *Livre jaune*, No. 26, "Affaires de Madagascar," 1884, p. 44.

d'une mairie française et l'invitation adressée aux agents consulaires de cesser leurs fonctions n'étaient pas suffisamment justifiées par le caractère de notre établissement et dépassaient le but que le Gouvernement de la République s'est assigné. Je me plais à penser dès lorsque vous vous serez entendu avec le commandant-en-chef de nos forces navales, dès la réception des instructions que nous lui avons fait porter par votre collègue de Zanzibar, pour permettre aux consuls étrangers de reprendre leurs fonctions et pour inviter M. Raffray lui-même à se renfermer dans les limites de ses attributions consulaires.

CHALLEMEL-LACOUR.

1883.
July 31.

APPENDIX I.¹

M. CHALLEMEL-LACOUR, Ministre des Affaires étrangères, à M. WADDINGTON, Ambassadeur de la République Française à Londres.

August 12.

PARIS, le 12 Août 1883.

MONSIEUR—En accusant réception de la note du 11 Juillet, par laquelle le Gouvernement Anglais nous avait entretenu, d'après des informations télégraphiques, de certains incidents survenus à Tamatave j'avais fait savoir à Lord Lyons que nous étions dans la nécessité, pour répondre à sa communication, d'attendre les renseignements que nous avions demandés nous-mêmes à Madagascar. Je viens de recevoir du Commissaire de la République à Madagascar une dépêche en date du 12 juillet, et le Ministre de la Marine m'a communiqué de son côté des rapports qui lui ont été adressés par l'Amiral Pierre et qui vont jusqu'au 14. Je m'empresse de détacher de cette correspondance les éclaircissements qu'elle fournit sur les incidents signalés dans la note Anglaise.

Le Cabinet de Londres, vous le savez, avait appelé notre attention sur les points suivants :—

1. Le Commandant de nos forces navales aurait enjoint au consul de la Reine à Madagascar de quitter Tamatave dans les vingt-quatre heures, bien qu'il fût dangereusement malade, et M. Pakenham serait mort quelques heure avant l'expiration de ce délai.

2. Le Commandant du bâtiment anglais le "Dryad" aurait fait transporter à son bord les archives du consulat britannique.

3. L'Amiral Français aurait intercepté toute communication entre les vaisseaux anglais et la terre.

4. Il aurait refusé d'entretenir aucune communication par écrit avec le commandant du "Dryad."

5. Tamatave serait devenue, en fait, un ville française.

6. Les pavillons consulaires auraient cessé d'y être arborés.

7. Le Secrétaire du Consul Britannique, ainsi qu'un missionnaire Anglais, M. Shaw, auraient été incarcérés par les autorités françaises.

Voici, sur ces divers points, les renseignements fournis par la correspondance de nos agents :—

1. Votre télégramme du 10 août établit que le principal Secrétaire d'État est aujourd'hui fixé sur les circonstances qui ont accompagné la

¹ *Livre jaune*, No. 30, "Affaires de Madagascar," 1884, p. 50.

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mort du Consul d'Angleterre à Madagascar. Il n'ignore plus, sans doute, que, pour assurer la sécurité de la place, l'officier investi des fonctions de Commandant à Tamatave a dû interdire toute communication entre la ville et l'extérieur. Les mêmes considérations l'ont conduit à considérer comme incompatible avec l'ordre la présence du consul anglais, dont les correspondances avec les Hóvas étaient demeurées assez importantes et assez actives pour avoir nécessité l'adjonction d'un officier en service. Sa mort est survenue avant qu'aucune mesure ait été mise à exécution ; elle n'a aucune connexité avec les ordres donnés par l'autorité militaire. Les communications échangées, à cette occasion, entre l'Amiral Pierre et la commandant du "Dryad" attestent que nos agents se sont attachés à tenir compte, autant qu'il a été possible, des conditions particulières dans lesquelles se trouvait le consul. C'est ainsi que l'Amiral Pierre a pris soin que la décision ne fût notifiée qu'au Commandant Johnstone, afin de ménager, jusqu'au dernier moment, M. Pakenham qui est mort, cela semble certain, sans l'avoir connue ; il avait mis, en outre, le médecin du bord à la disposition du malade dès qu'il avait été informé de la gravité de son état. On sait, d'ailleurs, les honneurs dont les restes mortels de M. Pakenham ont été l'objet, et le Gouverneur de l'île Maurice a tenu à rendre hommage à la conduite tenue en cette circonstance par l'amiral français.

2. Les renseignements qui nous sont parvenus jusqu'à ce jour ne font aucune allusion au transfert des archives du Consulat britannique à bord du "Dryad."

3. Après la prise de Tamatave et en présence des attaques des Hóvas, les nécessités de la défense ont amené le Commandant supérieur à se préoccuper des inconvénients qui résultaient de la présence d'officiers étrangers, qui s'ingéraient dans le règlement des questions relevant de son autorité exclusive ; il a été décidé que le séjour dans la place leur serait interdit. Toutefois le Commandant Johnstone ayant exprimé le vœu qu'un officier fût adjoint à M. Pakenham, en raison de son état de santé, pour assurer la gestion des affaires du Consulat, l'Amiral Pierre a consenti à faire différer la publication des dispositions ainsi arrêtées. Ce n'est qu'à la suite de la prétention émise par le Commandant du "Dryad" d'exercer une sorte de contrôle sur les consignes militaires, que l'interdiction dont il s'agit a dû être rigoureusement appliquée.

4. Le Gouvernement Britannique a probablement reçu comme nous, copie de la correspondance volumineuse échangée, du 2 au 20 juin, entre le Commandant de nos forces navales et le Commandant du "Dryad." Cette correspondance permet de constater les dispositions conciliantes dont l'Amiral Pierre s'est montré animé, au début de ses relations avec cet officier. Il n'eût dépendu que du Commandant Johnstone de l'y affermir. Malheureusement il semble que, par une ingérence presque quotidienne et trop souvent mal fondée dans nos affaires, par son insistance à saisir nos agents de questions qui échappaient à leur compétence, ou à soulever des discussions destinées à entraver leur action, enfin par le ton même de certaines de ses communications, le Commandant Johnstone ait pris à tâche d'amener l'Amiral Pierre à refuser de poursuivre une correspondance qui risquait, en se prolongeant, de donner naissance à de regrettables complications.

5. En entrant dans Tamatave, le Commandant de nos forces a trouvé la ville abandonnée par les autorités locales ; il s'est empressé d'utiliser les éléments dont il pouvait disposer pour instituer provisoirement une administration française. Nul ne contestera qu'en agissant ainsi, il ne

se soit acquitté de l'un des premiers devoirs qui incombent à tout occupant, celui d'assurer sur le territoire occupé le maintien de l'ordre et le fonctionnement des services publics. 1883. August 12.

6. Il est vraisemblable que les changements apportés à l'organisation municipale, joints à la défense de toute communication avec l'extérieur, ont été considérés par nos autorités militaires comme mettant fin à la mission des étrangers. Les rapports de l'amiral ne contiennent, cependant aucun renseignement précis à cet égard. Quoi qu'il en soit, dès le 16 juillet, des instructions ont été adressées à Tamatave pour que les agents étrangers fussent autorisés, autant que le permettraient les nécessités supérieures de la défense, à continuer leurs fonctions et arborer leur pavillon.

7. Quant aux faits qui auraient motivé l'arrestation du secrétaire de M. Pakenham et celle de M. Shaw, il n'en est point fait mention dans les pièces qui viennent de parvenir. Nous savons seulement, par un télégramme tout récent de l'Amiral Pierre, que l'autorité militaire s'est trouvée dans la nécessité de s'assurer, à un certain moment, de la personne d'un secrétaire hova de M. Pakenham, qui est fils de l'ancien Gouverneur de Tamatave, allié lui-même à la famille du Premier Ministre ; le détenu a été bientôt relâché sur parole. Les seuls renseignements que nous ayons sur la seconde de ces arrestations portent qu'une information judiciaire est ouverte contre M. Shaw sous une inculpation des plus graves.

Vous voudrez bien communiquer à Lord Granville les indications qui précèdent, et qui concordent sans doute avec celles qu'il a lui-même reçues directement de Tamatave. Je me plais à penser qu'elles confirmeront le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique dans la conviction que le Commandant de notre escadre, dans l'exercice de ses droits a usé de tous les ménagements que comportaient les intérêts légitimes des tiers et les relations amicales de la France avec l'Angleterre.

CHALLEMEL-LACOUR.

APPENDIX J.

CONTENTS OF MALAGASY RED BOOKS.

FIRST RED BOOK.—Correspondence between RAVONINÀHITRINIARIVO, 15th Honour, Officer of the Palace, Chief Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and the CONSULS for France and the COMMISSIONERS of the Government of the Republic, relating to the estates at Ambòdin-Andohàlo and Ambòhitsorohitra occupied by M. Laborde, to the affair of the dhow "Touélé," and to the north-west coast of Madagascar.

I. THE LANDED PROPERTIES OCCUPIED BY M. J. LABORDE.—Correspondence between Ravoninahitriniarivo, and M. J. Cassas, Consul of France and Commissioner of the Government of the Republic at Madagascar, from 25th August to 17th October 1879.

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1. Foreign Minister to French Consul, notifies appointment of Ravoninahitriniarivo as Chief Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 30th August 1879

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2. M. E. Cassas to Foreign Minister, expresses the dissatisfaction of the French Government with the conduct of the Hóva authorities in carrying out the treaty obligations, 30th August	6
3. M. E. Cassas to Prime Minister, informs the Government that the heirs of the late M. Laborde wish to cede the property at Andohàlo to the Catholic mission, 25th August	8
4. Foreign Minister to M. Cassas, requests proofs that the property at Andohàlo belonged to M. Laborde, 30th August	8
5. M. E. Cassas to Prime Minister, complains of insult to M. Campan by Rainimàharàvo, 25th August	10
6. Foreign Minister to M. E. Cassas, vindication of proceedings of Rainimàharàvo, 30th August	12
7. M. Cassas to Foreign Minister, points out that authentic deeds conferring the properties at Andohàlo and Ambòhitsorohitra, bearing the signature of Radàma II., are in the French Consulate, 1st September	16
8. Foreign Minister to M. Cassas, asks that the above documents may be produced, 2d September	16
9. M. Cassas to Foreign Minister, appoints the following day for an interview, 2d September	18
10. Document exhibited to Foreign Minister by M. Cassas, deed alleged to be executed by Radàma II. granting site of property at Ambòditsorohitra to M. Laborde, 3d September	18
11. Do., deed alleged to be executed by Radàma II. granting site of property at Ambòdin-Andohàlo, 3d September	18
12. Foreign Minister to M. Cassas, points out (1) that all properties granted to foreigners have been only for life; (2) that the deeds purporting to be signed by Radàma II. bear date 1864, <i>i.e.</i> subsequent to the king's death, 5th September	20
13. M. Cassas to Foreign Minister, explains that the difference between the Malagasy and Gregorian calendars accounts for the discrepancy in dates, 13th September	26
14. Foreign Minister to M. Cassas, shows that all state documents during year 1863 before and after death of Radàma II. were dated 1863 according to European mode; and also gives the meaning of the term <i>azy mainty molàly</i> ; declares that the Malagasy Government desire to submit the matter for arbitration to a third power, 23d September	28
15. M. Cassas to Foreign Minister, contests the allegations of Foreign Minister and shows that arbitration is not applicable in such a case, 24th September	36
16. Foreign Minister to M. Cassas, repeats arguments and intention to request arbitration, 27th September	40
17. M. Cassas to Foreign Minister, protests strongly against the interpretation of the treaty regarding the possession of landed property by foreigners; complains that the prime minister does not reply to his letters; and announces that M. Cassas awaits instructions from Paris, 29th September	44
18. Foreign Minister to M. Cassas, replies that he is the minister responsible for the management of foreign affairs, 17th October	46

II. THE AFFAIR OF THE DHOW "TOUÉLÉ" AT MARAMBITSY.—Correspondence between RAVONINAHITRINIARIVO and M. T. MEYER and M. A. BAUDAIS, Consuls for France and Commissioners for the Government of the Republic in Madagascar, from 17th May 1881 to 9th June 1882.

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19. M. Meyer to Foreign Minister, encloses two letters from the commander of the French gunboat "La Décidée," 17th May 1881	52	1881.
20. Lieutenant F. Buisson, commanding "La Décidée," to French Commissioner, enclosure in No. 19, report of outrage committed by the Sakalava tribe of Bakary (King of the Boény, subject to the Queen of Madagascar), who pillaged the French dhow "Touélé," and killed the master, his son, and two sailors, in March 1881, 21st April	52	
21. Lieutenant Buisson to Governor of Mojangà, enclosed in No. 19, requests the Governor of Mojangà to arrest the Sakalava concerned in the outrage on the dhow "Touélé," 20th April	54	
22. Foreign Minister to M. Meyer, states that the Malagasy Government have ordered the Governor of Mojangà to make full inquiry and punish the offenders in the "Touélé" affair, 18th May	56	
23. M. Meyer to Foreign Minister, states that the result of an inquiry made by Commandant Vallon have been communicated to the Government of Madagascar through the Governor of Mojangà. Some months having elapsed without satisfaction, the French Commissioner demands an indemnity of \$6000 for the families of the killed, and a sum of \$3740, the value of merchandise stolen, 15th September	56	
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25. Do., states results of inquiry to the effect that the Arab French subjects were introducing muskets at Andôka, where there was no custom-house; that the men sent by Bêkirôndro to prevent the smuggling were fired on, and fired back on the smugglers, 6th October	60	
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28. Foreign Minister to M. Baudais, objects to compliance with conditions in No. 23, 8th May	66	
29. M. Baudais to Foreign Minister, agrees with the opinion of M. Vallon, which has nothing to do with Art. 6 of the treaty. It simply deals with the four French subjects assassinated, for which reparation has hitherto been refused by the Malagasy, 9th May	68	
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33. Do., requests that long notice may be given of the name of the person and ship to whom the indemnity can be paid at Mojangà (see No. 50), 29th May	74
34. Do., announces that the sum of \$9740 is at Mojangà ready for delivery by the Governor to the French (see No. 64), 21st June	74
III. THE AFFAIR OF THE NORTH-WEST COAST OF MADAGASCAR.--Correspondence between RAVONINAHITRINIARIVO and M. A. BAUDAIS, Consul for France and Commissioner for the Government of the Republic in Madagascar, from 29th April to 26th July 1882.	
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36. Prime Minister to M. Baudais, informs M. Baudais that his letter has been referred to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, 2d May	82
37. M. Baudais to Prime Minister, acknowledges No. 36, 2d May	82
38. Prime Minister to M. Baudais, acknowledges No. 37, 3d May	84
39. Foreign Minister to M. Baudais, replies categorically to the accusations of ill-will towards the French Government adduced in No. 35, 9th May	84
40. M. Baudais to Foreign Minister, requests an interview with Foreign Minister, 12th May	88
41. Foreign Minister to M. Baudais, announces intended visit to Consulate at 2 P.M., 12th May	90
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43. M. Baudais to Foreign Minister, expresses willingness to treat with the Minister on the same day (see No. 31), 15th May	92
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45. M. Baudais to Foreign Minister, as representing France the Commissioner demands an interview, 15th May	94
46. Foreign Minister to M. Baudais, appoints interview at the palace of Tsiàzompaniry on the 16th May, 15th May	96
47. M. Baudais to Foreign Minister, demands, yes or no, whether the Malagasy Government will remove their flag from the territories where that of France alone has a right to float, 16th May	96
48. Foreign Minister to M. Baudais, the Malagasy Government protests against compliance with the demands of the Commissioner, 17th May	98
49. M. Baudais to Foreign Minister, informs the Government that the refusal of the Malagasy to retire their flag will be referred to France, 17th May	100
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51. M. Baudais to Prime Minister, enclosing copy of letter from the commandant of the naval station of the Indian Ocean (No. 32) 12th June	102

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54. Foreign Minister to M. Baudais, expresses astonishment and regret at the communication (No. 51) of M. Baudais, 19th June	104	
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57. Foreign Minister to M. Baudais, Government of Madagascar protests against the seizure of the flags in Pàsindàva Bay, 4th July	106	
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APPENDIX K.

AGREEMENTS BETWEEN MADAGASCAR AND GERMANY AND ITALY.

1883.
May 15.*Convention entre l'Allemagne et Madagascar.*

Convention du 15 mai 1883 entre l'Empire d'Allemagne et Madagascar. Reichsgesetzblatt, No. 20, 1885.

Sa Majesté Guillaume 1er, Empereur d'Allemagne, roi de Prusse, au nom de l'empire, d'une part ; et Sa Majesté Ranavàlomanjàka II., d'autre part ; animés du désir de maintenir les bonnes relations existant heureusement entre l'empire d'Allemagne et le royaume de Madagascar et de favoriser le développement du commerce entre les deux pays, ont résolu d'assurer aux sujets et ressortissants d'un pays dans l'autre tous les droits dont jouissent les sujets et les ressortissants de la nation la plus favorisée. A cet effet, le Comte Paul de Hatzfeldt Wildembourg, Ministre d'État et Secrétaire d'État des Affaires étrangères, nommé par S.M. l'Empereur d'Allemagne, Roi de Prusse, comme son plénipotentiaire, et Ravòninàhitrinarivo, quinzième honneur, officier du Palais et Premier Secrétaire pour les Affaires étrangères, et Ramaniraka, quatorzième honneur, officier du Palais, membre du Conseil privé chargés des pouvoirs par S.M. la Reine de Madagascar, ont convenu et signé les articles suivants :—

Art. 1. Il continuera à y avoir à perpétuité paix, amitié et bonnes relations entre S.M. l'Empereur d'Allemagne, roi de Prusse, et S.M. la Reine de Madagascar, leurs héritiers et successeurs, et entre les sujets et ressortissants de l'empire d'Allemagne et du royaume de Madagascar.

Art. 2. Les représentants diplomatiques, consulaires et maritimes, agents et officiers de l'une des parties contractantes, dans l'exercice de leurs fonctions à l'intérieur des possessions de l'autre partie, et les sujets et ressortissants de l'un des pays, en ce qui concerne leur personne et leurs biens, et en vue du commerce, de l'industrie et sous tout autre rapport, jouiront dans l'autre pays de la même protection, des mêmes droits, privilèges, avantages, immunités, et exemptions qui sont accordés actuellement ou le seront dans l'avenir par les lois du pays aux représentants diplomatiques, consulaires ou maritimes, aux agents et officiers, aux sujets et ressortissants de la nation la plus favorisée.

Art. 3. Cette convention sera ratifiée par les deux Hautes Parties contractantes et les ratifications seront échangées entre les deux gouvernements par l'entremise du consulat allemand à Tamatave. Cette convention entrera en vigueur dans le royaume de Madagascar à partir du jour de la ratification par S.M. la Reine de Madagascar, laquelle aura lieu aussitôt que possible dans l'espace des trois mois qui suivront la signature, et dans l'empire d'Allemagne, à partir du jour de la ratification par S.M. l'Empereur d'Allemagne, roi de Prusse, laquelle aura lieu aussitôt que possible dans l'espace des six mois qui suivront la ratification par S.M. la reine de Madagascar.

Fait en double original en langue allemande et malgache avec annexe d'une traduction anglaise, signé et scellé à Berlin, le 15 mai de l'année 1883.

COMTE DE HATZFELDT.

RAVÒNINÀHITRINIARIVO.
RAMANIRAKA.

Convention entre l'Italie et Madagascar.

Convention d'amitié, de commerce, et de navigation conclue à Londres le 6 juillet 1883, ratifiée à Rome le 11 juin 1884. (Loi italienne du 26 avril 1885.)

Art. unique.—Plaine et entière exécution sera donnée à la Convention d'amitié de commerce et de navigation entre l'Italie et Madagascar, signée à Londres le 6 juillet 1883 et ratifiée à Rome le 11 juin 1884.

La présente sera insérée au *Bulletin officiel des Lois et Décrets* et aura force de loi.

Convention entre l'Italie et Madagascar.

S.M. le Roi d'Italie, et S.M. Ranavalomanjaka II., Reine de Madagascar, d'autre part, désirant maintenir les rapports de bonne entente existant entre les deux pays et favoriser les échanges commerciaux entre l'Italie et Madagascar, sont convenus que les sujets de chacun des deux pays jouiront dans l'autre pays de tous les droits accordés aux sujets de la nation la plus favorisée ; à cet effet, le Comte Constantin Nigra, ambassadeur extraordinaire et plénipotentiaire de S.M. le Roi d'Italie à Londres dûment autorisé par ladite Majesté, et Ravoninahitriniarivo, quinzième honneur, officier du Palais, premier secrétaire d'État des affaires étrangères et premier ambassadeur de S.M. la Reine de Madagascar, et Ramaniraka, quatorzième honneur, officier du Palais, membre du Conseil privé, second ambassadeur, dûment autorisé par S.M. la Reine, sont convenus des articles suivants :—

Art. 1. Il y aura désormais et à perpétuité paix, bonne entente et amitié entre Sa Majesté le Roi d'Italie et la Reine de Madagascar et entre leurs héritiers et successeurs et entre leurs sujets respectifs.

Art. 2. Les représentants diplomatiques, consulaires et maritimes, les agents et employés d'une des parties contractantes, exerçant leurs fonctions dans le royaume de l'autre, et les citoyens et sujets des deux pays jouiront, dans le pays de l'autre, tant dans leurs personnes et leurs propriétés que pour le commerce, le trafic et la navigation ou à tout autre point de vue, de la protection, des droits, privilèges, faveurs, immunités et exemptions qui sont accordés ou pourraient l'être à l'avenir, en vertu des lois du pays, aux représentants diplomatiques, consulaires et maritimes, aux agents, employés et aux sujets et citoyens de la nation la plus favorisée.

Art. 3. La présente convention sera ratifiée par les deux parties contractantes et les ratifications seront échangées par l'entremise du consul italien à Tamatave.

Art. 4. La présente convention entrera en vigueur dans le Royaume de Madagascar à la date de sa ratification par S.M. la Reine de Madagascar, qui s'engage à la donner le plus tôt qu'elle pourra, dans un délai de trois mois à partir de la signature, et dans le Royaume d'Italie à la date de sa ratification par S.M. le Roi d'Italie, qui sera donnée le plus tôt possible dans l'intervalle de six mois à dater de la ratification par S.M. la Reine de Madagascar.

Fait et signé en double original italien et malgache et accompagné d'une version anglaise, à Londres le 6 juillet 1883.

NIGRA.

RAVONINAHITRINIARIVO.
RAMANIRAKA.

APPENDIX L.

TRAITÉ conclu le 17 décembre 1885, entre le Gouvernement de la République française et le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté la Reine de Madagascar. 1885.
Dec. 17.

Le Gouvernement de la République française et celui de Sa Majesté la Reine de Madagascar voulant empêcher à jamais le renouvellement des difficultés qui se sont produites récemment, et désireux de resserrer leurs anciennes relations d'amitié, ont résolu de conclure une convention à cet effet, et ont nommé pour Plénipotentiaires, savoir : pour la République française, M. Paul - Emile Miot, Contre-amiral Commandant en Chef la Division navale de la mer des Indes, et M. Salvator Patrimonio, Ministre Plénipotentiaire ; et pour le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté la Reine de Madagascar, M. le Général Digby Willoughby, Officier Général, Commandant les troupes Malgaches et Ministre Plénipotentiaire. Lesquels, après avoir échangé leurs pleins pouvoirs, trouvés en bonne et due forme, sont convenus des articles qui suivent, sous réserve de ratification.

Art. 1.¹ Le Gouvernement de la République représentera Madagascar dans toutes ses relations extérieures. Les Malgaches à l'étranger seront placés sous la protection de la France.

ANNEXE au Traité, en date du 9 janvier 1886. Lettre des Plénipotentiaires française au Plénipotentiaire malgache.

MONSIEUR LE PLÉNIPOTENTIAIRE
—Conformément au désir que vous avez bien voulu nous exprimer, et afin de lever les doutes manifestés par le Gouvernement malgache, relativement à l'interprétation de certaines expressions du texte du traité du 17 décembre 1885, nous consentons volontiers à vous fournir les explications suivantes.

Son Excellence le Premier Ministre vous a chargé de préciser le sens du paragraphe 1er de l'article 2 du traité, à savoir :—

¹ Le président du conseil, ainsi qu'on le sait déjà, a été entendu hier par la commission chargée d'examiner le traité de Madagascar. L'entrevue n'a pas duré moins de deux heures. M. de Freycinet n'a fait aucune déclaration générale ; il s'est borné à prendre les articles successivement, à les expliquer et, en même temps, à répondre aux questions ou objections provoquées par ces articles. 1886.
Feb. 17.

L'article 1er.

M. de Freycinet.—Nous ne pouvons pas nous mêler des traités avec les particuliers. Mais notre résident aura une influence qui lui permettra d'agir sur ces traités ; ou bien il faudrait nous substituer aux Hovas.

M. Dureau de Vaulcomte.—Vous avez dit que le protectorat était effectif.

Art. 2.¹ Un résident représentant le Gouvernement de la République, présidera aux relations extérieures de Madagascar, sans s'immiscer dans l'administration

“Un résident représentant le Gouvernement de la République présidera aux relations extérieures.” Cela veut dire que le Résident aura le droit de s'ingérer dans les

Pensez-vous que les Hóvas interprètent le traité comme vous et admettent-ils qu'il y a protectorat ?

M. de Freycinet.—Certainement. Quand M. Maigrot, le consul d'Italie, a essayé de s'entremettre pour faire conclure un traité, il a constaté que notre agent, M. Baudais, voulait, sous le mot de protectorat, étendre notre action sur l'administration intérieure des Hóvas ; il a constaté alors que les Hóvas étaient effrayés par ce mot de *protectorat*. Mais, quand plus tard on leur a montré qu'il ne s'agissait que des relations extérieures de Madagascar, ils n'ont plus fait d'objection. M. Baudais a été mis en disponibilité pour avoir commis la maladresse de dire que notre protectorat serait une immixtion dans l'administration intérieure de l'île.

¹ On passe à l'article 2 :—

M. de Freycinet dit que cet article entraîne le protectorat effectif de la France sur Madagascar “dans toute sa force.” Mais c'est un protectorat exclusivement politique qu'a recherché le gouvernement. C'est précisément parce que dans le traité de 1874 (*sic*—? 1884) on avait voulu donner à la France un droit de police intérieure que les difficultés sont survenues.

Notre protectorat est restreint à la politique extérieure des Hóvas. Nous considérons, d'autre part, que le Gouvernement des Hóvas doit s'étendre sur toute l'île. La mention qui est faite dans le traité des Antankares et des Sakalaves n'a été introduite que pour rappeler les traités de 1841.

Toutes les observations sont dominées par une idée générale. Nous ne croyons pas que les Antankares et les Sakalaves soient appelés à civiliser Madagascar. C'est la peuplade des Hóvas qui, selon nous, est seule capable de dominer l'île entière. Les autres peuplades ne sont pas assez développées.

M. Freppel.—Autre chose est que les Hóvas s'emparent de toute l'île, autre chose que nous reconnaissons aux Hóvas la domination de toute l'île.

M. Blatin.—Puisqu'il est entendu que les Hóvas ne peuvent plus faire de traités avec les nations étrangères, faut-il en conclure que les Hóvas ne pourraient pas faire de traités d'affaires avec les particuliers de nationalités diverses ? Faudra-t-il que pour ces traités la Reine de Madagascar passe par l'intermédiaire de notre résident ?

M. de Freycinet.—Notre résident ne pourra pas s'immiscer, malgré les Hóvas ; mais il n'est pas douteux pour nous que le résident pénétrera peu à peu dans l'administration intérieure de l'île et y fera régner l'esprit français.

M. de Mahy.—Quels moyens aura-t-il pour cela ?

M. de Freycinet.—L'influence morale.

M. Blatin.—Les devoirs du résident seront multiples et pénibles. Ne devra-t-il pas avoir des sous-résidents ? Comment, autrement, pourrait-il exercer toutes ses fonctions, celle de juge par exemple ?

M. de Freycinet.—Il n'y a dans le traité aucune disposition interdisant de créer des sous-résidents.

M. Blatin.—Comment le résident seul surveillera-t-il la conduite des Hóvas vis-à-vis des Sakalaves et des Antankares, s'il n'y a pas de sous-résidents ?

M. de Freycinet.—Il n'y a rien qui s'oppose à cela. Mais nous ne pouvons pas, au lendemain du traité, régler tous les détails et prévoir toutes les éventualités. Le temps seul nous permettra de pourvoir à tout. Nous ne pouvons pas, en effet, étendre dès le premier jour notre influence sur toute l'île.

intérieure des États de Sa Majesté la Reine.

affaires ayant un caractère de politique extérieure, qu'il aura le droit de s'opposer par exemple, à toute cession de territoire à une nation étrangère quelconque ; à tout établissement militaire et naval ; à ce qu'un secours quelconque en hommes ou en bâtimens sollicité du Gouvernement de la Reine de Madagascar par une nation étrangère ne puisse être accordé sans le consentement du Gouvernement français. Aucun traité, accord, ou convention ne pourra être fait sans l'approbation du Gouvernement français.

M. Blatin.—Vous avez des devoirs à Madagascar et vous devez les remplir.

M. de Freycinet.—Si vous voulez agir sur toute l'île, il faudra un réseau de fonctionnaires et nous ne pouvons pas le créer. Quand on n'a remporté aucune victoire et quand, en plus, on a eu la maladresse de se faire repousser deux mois auparavant, on ne peut pas avoir de grandes prétentions. Nous n'avons pas pu obtenir plus, en l'état des choses. Ce sera à nous, dans la pratique, à nous rapprocher de ce que vous désirez. Si vous avez, dès le début, la prétention de mettre des sous-agents dans toute l'île, les Hovas n'y consentiront pas. Mais si, plus tard, des Français s'établissent sur certains points, nous pourrons y établir un délégué du résident.

M. Dureau de Vaulcomte.—Il y a, à la baie de Saint Augustin, plus de cent Français.

M. de Freycinet.—Ils se sont passés de résidents jusqu'à ce jour.

M. Dureau de Vaulcomte.—C'est que les Hovas n'y allaient pas ; mais aujourd'hui ils pourront y aller, grâce au nouveau traité.

M. Freppel.—Ainsi, dans la pensée de M. le président du conseil, nous pourrions créer des sous-résidents ?

M. de Freycinet.—Cela me paraît résulter du traité. Dès qu'il y aura des groupes de Français, on pourra mettre des résidents.

M. Le Cour.—Actuellement, nous avons un agent consulaire à Tamatave ; devra-t-il aussi disparaître ?

M. de Freycinet.—Non, il restera à Tamatave sous les ordres du résident.

M. Le Cour.—Nous restons en dehors de tous les tarifs douaniers ?

M. de Freycinet.—Nous n'avons pas le droit d'empêcher les Hovas de faire un tarif général quelconque.

M. Le Cour.—Vous ne vous êtes pas réservé la possibilité de faire un traité de commerce ?

M. de Freycinet.—Le traité que nous venons de faire n'est pas un traité de commerce.

M. Le Cour.—Mais vous ne vous êtes réservé aucun droit sur les tarifs généraux ?

M. de Freycinet.—Nous ne nous le sommes pas réservé dans le traité ; mais nous pouvons chercher à conclure un traité de commerce avantageux.

M. Dureau de Vaulcomte.—Ce sera complètement illusoire, puisque les traités conclus avec les autres puissances sont respectés et qu'ils contiennent la clause de la nation la plus favorisée.

Art. 3.¹ Il résidera à Tananarive avec une escorte militaire. Le résident aura droit d'audience privée, et personnelle auprès de Sa Majesté la Reine.

Art 4.² Les autorités dépendant de la Reine n'interviendront pas dans les contestations entre Français ou entre Français et étrangers. Les litiges entre Français et Malgaches seront jugés par le résident, assisté d'un juge malgache.

Art. 5.³ Les Français seront régis par la loi française pour la répression de tous les crimes et délits commis par eux à Madagascar.

Art. 6.⁴ Les citoyens français pourront résider, circuler et faire le commerce librement dans toute l'étendue des États de la Reine. Ils auront la faculté de louer pour une durée indéterminée, par bail

Par l'article 3 du traité, il est stipulé qu'il (le Résident) résidera à Tananarive "avec une escorte militaire." Le Premier Ministre désire savoir ce que nous entendons par escorte militaire. Nous consentons à lui déclarer que qui dit "escorte" ne dit pas corps d'armée; et pour mieux préciser, nous prenons l'engagement que cette escorte ne dépassera pas le chiffre de 50 cavaliers ou fantassins. Cette escorte n'entrera pas dans l'intérieure du Palais Royal.

A l'article 6, l'expression "bail emphytéotique" signifie un bail spécial d'une durée de 99 ans et renouvelable au gré des parties.

Dans le paragraphe 3 du même article, en stipulant qu'ils (les cito-

¹ On passe à l'article 3 :—

M. Dureau de Vaulcomte.—Quel sera l'effectif de l'escorte ?

M. de Freycinet.—Ce sera une escorte d'honneur de vingt-cinq à trente hommes. L'idée de l'amiral Miot est de former cette escorte d'un piquet de cavalerie.

M. Le Cour.—Est-ce que le résident ne sera pas relié à la côte par un fil télégraphique ?

M. de Freycinet.—Nous tâcherons d'obtenir l'établissement de ce fil.

² On passe à l'article 4 :—

M. Hubbard.—Les puissances étrangères auront-elles le droit d'établir une juridiction consulaire ?

M. de Freycinet.—Il y a aujourd'hui des consuls étrangers ayant droit de juridiction sur leurs nationaux. Plus tard les autres États pourront accepter notre juridiction.

³ On passe à l'article 5 :—

M. Le Cour.—Qui jugera les Français ?

M. de Freycinet.—Le résident français.

⁴ Un assez long débat s'engage sur l'article 6 :—

M. de Lanessan.—A quelle formalité seront soumis les contrats de baux ? Seront-ils soumis à la ratification de la Reine ?

M. de Freycinet.—Nous n'admettons pas que le Gouvernement hova inter-

emphytéotique renouvelable au seul gré des parties, les terres, maisons, magasins et toute propriété immobilière. Ils pourront choisir librement et prendre à leur service, à quelque titre que ce soit, tout Malgache libre de tout engagement antérieur. Les baux et contrats d'engagement de travailleurs seront passés par acte authentique devant le résident français et les magistrats du pays, et leur stricte exécution garantie par le Gouvernement.

Dans le cas où un Français devenu locataire d'une propriété immobilière viendrait à mourir, ses héritiers entreraient en jouissance d'un bail conclu par lui pour le temps qui resterait à courir, avec faculté de renouvellement. Les Français

yens français) pourront choisir librement et prendre à leur service, à quelque titre que ce soit, tout Malgache libre de tout engagement, nous avons nécessairement entendu exclure les soldats et les esclaves, puisque les soldats et les esclaves ont, plus que tout autre, engagé leur personne.

Nous pensons que le Gouvernement de S.M. le Reine n'a pas à se plaindre de cette omission. Elle a eu lieu dans un sentiment de bienveillance pour lui, car nous avons jugé préférable de ne pas faire figurer ces expressions dans le texte d'un traité de cette importance.

vienne entre les parties. Depuis 1881, dès l'origine, la France a renoncé au droit de propriété. Elle a consenti à le remplacer par des baux emphytéotiques.

M. Freppel.—Les Anglais ont-ils le droit de propriété ?

M. de Freycinet.—Je ne le crois pas. Je crois qu'ils ne font que des baux. Ils ont été atteints, comme nous, par la loi de 1881 qui a refusé aux étrangers le droit de propriété dans l'île.

M. de Mahy.—Les Anglais ont-ils renoncé à ce droit par acte diplomatique ?

M. de Freycinet.—Je n'en sais rien.

[“L'article 6, que le Gouvernement présidé par l'honorable M. de Freycinet vous demande aujourd'hui de ratifier, stipule que les citoyens français “auront la faculté de louer pour une durée indéterminée, par bail emphytéotique renouvelable au seul gré des parties, les terres, maisons, et toute propriété immobilière.”

Dans la pensée du Gouvernement français, les termes “renouvelable au seul gré des parties” signifient qu'aucune ratification des baux par le Gouvernement de Madagascar ne sera nécessaire. Mais quelques membres de votre commission, rappelant les mille difficultés indirectes apportées autrefois par le Gouvernement de Tananarive à la conclusion des baux, même de courte durée, entre Français et Malgaches, ont exprimé la crainte que ces difficultés ne se renouvelassent dans l'avenir ; ils ont constaté avec regret qu'aucune garantie contre cette éventualité n'était formulée dans le traité, et ils se sont montrés très préoccupés des conflits qui pourraient naître de l'application de l'article 6. Ils redoutent l'empêchement que cet article pourra mettre aux entreprises industrielles et agricoles de quelque importance, par suite de l'insécurité qui résulte d'un simple bail, surtout dans un pays encore imparfaitement civilisé. Ils font remarquer que ces difficultés seront d'autant plus redoutables que notre résident n'aura pas d'autre moyen d'action que son influence morale.

Notre commission ne saurait dissimuler à la Chambre que, de toutes les concessions faites au Gouvernement de Madagascar, celle qui est contenue dans l'article 6 est l'une des plus graves. Elle exprime l'espoir que, grâce à l'influence française, la législation intérieure de Madagascar pourra être modifiée et le droit de propriété acquis à nos nationaux” (*Rapport de la Commission*, Feb. 2, 1886).]

Les Articles 7, 8 et 9 ne donnent lieu à aucun débat.

ne seront soumis qu'aux taxes foncières acquittées par les Malgaches.

Nul ne pourra pénétrer dans les propriétés, établissements et maisons occupés par les Français ou par les personnes au service des Français que sur leur consentement et avec l'agrément du résident.

Art 7. Sa Majesté la Reine de Madagascar confirme expressément les garanties stipulées par le traité du 7 août 1868, en faveur de la liberté de conscience et de la tolérance religieuse.

Art. 8. Le gouvernement de la Reine s'engage à payer la somme de dix millions de francs, applicables tant au règlement des réclamations françaises liquidées antérieurement au conflit survenu entre les deux parties, qu'à la réparation de tous les dommages causés aux particuliers étrangers par le fait de ce conflit. L'examen et le règlement de ces indemnités est dévolu au Gouvernement français.

Art. 9.¹ Jusqu'au parfait payement de ladite somme de dix millions de francs, Tamatave sera occupé par les troupes françaises.

Art. 10.² Aucune réclamation ne sera admise au sujet des mesures qui ont dû être prises jusqu'à ce jour par les autorités militaires françaises.

Art. 11.² Le Gouvernement de la République s'engage à prêter assist-

De même la clause en vertu de laquelle "le Gouvernement de la Reine de Madagascar s'engage à payer la somme de dix millions de francs applicable tant au règlement des réclamations françaises liquidées antérieurement au conflit survenu entre les deux parties, qu'à la réparation de tous les dommages causés aux particuliers étrangers par le fait de ce conflit,"—nous avons entendu les dommages causés avant et pendant la guerre jusqu'au jour de signature du Traité de Paix.

Le Gouvernement de la République ne prêtera évidemment son assist-

¹ Art. 9. Toutefois, sur ce dernier article, le président du conseil dit que, si le payement des indemnités n'absorbe pas la totalité des dix millions, le reliquat disponible appartiendra à la France.

² On passe aux Articles 10 et 11 :—

M. de Freycinet, à propos de ce dernier article, fait observer que nous ne protégerons Madagascar que contre les attaques du dehors.

M. Freppel.—Pas contre les attaques du dedans ? Il y a actuellement insurrection des Betsileos, nous ne nous en mêlons pas ?

M. de Freycinet.—Non, nous ne nous mêlons pas des insurrections des peuplades de la côte contre le Gouvernement hova.

[“Le troisième réclamation que la France appuyait de ses armes porte sur les indemnités légitimement dues par le Gouvernement hova à un certain membre de nos nationaux.

L'exposé des motifs du projet de loi contient à ce propos un passage qui met

ance à la Reine de Madagascar pour la défense de ses États.

Art. 12.¹ Sa Majesté la Reine de Madagascar continuera comme par le passé, de présider à l'Administration intérieure de toute l'île.

Art. 13. En considération des engagements pris par Sa Majesté la Reine, le Gouvernement de la République consent à se désister de toute répétition à titre d'indemnité de guerre.

Art. 14. Le Gouvernement de la République afin de seconder la marche du Gouvernement et du peuple malgaches dans la voie de la civilisation et du progrès, s'engage à mettre à la disposition de la Reine les instructeurs militaires, ingénieurs, professeurs et chefs d'atelier qui lui seront demandés.

ance à la Reine de Madagascar pour la défense de ses États que si cette assistance est sollicitée par Sa Majesté la Reine.

bien en relief, à la fois, la nature de nos réclamations et la satisfaction que nous avons obtenue.

Nous nous bornons à reproduire :

"L'ultimatum, dont le rejet a entraîné l'ouverture des hostilités, fixait à la somme d'un million la valeur des dommages causés à nos nationaux du fait des autorités hovas. L'article 8 du traité du 17 décembre nous accorde dix millions, applicables tant au règlement des réclamations françaises liquidées antérieurement au conflit qu'aux préjudices subis par les particuliers étrangers à l'occasion de ce conflit ; il nous laisse exclusivement maîtres, en outre, de procéder à la répartition de cette somme considérable, sur laquelle il sera facile de désintéresser nos nationaux. Par contre, une clause spéciale nous met à l'abri de toute répétition de la part des Hovas, à raison des mesures prises par nos autorités militaires. Enfin, l'article 9, qui nous autorise à occuper le principal port de Madagascar jusqu'à parfait acquittement de la dette souscrite par le Gouvernement de Tananarive, nous assure le prompt recouvrement de la somme stipulée."

La commission s'étant, préoccupée du terme "particuliers étrangers" employé dans l'article 8, M. le président du conseil lui a fait observer que le sens de ce terme était fixé par le passage suivant d'une dépêche de M. Patrimonio :

"Il va de soi que cette expression de 'particuliers étrangers' comprendra les nationaux que nous pourrions d'ailleurs indemniser avant les autres."

"Nous ne parlons ni de la juridiction à laquelle seront soumis les Français, ni de celle qui réglera les litiges entre Français et Malgaches, parce que ces articles n'apportent aucune modification avantageuse au traité de 1868.

"Ajoutons que le traité du 17 décembre 1885 confirme, dans son Article 7, 'les garanties stipulées par le traité du 7 août 1868, en faveur de la liberté de conscience et de la tolérance religieuse,' et nous avons exposé tous les avantages qui sont assurés à la France par le document diplomatique soumis à votre ratification" (*Rapport de la Commission*, Feb. 2, 1886).]

¹ On examine ensuite l'article 12 :—

M. Dureau de Vaulcomte.—Reconnaissons-nous l'autorité de la Reine là où les

Art. 15. ¹ Le Gouvernement de la Reine s'engage expressément à	Quant au sens de l'article 15, il nous semble assez net et assez pré-
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Hóvas n'ont jamais mis le pied. Le traité, par exemple, considère-t-il comme appartenant à la Reine le pays des Antankares ?

M. de Freycinet.—Nous prenons les États comme ils sont.

M. Le Cour.—Mais le traité dit toute l'île.

M. de Freycinet.—C'est vrai !

M. Dureau de Vaulcomte.—Vous vous engagez à défendre les États de la Reine contre tout agression. Mais il peut se faire qu'un Italien ou un Allemand soit molesté. Si vous n'avez aucune action sur l'administration intérieure, que ferez-vous ?

Serons-nous responsables vis-à-vis de l'étranger, si vous n'avez pas d'action sur le Gouvernement hóva ?

M. de Freycinet.—Vous semblez admettre que nous ne profiterons pas de notre influence morale. Nous ferons des représentations au Gouvernement hóva, conformément au traité. S'il n'exécute pas le traité, il est certain qu'il faudrait agir par les armes.

Sur les Articles 13 et 14 il n'y a aucune observation.

¹ L'article 15 :—

M. Freppel.—Ne pourrait-on pas donner des franchises aux populations de la côte ? Il est de notre devoir de ne pas les abandonner.

M. de Freycinet.—Nous considérons cet article comme obligeant les Hóvas à nous écouter.

M. Freppel.—Les Hóvas sont-ils sincères ?

M. de Freycinet.—Je crois que oui. Dans une de ses lettres, l'amiral Miot dit que le premier ministre se déclare prêt à exécuter le traité fidèlement, mais qu'il n'était pas possible d'aller plus loin sans s'exposer à une insurrection. Quoiqu'ils n'aient pas été battus, les Hóvas ont été satisfaits d'en avoir fini, car les populations souffraient beaucoup.

M. Freppel.—Quel rôle a joué l'Angleterre ?

M. de Freycinet.—Je crois que l'Angleterre a agi pour faire accepter le traité.

M. Dureau de Vaulcomte.—Quelle sera la zone autour de notre établissement de Diégo-Suarez ? Si nous n'occupons pas la montagne d'Ambre, les Hóvas pourront s'y établir et la baie sera sous leur canon. De plus, il n'y a aucune ressource dans les environs de Diégo-Suarez.

M. de Freycinet.—La limite admise par l'amiral Miot est trop étroite. J'ignore les motifs qui l'ont déterminé à adopter un rayon si restreint. Je suis convaincu, quant à moi, qu'on s'entendra facilement avec les Hóvas, car ils ne s'occupent pas du nord de l'île.

M. Freppel.—Vous considérez-vous comme lié par la dépêche de M. Patrimonio, qui fixe un rayon autour de la baie ?

M. de Freycinet.—Non, je m'en tiens au traité. Je crois que nous prendrons une extension progressive.

M. de Lanessan.—Quelles sont les installations que le gouvernement compte faire à Diégo-Suarez ?

M. de Freycinet.—Au fur et à mesure que le budget le permettra, nous y créerons un grand port de relâche et de ravitaillement. La marine va étudier un projet complet.

M. de Lanessan.—Quelles seront les ressources du protectorat ?

M. de Freycinet.—Il n'y en a pas. Elles devront être prélevées sur le budget des affaires étrangères, mais ne s'élèveront pas à plus de 2 ou 300,000 francs.

En terminant, le président du conseil a dit qu'il reconnaissait que le traité avait des parties défectueuses ; mais il a ajouté qu'il l'avait fait comme il l'avait

traiter avec bienveillance les Sàkalâves et les Antankares, et à tenir cis	pour qu'il ne soit encore nécessaire de le commenter.
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pu, par la nécessité d'en finir et par l'impossibilité de demander aux Chambres des sacrifices nouveaux, qui, seuls, auraient pu permettre de forcer la main aux Hôvas.

Le président du conseil a invité la commission à hâter ses travaux, car le délai de trois mois pour la ratification expire le 17 mars. On sera même obligé d'échanger les ratifications par le télégraphe.

Après le départ de M. de Freycinet, la commission a chargé M. de Lanessan de rédiger son rapport, sur les conclusions duquel elle se prononcera.

[Dans le traité qui est soumis à votre ratification, cette question est résolue par l'article 15 ainsi conçu : "Le Gouvernement de la Reine s'engage expressément à traiter avec bienveillance les Sàkalâves et les Antankares, et à tenir compte des indications qui lui seront fournies à cet égard par le Gouvernement de la République. Toutefois, le Gouvernement de la République se réserve le droit d'occuper la baie de Diégo-Suarez et d'y faire des installations à sa convenance."

Dans son exposé des motifs, M. le président du conseil fait valoir de la façon suivante l'importance de l'article 15 : "L'occupation de la baie de Diégo-Suarez et l'engagement pris par la cour de Tananarive de se conformer aux indications qui lui seront fournies par le Gouvernement de la République, en vue d'assurer un traitement favorable aux populations sàkalâves et antankares, peuvent être envisagés comme la consécration de la situation particulière acquise à la France sur certaines parties de l'île."

La satisfaction exprimée par M. le président du conseil dans les lignes qui précèdent n'a pas été partagée par tous les membres de votre commission. On a dit que l'article 15 paraissait consacrer l'abandon des droits formels de souveraineté que nous tenons des traités faits en 1840 et 1841 avec les populations du Nord et des traités ultérieurs passés avec les populations du Sud ; on a particulièrement formulé le regret de voir figurer dans le traité l'article d'après lequel "Sa Majesté la reine de Madagascar continuera, comme par le passé, de présider à l'administration intérieure de toute l'île."

On a exprimé la crainte que nos alliés d'hier ne fussent soumis demain à des vexations et à des cruautés qui sont dans les habitudes des Hôvas, que notre résident, isolé à Tananarive, ignorerait, ou qu'il serait impuissant à empêcher, n'ayant aucune action sur l'administration intérieure de l'île, et dont la France, cependant, serait moralement responsable. Enfin, tout en reconnaissant l'importance de la magnifique baie de Diégo-Suarez, on a fait remarquer qu'elle ne nous serait d'aucune utilité si nous ne possédions pas les points qui la dominent, notamment la montagne d'Ambre et une zone de territoire suffisamment étendue pour que nous y puissions trouver les ressources alimentaires et les conditions d'installation sanitaire qui manquent dans les environs immédiats de la baie.

M. le président du conseil s'est efforcé de dissiper les craintes manifestées au sujet du sort des Sàkalâves et des Antankares ; il a dit que des sous-résidents pourraient être placés dans les points où il serait nécessaire de sauvegarder les intérêts de nos anciens protégés ou ceux des Européens, et que les indications du résident général à cet égard auraient un caractère impératif.

Quant aux terrains à occuper autour de la baie de Diégo-Suarez. M. le président du conseil a déclaré que rien n'était encore décidé, qu'il trouvait trop étroite la zone indiquée par l'amiral Miot et par M. Patrimonio, qu'il serait aisé d'étendre notre domaine sur ce point de l'île et qu'une entente à cet égard pourrait facilement être conclue avec le Gouvernement de Madagascar. D'ailleurs, même en s'en tenant à la lettre du traité, "le Gouvernement de la République s'est réservé le droit de faire dans la baie de Diégo-Suarez des installations à sa convenance" (*Rapport*).]

compte des indications qui lui seront fournies à cet égard par le Gouvernement de la République.

Toutefois le Gouvernement de la République se réserve le droit d'occuper la baie de Diégo-Suarez et d'y faire des installations à sa convenance.

Art. 16. Le Président de la République et Sa Majesté la Reine de Madagascar accordent une amnistie générale pleine et entière, avec levée de tous les séquestres mis sur leurs biens à ceux de leurs sujets respectifs qui, jusqu'à la conclusion du traité et auparavant, se sont compromis pour le service de l'autre partie contractante.

Art. 17.¹ Les traités et conventions existant actuellement entre le Gouvernement de la République et celui de Sa Majesté la Reine de Madagascar sont expressément confirmés dans celles de leurs dispositions qui ne sont point contraires aux présentes stipulations.

Art. 18. Le présent traité ayant été rédigé en français et en malgache et les deux versions ayant exactement le même sens, le texte français sera officiel et fera foi sous tous les rapports, aussi bien que le texte malagache.

Les avantages qu'il stipule en faveur du Gouvernement de S.M. la Reine sont évidents, ce qui sera facile à démontrer au Premier Ministre lors de notre voyage à Tananarive. En ce qui concerne le territoire nécessaire aux installations que le Gouvernement de la République fera à sa convenance dans la baie de Diégo-Suarez, nous croyons pouvoir vous assurer qu'il ne dépassera pas un mille et demi dans tout le sud de la baie, ainsi que dans le contour de l'est à l'ouest, et quatre milles autour du contour nord de la baie, à partir du point de la dite baie le plus au nord.

Il est superflu d'ajouter qu'à Diégo-Suarez les autorités françaises ne donneront pas asile aux sujets malgaches en rupture de ban ou qui ne pourront exhiber un passeport des autorités malgaches.

Enfin dans l'exécution de l'amnistie générale pleine et entière avec levée de tous les séquestres mis sur les biens des sujets respectifs des deux parties contractantes, le Gouvernement de S.M. la Reine s'inspirera des sentiments de loyauté et de justice que nous sommes en droit d'attendre de l'expérience et

¹ D'ailleurs, il n'est pas inutile de rappeler qu'aux termes de l'article 17 "les traités et conventions existant actuellement entre le Gouvernement de la République et celui de S.M. la Reine de Madagascar sont expressément confirmés dans celles de leurs dispositions qui ne sont point contraires aux présentes stipulations."

Pour achever l'exposé des observations présentées par vos commissaires, nous devons noter que le traité du 17 décembre 1885 n'assure à notre protectorat politique sur Madagascar aucune ressource financière. Cela donne à notre nouveau protectorat un caractère qu'on ne pourrait trouver dans aucun autre acte de cet ordre. Il est vrai que M. le président du conseil évalue les dépenses de ce protectorat à 2 ou 300,000 francs seulement. Mais il ne fait, sans doute, rentrer dans cette somme que les dépenses occasionnées par le résident et par son personnel. Il faudra y ajouter les frais de vivres, d'hospitalisation, de transport des hommes et des chevaux qui composeront l'escorte militaire du résident; or, cette escorte devra avoir une certaine importance, si l'on veut que notre résident jouisse à Tananarive d'une situation digne de la France. Nous devons aussi entretenir sur les côtes de Madagascar quelques navires, afin d'éviter un isolement qui enlèverait à notre représentant toute autorité. Le Gouvernement se propose de créer à

Art. 19. Le présent traité sera ratifié dans le délai de trois mois ou plus tôt, si faire se pourra.

Fait en double expédition à bord de "La Naiade" en rade de Tamatave, le dix-sept décembre, mil huit cent quatre-vingt-cinq.

Le Ministre Plénipotentiaire, de la République Française.

(Signé) S. PATRIMONIO.

Le Contre-amiral, Commandant en chef de la Division navale de la mer des Indes.

(Signé) E. MIOT.

Le Ministre Plénipotentiaire, de Sa Majesté la Reine de Madagascar, Officier général Commandant les troupes Malgaches.

(Signé) DIGBY WILLOUGHBY.

de l'esprit éclairé de Son Excellence le Premier Ministre.

Veuillez agréer Monsieur le Plénipotentiaire, les assurances de notre haute considération.

Le Ministre Plénipotentiaire,

(Signé) S. PATRIMONIO.

Le Contre-amiral,

(Signé) E. MIOT.

P.S.—Vous nous avez demandé si le Gouvernement de la Reine pourrait comme par le passé, continuer à négocier des traités de commerce avec les Puissances étrangères. Sans doute, autant que ces traités de commerce ne seront pas contraires aux stipulations du Traité du 17 décembre 1885.

Le Ministre Plénipotentiaire,

(Signé) S. PATRIMONIO.

Le Contre-amiral, etc.,

(Signé) E. MIOT.

Monsieur le Général DIGBY WILLOUGHBY, Officier général Commandant les Troupes Malgaches, Envoyé Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiaire de S.M. la Reine de Madagascar.

Diégo-Suarez un grand port. Ce n'est pas sans des dépenses considérables que cette entreprise utile pourra être menée à bonne fin. Pour tout cela, des millions seront nécessaires. Or, le traité du 17 décembre 1885 ne contient aucune source de recettes ni pour le présent ni pour l'avenir.

Plusieurs membres de votre commission ont exprimé l'avis qu'il eût été facile d'obtenir un traité plus avantageux à la France que celui dont le Gouvernement vous demande la ratification.

On pourrait invoquer à l'appui de cette opinion l'épuisement des Hóvas signalé à votre commission par M. le président du conseil lui-même, et le besoin qu'avait le Gouvernement de Tananarive de voir finir un conflit que ni ses ressources financières ni son armement ne lui permettaient de prolonger. Mais la majorité de votre commission a pensé qu'il n'y avait pas lieu d'entrer dans cet ordre de considérations, le Parlement ne pouvant qu'approuver ou rejeter en bloc le traité qui lui est soumis.

En présence d'un fait accompli auquel vous ne pouvez apporter aucune modification, et dans la pensée que les droits de la France, solennellement affirmés par la Chambre dans la séance du 27 mars 1884, restent entiers, votre commission vous propose de voter le projet de loi suivant.

Projet de Loi.

Article unique.—Le président de la République est autorisé à ratifier et, s'il y a lieu, à faire exécuter le traité conclu le 17 décembre 1885 entre le Gouvernement de la République française et le Gouvernement de S.M. la Reine de Madagascar (*Rapport*).

MEMORANDUM relative to the so-called Appendix to the Franco-Malagasy Treaty of 17th December 1885.

1. It is clear that the letter of the 9th of January 1886, addressed by the French plenipotentiaries to General Willoughby, the Malagasy plenipotentiary, forms no part of the treaty itself. It only professes to be an interpretation of the treaty, except so far as it contains certain assurances on behalf of the French Government.

2. Article 8 of the Constitution of the French Republic is as follows : "The President of the Republic negotiates and ratifies treaties. He brings them to the knowledge of the Chambers as soon as the interest and safety of the State permit. Treaties of peace and of commerce—treaties which affect the finances of the State, and those affecting personal status and the rights of property of French citizens abroad—are not final (*définitifs*) until they have been voted by both Chambers. No cession, exchange, or acquisition of territory can take place otherwise than by virtue of this law."

3. It follows, as has been ably and conclusively argued by my friend M. Clunet, the editor of the *Journal du Droit International Privé*, in an article at page 5 of the *Journal* for 1880, that no treaty which has not been duly submitted to the French Chambers in accordance with the provisions of the article is of any binding force in France. *A fortiori*, the letters in question, which did not form part of the treaty, and was not ratified by the President or presented to the Chambers, cannot bind the French Government or nation, if it is in fact contrary to the terms of the treaty itself.

4. On the other hand, it is equally clear that the Malagasy Government is not bound by the treaty except as interpreted by the letter. The ratification of the treaty by General Willoughby was made upon the faith of the letter, as the dates and circumstances show. If, therefore, the French Government should repudiate the interpretation which the letter puts upon the treaty, the Malagasy Government would be fully justified in withdrawing from the treaty altogether, and in treating it as void and of no effect.

5. It remains to be considered whether the interpretation put upon the treaty in the letter is not, in fact, the true and fair construction to be put upon the expressions used. If it be, the fact that it forms, properly speaking, no part of the treaty, becomes immaterial. This question divides itself into two or three branches, which must be considered separately.

a. The phrase "relations extérieures," employed in articles 1 and 2 of the treaty, is a very vague one. No doubt it is capable of a wide construction, according to which its effect would be to deprive all foreign States of the right of making any representations to or holding any intercourse with the Government of Madagascar, except through the medium of the French resident. But the known facts of the case, which have always to be taken into consideration in arriving at the true interpretation of any written document, satisfactorily negative this extensive construction. Madagascar was already a party to numerous treaties with European and American states, several of which possessed consulates for the purpose of protecting their subjects and safeguarding

their treaty rights. It would be unreasonable to suppose, even if there were not this written evidence to the contrary, that the Malagasy Government intended so seriously to affect the treaty rights of other Powers without their being consulted. Nor was that Government in such a position as to make it reasonable to suppose that it intended to accept a tutelage similar to that under which the protected states of British India are placed. The war which France had so long waged against the Malagasy had never seriously affected their highland capital or the surrounding provinces, which form the nucleus of the Queen's power. It ought, therefore, to have been manifest to the French Government and Chambers, as it was to the world at large, that the Malagasy Government, which had so stedfastly refused to accept the word "protectorat," did not intend by phrases so vague as are contained in articles 1 and 2 of the treaty to accept the *thing*.

Evidently, therefore, some limitation must be placed on the expressions employed, and what limitation can be suggested more consistent with the surrounding facts than that which is to be found in the letter and its postscript? The limitation is a logical and thoroughly intelligible one, based on the distinction between the political relations on the one hand, and the commercial and civil relations on the other, between the Malagasy State and foreign governments and people. I conclude, then, that the letter merely expresses in distinct terms that which the facts of the case, apart from the letter, would naturally suggest as the reasonable and probable construction of the words employed.

- b. With regard to the escort, the provisions of article 6 as to the grant of "baux emphytéotiques," and those as to the limits of the French settlement at Diego-Suarez, the definitions and assurances given by MM. Patrimoine and Miot relate to questions which must sooner or later have been the subject of ascertainment between the Malagasy Government and the agents of France. Though not strictly matters of interpretation, the assurances given on these points can scarcely be deemed to exceed the necessary discretion of responsible officers.
- c. I do not suppose that any difficulty is likely to arise as to other points referred to in the letter.

6. In conclusion, it is to be observed that France would occupy a truly singular position if she put pressure on Madagascar to enforce a construction of the treaty opposed to that which her own plenipotentiaries, competent and honourable men, have solemnly placed on record as conveying the meaning which they attached to the language they made use of. It is a recognised principle of French jurisprudence to interpret laws by the speeches or reports of the legislators who introduced them; and this principle is yet more clearly applicable to the protocols of a conference which has resulted in an international treaty. The letter in question is in the nature of such a protocol, and must therefore be held conclusively to settle the real meaning of the treaty.

JOSEPH G. ALEXANDER.

APPENDIX M.

FRENCH RESERVATION AT DIEGO-SUAREZ.

During the late operations the aviso-transport "La Creuse" was stationed in Diego-Suarez Bay, and the aviso "Boursaint" in February 1885 shelled the Hóva fort of Ambòhimàrina (Antòmboka) from the head of the bay Ambòdivàhibé at the range of nearly 9000 yards. This fort is still in the hands of the Hóvas, and being situated on an elevated plateau, when properly placed in a state of defence by earthworks armed with heavy modern artillery, will command the southern bays of the inlet. At present the transport "Dordogne" moored with four anchors has been converted into a dépôt hulk, and forms the headquarters of the staff employed, under Commandant Caillet, on the works of the Andrakàka peninsula between Bivouac Bay and the Bay of Antsàntsa, where a small redoubt has been thrown up to protect the installations of Port de la Nièvre beneath and within the projecting headland of Cape Diego, safe from all aggression on the part of the Malagasy. According to *Le Temps*, of the 6th October, an outpost, commanding the route from Ambòhimàrina to Antsiraka, has been occupied by a detachment of French troops numbering twenty of all ranks. In presence, however, of the garrison of Antòmboka, such a small post cannot avail much even if it is not provocative of danger. In connection with the Diego-Suarez reservation the following communication was published on the 6th September 1886 in the *Chamber of Commerce Journal*, directed by Mr. Kenric B. Murray :—

Proposed establishment of Free Ports at Cape Amber.

By advices received from Madagascar up to the 25th July it appears that the successor of Admiral Miot, M. Dordodot des Essarts, had proceeded to the north on a tour of inspection in the "Nielly," accompanied by Rainizànamànga, one of the prime minister's sons. Fortunately Colonel C. R. St. Leger Shervington has preceded him, and is actively engaged in surveying the line of delimitation as laid down in the appendix to the treaty by MM. Miot and Patrimonio and projecting works of defence along the frontier.

The limits considered necessary for the installations on the shores of the Bay of Diego-Suarez about to be established by the French enclose a reservation extending one mile and a half along the south and west contours of the inlet and four miles to the north. This area, wrote M. Patrimonio, will amply suffice, as whatever territory remains to the north up to Cape Amber will be necessarily abandoned by the Malagasy.¹

Both M. Patrimonio and Admiral Miot, however, in this forecast reckoned somewhat hastily, as it was soon pointed out to the Government of Madagascar that the ports on the western side of the semi-detached peninsula called Bòba-òmbý afforded harbours and commodious shelter almost equal to, if not, indeed, more accessible to shipping than the more celebrated Diego-Suarez inlet.

M. Guinet, a French engineer, who has carefully examined these coasts, was able to confirm this report; and it is now proposed to diligently exploit the

¹ "On nous a demandé de limiter autour de la baie de Diégo-Suarez le terrain que nous croyions nécessaire pour nos installations. Un mille et demi, dans les parties sud et ouest, et quatre milles au nord nous ont semblé d'autant plus suffisants que ce qui reste au nord, jusqu'au Cap d'Ambre, sera nécessairement abandonné par les Malgaches" (*Livre jaune*, No. 56).

advantages conferred by the possession of these natural harbours, and establish a coaling station which will occupy the most commanding situation in the Indian Ocean. These Cape Amber ports, as they are now called, being on the leeward side of the northernmost apex of the island, are not subject to the violent and constant winds which render the east coast so dangerous, nor are they influenced by the strong equatorial current which flows persistently round Cape Amber.

By inspecting the chart (p. 481) it will be observed that the three harbours are most conveniently situated, both with regard to Cape Amber and for intercommunication between themselves. First is Lotsòy, which it is proposed to call Port Rainilaiàrivòny; next Antsàtramilo, which will be named Port Rasohérina; and lastly, Ambògona, to be rechristened Port Ranavàlona. There are other useful bays near, but they need not be taken into consideration at present, although their shores will afford admirable locations for future native and foreign settlements.

It has not escaped the notice of the Malagasy Government that to guard against the inevitable smuggling which will be attempted along the limits of the French reservation a chain of posts and *doana* (douane) must necessarily be established all round the north, west, and south boundary lines, thus extending over many miles; and the prime minister has taken into consideration a scheme by which the extent of ground to be guarded may be much diminished.

By making the whole peninsula of Bòbaòmby and the Cape Amber ports, therein situated, free of customs duties, a single custom-house and revenue office at the narrow neck of the isthmus,¹ in the bight of Ampògohàra Bay would render it unnecessary to watch the west and north boundaries of the French reservation, and there would only remain the southern delimitation to guard against smugglers by a *cordon douanier*, with less expense of supervision.

The establishment of free ports at Cape Amber, where vessels of all nationalities could obtain coal, provision, docking, repairs, etc., free of duty, will indubitably lead to a great commercial centre being quickly developed.

It is hardly to be supposed that the Malagasy Government will themselves enter into business, either as coal merchants or dock agents; but they will encourage, assist, and protect private enterprise, and to a certain extent subsidise the first large firms who are prepared to enter into the profitable and extensive businesses which will be open to them.

It may be noted that General Willoughby has been appointed Land Commissioner for the Malagasy Government, and that full information as to acquiring concessions of land may be obtained at the Malagasy Embassy, 12 Pall Mall, S.W. Although the Foreign Office in Whitehall has been unable to find a precedent for the recognition of a British subject as ambassador from a foreign power, nevertheless His Excellency has been fully acknowledged by the French foreign minister at the Quai D'Orsay, and by the other powers having commercial treaty relations with the court of Antanànarivo.

Decidedly there are good openings now, in these days of depression, for the establishment of either dry or floating docks, a patent slip, and such like enterprises, at one of the Cape Amber ports, as at present, when caught in the hurricanes which devastate the seas in the neighbourhood of Mauritius, the disabled

¹ M. de Mahy spoke as follows in the Chamber of Deputies on the 15th July last:—"La partie nord de Madagascar entre la baie de Diégo-Suarez à l'est, le canal de Mozambique à l'ouest, s'amincit comme le corselet d'une guêpe, et n'est reliée au reste de l'île que par un isthme tellement étroit que le trajet d'une rive à l'autre se fait en moins d'une heure et demie, à pied, en marchant doucement. Les hauteurs qui sont au centre de cet isthme commandent les deux rivages dans la baie de Diégo-Suarez et dans le canal de Mozambique. Des batteries qui seraient placées sur ces hauteurs et sur leurs prolongements dans les contours ouest, sud et nord, balayeraient toute la baie. Ces hauteurs font partie intégrante, elles sont la chef de la position stratégique de Diégo-Suarez. Comment pourrions-nous les laisser aux Hóvas?"

ships have too often great difficulty in reaching Port Louis when they are to leeward of the island, which, moreover, lies nearly in the focus of the hurricane track, whereas they can always fetch the Cape Amber ports, which are to the westward.

Again, in Mauritius all sorts of provisions, stores, spars, etc., are very dear, whereas in the Cape Amber ports labour is cheap; provisions, beef, mutton, and vegetable produce are remarkably abundant; and all the concomitant advantages of a free port will speedily attract business.

It is very doubtful if sailing vessels can always sail *out* of Diego-Suarez Bay against a strong prevailing wind which blows constantly dead into the narrow mouth of the inlet. But the Port Rainilaiàrivòny (*né* Port Robinson) is a completely land-locked basin one mile and three-quarters deep, with from eight to ten fathoms, and offers valuable shelter to steam and sailing vessels while waiting for favourable weather to round Cape Amber; anchorage in eight fathoms with good holding-ground.¹

S. PASFIELD OLIVER, Capt.

P.S.—Since the above was written it has been pointed out by General Willoughby that he especially designed the chain of fortified posts, commanding the south limits of the reservation and the approach to the isthmus, as much for the protection of the French from the Antankàrana as for purposes of customs and preventive service. For, otherwise, the unruly tribes might cause complications by the perpetration of raids on the property and establishments of their quondam foreign allies.

¹ See Findlay's *Indian Ocean Directory*, last edition, p. 438, where details of the other Cape Amber ports are fully given. See also *ante*, vol. i. chap. v. p. 432.

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